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A COLLECTION OF SCARCE and VALUABLE TRACTS,

ON THE MOST

Intereſting and *Entertaining* Subjects:

But chiefly ſuch as relate to the

HISTORY and CONSTITUTION of theſe Kingdoms.

Selected from an infinite Number in *Print* and *Manuſcript*, in the ROYAL, COTTON, SION, and other Publick, as well as Private Libraries.

Particularly that of the late Lord *SOMMERS*.

Reviſed by EMINENT HANDS.

VOL. II.

The Bent and Genius of the Age is beſt known in a free Country, by the Pamphlets and Papers that come daily out, as the Senſe of Parties, and ſometimes the Voice of the Nation. Preface to KENNET's Regiſter.

Judex qui aliquid ſtatuit, unâ parte audita tantum & inauditâ alterâ, licet æquum ſtatuerit, haud æquus fuerit. *Ld* COOK *&* JUST. *Inſt.*

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A

COLLECTION

OF

TRACTS.

AN ESSAY upon PUBLICK CREDIT: Being an ENQUIRY how the PUBLICK CREDIT comes to depend upon the Change of the *Miniſtry* or the Diſſolutions of *Parliaments*; and whether it does ſo or no? With an ARGUMENT, proving that the PUBLICK CREDIT may be upheld and maintained in this Nation, and perhaps brought to a greater Height than it ever yet arrived at; tho' all the Changes or Diſſolutions already made, pretended to, and now diſcourſed of, ſhould come to paſs in the World: By *Robert Harley*, Eſq; Printed, 1710.

THE World being ſo full of Politicians, and ſo many Authors having of late turned Stateſmen, it behoves me to lay every thing down exceeding plain, as I go on; the Subject is nice, the Age abuſive, the Town full of *Obſervers* and *Reviewers*, who write to pleaſe and content the Notions of Men, who, directed by their Intereſt and Parties, differ even with themſelves; Reaſon, it is true, is Dictator in the Society of Mankind; from her there ought to lie no Appeal; but here we want a Pope in our Philoſophy, to be the infallible Judge of what *is* or *is not* Reaſon.

I am to ſpeak of what all People are buſy about, but not one in forty underſtands: Every Man has a Concern in it, few know what it is, nor is it eaſy to define or deſcribe it. If a Man goes about to explain it by Words, he

rather ſtruggles to loſe himſelf *in the Wood*, than bring others out of it. It is beſt deſcribed by itſelf; it is like the Wind that blows *where it liſts*, we here the *Sound* thereof, but hardly know *whence it comes*, or *whither it goes*.

Like the Soul in the Body, it acts all Subſtance, yet it is itſelf immaterial; it gives Motion, yet itſelf cannot be ſaid to exiſt; it creates *Forms*, yet has itſelf *no Form*; it is neither Quantity or Quality; it has no *Whereneſs*, or *Whenneſs*, *Scite*, or *Habit*. If I ſhould ſay it is the eſſential Shadow of ſomething that is not; ſhould I not puzzle the thing rather than explain it, and leave you and myſelf more in the dark than we were before?

To come at a direct and clear Underſtanding of the Thing, the beſt Method will be to deſcribe its *Operations*, rather than define its *Nature*; to ſhew *how it acts* rather than *how it exiſts*; and *what it does*, rather than *what it is*.

TRADE, as the Author of the *Review* has told us, and who I can better ſubmit to learn of on that Subject, than ſome other he talks more about, "was "derived by Convenience from the profitable exchanging of Goods from "Nation to Nation, and from Place to Place, as People encreaſing, found "their Neighbours poſſeſſed of what they wanted, and themſelves having "to ſpare of what their Neighbouring Countries did not produce." *This we now call Barter*, and is not ſo much in uſe as it was in the Infancy of Commerce in the World.

The *Britons* inhabiting this Iſland were found to exchange their *Block Tin* with the *Phenician* Merchants for *Spices*, *Wines* and *Oils*, even long before *Julius Cæſar* ſet his Foot upon this Iſland.

But as Trade increaſed, two Accidents *fell in*, as Effects; being the great *Mediums* of Univerſal Commerce, the *Vehicle* in which Trade is preſerved or adminiſtered thro' the World; theſe were *Money* and *Credit*.

This Thing called Commerce flouriſhing, and extending every Way into all the Corners of the World, the Nations falling generally into Dealing with one another; yet Trade found itſelf unſufferably ſtreightned and perplexed for want of a general *Species* of a compleat intrinſick Worth, *as the Medium* to ſupply the Defect of exchanging, and to make good *the Balance*: where a Nation, or a Market, or a Merchant, demanded of another a greater Quantity of Goods than either the Buyer had Goods *to anſwer*, or the Seller had Occaſion to *take back*.

This nothing could be found in the World of univerſal and intrinſick Worth enough to anſwer, but *Metals*; as being neither conſuming in *Quality*, bulky in *Carriage*, or uſeleſs in *Nature*: Of theſe Metals ſeveral Nations adhered a long time, to ſuch as their own Country produced; but *Gold* and *Silver*, by their meer intrinſick Worth prevailed; and they alone retain the univerſal Character, as it may be called, in all Payments of whatever kind in the World.

The Courſe of Trade being thus turned, from exchanging of Goods for Goods, or *delivering* and *taking*, to *ſelling* and *paying*, all the Bargains in the World are now ſtated upon the Foot of *a Price* in Money; and tho' it be at any Time an Exchange of *Goods* for *Goods*, yet ever thoſe Goods are on either Side rated at a *Price* in Money.

Tho' this was a great Aſſiſtant to Trade, and gave a Liberty to the Increaſe of Commerce more than ever it had before; yet, ſuch was the great Increaſe

of

of Trade, that it even over-run the Money itſelf, and all the Specie in the World could not anſwer the Demand, or be ready juſt at the time Trade called for it. *This occaſioned*, That when *A* bought more Goods of *B*, than *A* had Money to pay for; and *B* having no Need of any Goods, that *A* had to ſell; it behoved, that *A* ſhould leave his Goods with *B* for a certain Time, in which *A* was to provide the Money for the ſaid Goods: And this was done, both from the Occaſion *B* had to ſell his Goods, the Occaſion *A* had to buy them, and the Opinion *B* had of *A*'s Integrity and Ability for Payment.

And this is the great Thing we call CREDIT.

CREDIT is a Conſequence, not a Cauſe; the Effect of a Subſtance, not a Subſtance; 'tis the *Sun-ſhine*, not the Sun; the quickening SOMETHING, *call it what you will*, that gives Life to *Trade*, gives Being to the Branches, and Moiſture to the Root; it is the *Oil* of the Wheel, the *Marrow* in the Bones, the *Blood* in the Veins, and the *Spirits* in the Heart of all the Negoce, Trade, Caſh, and Commerce in the World.

It is produced, and grows inſenſibly, from fair and upright Dealing, punctual Compliance, honourable Performance of Contracts and Covenants; in ſhort, 'tis the Off-ſpring of univerſal Probity.

It is apparent, even by its Nature, it is no Way dependent upon Perſons, Parliaments, or any particular Men, or Set of Men, *as ſuch*, in the World; but upon *their Conduct* and *juſt* Behaviour. *Credit* never was chained to Men's *Names*, but to their *Actions*; not to *Families*, Clans, or Collections of Men; no, not to Nations; it is the Honour, the Juſtice, the Fair-dealing, and the equal Conduct of Men, Bodies of Men, Nations, and People, that raiſe the Thing called *Credit* among them; whereſoever this is found, CREDIT will live and thrive, grow and encreaſe; *where this is wanting*, let all the Power and Wit of Man join together, they can neither give her Being, or preſerve her Life.

Arts have been tried on various Occaſions in the World, to raiſe CREDIT; *Art* has been found able, with more Eaſe, to deſtroy *Credit*, than to raiſe it: The Force of *Art*, aſſiſted by the punctual, fair, and juſt Dealing *aboveſaid*, may have done much to form a *Credit* upon the Face of Things; but we find ſtill the *Honour* would have done it without the *Art*, but never the *Art* without the *Honour*. Nor will Money itſelf, which *Solomon* ſays *anſwers all Things*, purchaſe this Thing called *Credit*, or reſtore it when loſt.

It is in vain to talk of *Credit* without this *Probity*: Honeſty will raiſe *Credit* without Money; but all the Money in the World will not raiſe *Credit* without the Principle. *D* was a Prince of high Birth, a great Character for Wit, Gallantry, and all the Perfections of a Duke and Peer of one of the politeſt Nations in *Europe*; he had, beſides, a noble Fortune, built great Edifices, purchaſed great Houſes, maintained a vaſt Equipage, and did every thing with the Air of an exquiſite and moſt accompliſh'd Gentleman; he had a vaſt Fortune, great Offices at Court, nor did he ever want Money; his Stewards were never without 20,000 Piſtoles in Caſh; if *any Sum*, however great, was wanting to ſupport any Point of Honour, for his Play, or to purchaſe what he had his Eye upon, he knew how to produce it; yet the Barber would not truſt him for a Perriwig;

the Coachmaker would not let his Chariot go Home with a new Set of Wheels; *What was the Matter?* He would pay no Body generouſly, or honourable; he would be ſurrounded with Duns as he came out of his Palace, and would go *Incognito* to Court to prevent being inſulted: The *Sbirri*, or *Provoſt's Men* at *Paris*, would ſtop his Coach in the Street, he has been forced to call a Chair, and leave his Coach and Horſes in their Poſſeſſion.

The Thing was plain, he had no *Credit*; his great Eſtate, his high Birth and Quality, his Equipage, his vaſt Quantity of gold Plate, his large Caſh, they would not add one Inch to the Stature of his *Credit*; but he lived as if he was poor, and was leſs eſteemed in the Shops of the Merchants, than a private Gentleman; nay, than one of the *Burgois*; I had almoſt ſaid, than a Shoemaker in the City.

On the other Hand, *S*—— is a Gentleman of a moderate Fortune, compared to the other, but is alſo a Man of Quality; he lives nobly, tho' frugally; keeps a good Equipage, a handſome Family, does not lay up much, his generous Nature will not permit it; but he pays punctually, no Man comes twice for his Money; if a Tradeſman leaves his Bill, he buys no more of him till he comes for his Money; he never dines till his Wine is paid for; he wears no Cloaths that the Taylor or Mercer can reproach him for, and call THEIRS as he goes along the Street; inſtead of having his Door crowded with Duns, and his Steward bribed to pay, he is rather crowded with Shop-keepers to petition for his Cuſtom; his Servants are teized to procure their Lord to buy here or there, and every one ſtudies to leave his Goods for Approbation. The Tradeſmen are ready to fight, who ſhall get in his Goods, and ſell often to Loſs, to under-rate one another. What's the Matter? *Credit* ſtands at his Door; Honour lives there, and *Credit* is her Handmaid. The Count deals juſtly, pays punctually, every Man's Demands are anſwer'd, *Credit* courts him, he ſhall have her Favour, whether he will uſe her or no.

It is needleſs to enlarge; Experience tells us the ſame Thing in all Caſes, whether private or publick, perſonal or national.

Credit is the Conſequence of juſt and honourable Dealing; fair Propoſals punctually performed will bring Credit, let the Perſon or People be who they will. How do we trade among the *Turks*, and truſt the *Mahometans*, one of whoſe Doctrines, in the *Alcoran*, is, not to keep Faith with Chriſtians? They have obtained it by a juſt, punctual, and honourable Practice *in Trade*, and you *credit them without Scruple*; nay, rather than a Chriſtian.

Upon this Foundation I build what I am in hand with, and bring it down to the preſent Caſe: I know no Perſons or Parties in my Argument: This Lord Treaſurer or another Lord Treaſurer, or no Lord Treaſurer, it is the ſame thing to me; a Bank or no Bank, it is all one; I will ſell none of my Tallies or Annuities; I will diſcount no Exchequer Bills: Diſſolve the Parliament or not diſſolve the Parliament, it is all one to me; I neither fear, deſire, or am anxious about either; nor can I ſee ſo much Cauſe for an Alarm among our People that have Money, as if Credit was pinned to the Girdle of a Man, or waited at the Door of the Houſe of Commons; the Thing is a Miſtake, Credit attends the honourable Management of your *Treaſurers*, your *Exchequers*, your *Parliaments*, whether paſt, preſent, or to come.

I do not examine what politic Reaſon may induce her Majeſty, to change or remove her Great Men in the Miniſtry; I enquire not whether her Majeſty purpoſes to diſſolve the Parliament, or to let them ſit; theſe Things are not concerned in our Caſe: The late Lord Treaſurer, I allow, has done honourably, has managed the Finances with great and unuſual Dexterity, and has acquired thereby the Fame of the beſt Officer, that has for many Years acted in that Poſt; I could be content to ſpend a whole Page in his Praiſe; the Nation is infinitely obliged to him; and his royal Miſtreſs, no doubt, has received infinite Satisfaction in his Conduct, as appears by rejecting all Attempts againſt him, and keeping him ſo long in a Poſt of ſo great Truſt.

But after this is ſaid, *Credit*, which has for ſome Years been the Nation's happy Gueſt, by whoſe Aid ſuch mighty Things have been done, cannot be ſaid to be the ſole Property of my Lord Treaſurer perſonally; it is not ſingly intail'd upon his Family, or his Name; this would be to go a Length his Lordſhip himſelf has more Modeſty than to claim; nor would his Lordſhip be well pleaſed with any, that could think ſuch coarſe kind of Flattery would oblige him.

Our Credit in this Caſe is a publick Thing; it is rightly called by ſome of our Writers, NATIONAL CREDIT; the Word denominates its Original; it is produced by the *Nation*'s Probity, the Honour and exact performing *National Engagements*. In this the great Officers of the Treaſury and Exchequer are, as we may ſay, perfectly Paſſive; their Buſineſs is indeed Active; ſo the Wheels of a Clock, their Buſineſs is to go round; but they are ſubject to the Influence of *their Poſition*, the Operations of the Springs and Wheels that guide *their Motion*, by which they act paſſively, if that may be ſaid, *that is*, of meer Neceſſity; and the punctual Pointing of the Hand to the Lines ſhewing the Hour, the Minutes and the Seconds, *are Conſequences* of theſe Motions: Theſe indeed tell us that the Wheels are good, perfectly made, exactly placed, and moved to a Truth; but the Honour redounds to the *Workmen*, who placed them in that exact Order, adapted them to their ſeveral Uſes, and placed ſuch Springs and Wheels about them, which, by their like Exactneſs, but all derived from the ſame Original, oblige every Part punctually to perform the End of the whole Movement.

CREDIT is not the Effect of this or that Wheel in the Government, moving regular and juſt to its proper Work; but of the whole Movement, acting by the Force of its true original Motion, according to the exquiſite Deſign of the Director of the whole Frame.

Thus the *Honour*, the *Probity*, the exact punctual *Management*, which has raiſed our *Credit* to the Pitch it is now arrived at, has not been merely the great Wheel in *the Nation*'s *Clockwork*, that turn'd about the Treaſure, but the great Spring that turned about that Wheel, and this is the QUEEN and PARLIAMENT. *The one*, the Spring (*ſtill keeping to the Allegory*) that gives Motion or Life to the whole; *the other*, the Balance or Pendulum, that regulates that Motion, keeps it true to, and exact in, the Performance of the general Work, (*viz.*) the equal and punctual dividing the ſmalleſt Meaſures of Time.

This nice Caſe requires me a little to deſcend to Particulars, and touch Matter of Fact nearer than was intended; What is it has reſtored and recovered the Nation's *Credit* from the Breaches made in it? The anſwering this neceſſarily requires

requires that I ſhould alſo aſk what made the former Breaches in *our Credit?* I ſhould do this as modeſtly as I can; for it is not the preſent Work to open Sores, but to heal them, to prevent more from breaking out.

Some of the Reaſons which ſunk *our Credit*, and made the Breaches in it in the late Reign, were the ſettling Funds that were in themſelves deficient; and making no Proviſion to ſupply thoſe Deficiencies. Some would perhaps go farther; and ſay, it was ſettling Funds that *were not probable*, and whoſe Deficiencies were viſible. I ſhall not go that Length, the Error was in the Original; it would be unjuſt to charge the Deficiency of theſe Funds upon the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury *for the Time being*; it would be ſtill harder to blame them for the Parliament not ſupplying thoſe Deficiencies. Some may have ſaid they were to blame in the firſt Act, becauſe it was their Work to provide Funds, and the Parliament only gave what they asked; that they took them and went away ſatisfied, as ſufficient for the Supply of the Occaſion, and that they were Judges of the Probability; *I am not of that mind*, tho' it is not to my purpoſe here to debate it. But this is certain, the not ſupplying the Deficiencies upon the repeated Application of the Perſons, whoſe Eſtates lay in thoſe Deficiencies, ſeemed wholly to lie at the Door of the Parliament, and this brought the Tallies on thoſe Funds to intollerable unheard of Diſcounts, to the Ruin of all that we *called Credit.*

What then has raiſed *this Credit?* I hope I do not detract from the juſt Character of him, whom one calls the great Guide of the Nation's Treaſure, if I ſay, it was ſomething elſe than his Lordſhip's Management; ſomething prior to it, *in which* that national Honour and Juſtice, Reſolution of punctual Payment and Concern for the Means of it, *appeared*, which put Life into the Nation, and made thoſe People that had Money think it *as ſafe*, as well depoſited, and the Principal in as *good Hands*, as in their own; ſo that they were perfectly eaſy in adventuring their Money, and the longer this went on, the forwarder were the People to bring in their Money: Nay, ſo forward, that the faſter the Government lowered their Intereſt, the more eager were the People to bring in their Money.

Let us ſee where this began, and this will tell us *whoſe doing* it was. After the firſt Seſſion of Parliament of her preſent Majeſty, the Queen acquainted the Houſe, That the Funds had more than anſwered the Sums *they were given for*; there was the capital Wound of Deficiency healed at once. That the Overplus ſhould be applied, *&c.* There was an Aſſurance, that all Deficiencies, if any happened, ſhould be made good. This gave the *Parliament Part* a Brightneſs that revived the Spirits of the People, helped open their Purſes, which had been ſo long cloſed, and cauſed Taxes to be raiſed without murmuring.

The Queen acted the next Part; Her Majeſty gave conſtant Aſſurances, that every Thing given ſhould be *rightly applied*; and to encourage her People, and ſhew ſhe was willing *to bear a part* of their Burthen, the Queen generouſly threw in *an Hundred thouſand Pound* of her own Money, *appropriated for the Civil Liſt*, to eaſe the Nation of ſo much in that Year's Burthen. *Theſe were Steps* no Prince ever was known to take before. *After this* you never heard of a Complaint of the heavy Burthen of the Taxes, though greater far than

any

any raiſed in the former Reign; on the contrary, *the more* you raiſed, *the eaſier* they were paid; *the more* the Nation ran in Debt, *the higher* their Credit roſe every Day. *After this* you never had any Commiſſioners of Accounts aſked for, or any Queſtion about Miſapplication. *No Man* need go far for a Reaſon for this; *the Credit* centered all in the Queen, whoſe Concern was ſo viſible for her People's Good, that ſhe would ſuffer no Miſapplications; that ſhe would employ none, but in whom ſhe could place entire Confidence; whoſe Probity and Exactneſs her Majeſty could anſwer for *to herſelf*, and was well aſſured ſhe might be *ſafe in*.

It is no way leſſening the Honour of the Servants her Majeſty chooſes, to ſay that the Nation's Credit depends not on the Reputation of their Conduct; but on her Majeſty's Care, in chuſing ſuch Men, whoſe Conduct would perform all the Nation could expect; and that if they ſhould fail, her Majeſty would not fail to remove them, and put in others. This is putting the Thing right; the Sum and Subſtance of the Argument is this. In ſhort,

Publick Credit is the Conſequence of honourable, juſt, and punctual Management in the Matter of *Funds* and *Taxes*, or Loans upon them. Where this goes before, Credit always follows.

This Management depends not upon the well-executing their Offices, by the great Officers of the Treaſury, and the Exchequer, but on the *Care*, *Conduct*, and *Vigilance* of her Majeſty and the Parliament; *the latter* in eſtabliſhing ſufficient Funds; and *the former* in placing able Officers, and obliging them to an honourable Management.

The *Publick Credit* therefore depends upon the Queen and Parliament entirely, and not at all upon the well or ill Management of the Officers, of what kind ſoever.

Another Thing confirms this, *(viz.)* That while the Parliament concerns itſelf to prevent the Deficiency of Funds, and the Queen to place Men of Probity and Honour in the Government of her Treaſury; *there is no Queſtion to be made*, but both would concern themſelves *upon any Complaints of the Subject*, to enquire into any Miſmanagement or Abuſe of the People, in the greateſt Officers; and not only puniſh the Offender, but *prevent the Offence*, by removing ſuch Officer, and ſupplying his Place with others, who ſhould better diſcharge ſo weighty a Truſt. This reſolves the Point, that Credit centers where the Government centers; for if the Sovereign diſplaces thoſe that miſapply, the Wound to Credit heals of itſelf; and while the Sovereign carefully prefers Men of Honour and Probity in the Nation's Truſt, Credit riſes by a natural Conſequence.

But ſtill it is the NATION's CREDIT; *that is*, it is built on the Honour of the Queen and Parliament, as above; and this has been the Caſe of the late Lord Treaſurer; the Credit of whoſe Management muſt return to the Queen, as to the Center; otherwiſe this muſt be called, *My Lord Treaſurer's Credit*, not the *Nation's*; and, to our great Loſs, muſt die with his Lordſhip; which would be very unhappy *for us*; and would imply, that we ought to be more concerned for his Lordſhip's long Life than the Queen's; a Thing would very ill pleaſe even his Lordſhip to ſuggeſt.

Having laid down this as a Foundation, I build this ſhort Fabrick upon it, *(viz.) That as* the publick Credit is *National*, not *Perſonal*, ſo it depends upon

upon No *thing* or *Perſon*, No *Man* or *Body of Men*, but upon the Government, *that is*; The Queen and Parliament; diſplacing or removing any Miniſter of State, or great Officer, whoſe Management under the Sovereign affects our Treaſure, can no way influence our *National Credit*; while the juſt, honourable and punctual Conduct of the Sovereign and Parliament remains the ſame. Neither does our Credit depend upon the Perſon of the Queen, *as Queen*, or the individual Houſe of Commons, *identically*; as if *no Queen* but her preſent Majeſty, and *no Parliament* but the preſent Parliament, could ſupport and uphold the Credit of the Nation: *But* it will remain a Truth, that *every Queen*, or *every King*, and *every Parliament*, ſucceeding the preſent, that ſhall diſcover the *ſame Juſtice* in Government, the *ſame Care* in giving ſufficient Funds, the *ſame Honeſty* in ſupplying the Deficiences if they happen, *the ſame* Concern for the Burthen of the Subject, and *the ſame* Care to put the Treaſure into the Hands of faithful and experienced Officers, ſhall keep up *the ſame* Character, have the *ſame* Credit, and reſtore all theſe Declinings to the *ſame* Vigour and Magnitude as ever.

From hence it appears, That our preſent Loſs of *Credit* does not ariſe from any Doubt, whether the like Conduct can produce this Effect or no; but from a ſtrange Suggeſtion, That a new Parliament, or a new Miniſtry, ſhall either *not deſign* or not *purſue* the ſame vigorous and wiſe Reſolutions, or manage with *the ſame* Integrity, as the laſt have done. If her Majeſty ſaw room for this Suggeſtion, I make no doubt, (her Concern for the publick Good *is ſuch*) that no ſuch Change had been made, or would lodge an Hour longer among her Thoughts; but if her Majeſty is of the Opinion, that ſuch a Change will not leſſen the Concern *for*, or juſt Meaſures *in* the Publick Service, then the Difficulty ends. Her Majeſty has now put new Officers into her Treaſury: No doubt her Majeſty *is ſatisfied* it ſhall be in their Power to preſerve the *Publick Credit*, and reſtore it to as great a Height as ever it was before. And I will preſume to add, That if her Majeſty ſhould find it otherwiſe, it would be an effectual Motive to *farther Changes* till ſuch Hands ſhould be found, in whoſe Conduct the *National Credit* could not miſcarry.

It ſeems that the preſent Diſcontents are grounded upon *a Suppoſition*, That a new Miniſtry ſhall be leſs zealous for the Publick Intereſt, than the Preſent; or, at leaſt, the Objectors argue, that her Majeſty has ſufficient Experience of the Zeal of the preſent Miniſtry, *for her Service*, and for the Publick Good; and therefore it cannot ſeem rational to run that Riſque; and the like, of a New Parliament.

To this may be anſwered; Why ſhould it be ſuggeſted, that a New Parliament ſhall not be equally zealous for the Liberties of *Britain* with the Preſent? They are to be choſen by the Freeholders; they are to be *Engliſhmen*; they are to be *Proteſtants*; they are to abjure the Pretender; they are to be joined with *the ſame* Houſe of Lords; to be bleſſed with *the ſame* Queen; and the Queen, I doubt not, filled with *the ſame* Principles as before; *the ſame* by which her Majeſty, for I muſt place it there, *reſtored the Nation's Credit before*, and raiſed it to what we have now ſeen it.

Shall we ſay, The Parliament will not raiſe Money to carry on the War? This would be to ſay, We ſhall chuſe ſuch a Parliament as will *declare the Pretender*, *forſake*

forsake the Confederacy, *join* with the common Enemy, and *depose* the Queen. These are Fears no thinking Man can suppose to be rational; and are spread about by none *but those* that desire it should be so; and who, crying out loudest of the Fall of *Public Credit*, procure the Thing they complain of; and indeed we have no Breach of *our Credit*, but what rises from these Men.

To back their Fears, and make others think them reasonable, they give long Accounts of the Progress of Dr. *Sacheverell*, as if the Folly and impolitick Vanity of that Gentleman could influence the People of *England*, to send up Men as *mad* and *foolish* as himself: I must profess to think, if Dr. *Sacheverell* thinks he serves the Interest he pretends to appear for, by his mobbing and riotous Progress, he is as much mistaken *as they were*, who made him popular by a hasty Prosecution, instead of committing his Sermon to the Hang-man, and kicking him from the Bar for a Lunatic; which if they had done, the Nation had been more in Debt to *their Prudence*, than I think they are now for *their Justice*.

I am against Furies on both Sides; nor do I see any such coming in: If her Majesty does let in any such, *I dare presume to say*, it must be for want of having their due Character; and the Term of their Services may probably end when they discover themselves.

But if Men of Moderation, and Men of Integrity come in, I see no room to fear, but *our Credit* shall revive as well under a New Ministry as an Old.

I know, that some talk of a Stagnation of the Fountain; that there is a Famine of Funds; that the Nation is exhausted, and we are at a full stop: This I take to be *an Amusement*, that comes over from *France*, and is calculated very much for the Service of the Enemy. But there are ways to get over the Difficulty, and the best way is Demonstration and Experience; I believe the *French* King does not raise half so much Hopes from our not being able to find any Funds at all, as from our being at a Loss for Credit to borrow upon those Funds when they are raised; and he may live to be deceived in both.

But to obviate these Things, *I take the Liberty to say*, and that not without-book, when the Parliament meets, be it the present Parliament, or a new Parliament; be it the present Ministry, or a new Ministry; as I hope there will not want Zeal in the Members, to supply her Majesty's Occasions for the War; so were this War to hold seven Years longer, it is easy to propose sufficient Funds for the carrying it on, without that horrid Proposal of mortgaging our *Land-Tax*, or without any *such Taxes*, as shall either be burthensome to the Poor, or scandalous to the Nation.

As to Credit, while the Parliament and the Queen continue to preserve those Funds from Deficiencies, to make good such as happen, and to support the Vigour and Honour of the Publick Management; I see no room to doubt, but *Credit* shall revive, and as we have not yet found any Fund the Parliament has raised, unsupplied with Loans and Advances upon it, even faster than could be desired; so I can see no room to fear the contrary: Yet if such a Thing should happen, a mean Head may find out some Expedient that may not be ineffectual; for a Supply of which, if there should be Occasion, a Proposal shall not be wanting.

[*From the late Earl of* Oxford's *Collection*]

AN ESSAY upon LOANS; or an ARGUMENT, proving, That Substantial FUNDS, settled by Parliament, with the Encouragement of *Interests*, and the Advances of *Prompt Payment* usually allowed, will bring in Loans of Money to the *Exchequer*, in spight of all the Conspiracies of Parties to the contrary; while a just, honourable, and punctual Performance on the Part of the Government, supports the Credit of the Nation. By the Author of the *Essay upon Credit*.

HAVING treated in brief upon the difficult Subject of *Credit*, and that (if the Town is not a Deceiver) with some Success; it seems necessary to speak a Word or two upon the great Object, upon which that Credit operates, *viz. Loans of Money* upon the Publick Demands.

The Author, *an Enemy to long Prefaces*, presents his Thoughts to the World upon this Head, without any other Apology than this, That he thinks it a Service at this time, to remove the Mistakes which some make, and others improve to our Disadvantage, while they think it is to the Disadvantage of some body else: While they aim at an Object they would hurt, they wound themselves; and in prosecuting private or party Prejudices, injure, weaken, and assault the publick Good; which every Man has a Propety in, and therefore is in Duty bound to defend.

A Discourse upon *Credit*, is naturally an Introduction to a discourse upon *Loan*; *Credit* without *Loan* is a beautiful Flower, fair to the Eye, fragrant to the Smell, ornamental to the Plot of Ground it grows in; but yielding neither Fruit nor Seed, neither Profit to the Possessor of it, by making due Advantage of its Produce, nor Benefit to Posterity, by Propagation of its Species. On the other Hand, *Loans* without *Credit* are like the labouring Plowman upon a barren Soil, who works, cultivates, sweats, and toils, but to no purpose, all the Fruit of his Labour ends in Sterility and Abortion.

Loans are the Consequences of *Credit*, and the Evidence of that particular Quality, which in the preceding Discourse of *Credit*, I laid down as its Foundation; I mean general Probity, punctual, just, and honourable Management.

To explain Things as I go; tho' this needs but little: By *Loans*, I am now to be understood to mean, *Lending Money to the present Government*: The Thing will extend to private Affairs, and I might take up a great deal of your Time, in speaking of the Effects of *Credit* in Trade, such as delivering Goods by Tradesmen to one another; Paper-Credit in Affairs of Cash; Pledging, Pawning,

Pawning, and all the Articles of Security for Money, practiſed in general Commerce; but theſe Things are not to the preſent Purpoſe.

The Author of this confines his Diſcourſe to the Government borrowing Money of the Subject, whether upon Securities eſtabliſhed by Parliament equivalent in Value delivered, publick Faith, general Credit, or otherwiſe.

The Nature of theſe Securities, the Reaſon, the Uſefulneſs, and the Foundation they ſtand on, are no part of the preſent Subject; they are reſerved by the Author to a Head by themſelves, if Leiſure and the publick Service make it proper to preſent you a Diſcourſe upon *Funds*.

The preſent War, which, with a ſmall Interval of an unſettled and impolitick Peace, is now in its twenty-ſecond Year, has been remarkable in ſeveral Circumſtances above all the Wars that ever this Nation has been engaged in, ſince the *Romans* poſſeſſed it.

It has been,
The longeſt in its Duration;
The fierceſt and moſt expenſive in Blood;
The moſt famous in Succeſſes, and unheard of Victories;
It has been carried on againſt the moſt powerful Enemies;
It has produced the moſt firm, and the greateſt Confederacy;
And it has in View, the moſt glorious Concluſion.

Together with theſe Things, it has this alſo peculiar to it; that it has been carried on at an Expence, which has ſurmounted not all that ever went before it only, but all that it could be imagined was poſſible for any Nation of our Dimenſions in the World to ſupport.

Not the *French* King only has been deceived in the Efforts made by this Nation in the Proceſs of the War; which, as penetrating as he is, he never thought poſſible; but it is moſt certain, had the wiſeſt and beſt Calculator in the Iſland been told what the Undertaking would have called for, he would have determined it to be forty Millions Sterling beyond what the Nation was able to do, and that without ſelling the very Nation, it could not be done.

As the View of the Expence would have made us wiſely avoid the War, and either not have begun it, or long ſince ended it, upon the beſt Terms we could obtain from the Enemy; ſo had the Enemy believed *England* capable of ſupporting the War, at ſuch a Prodigy of Expence, he would never have begun it; which the King of *France* himſelf has been heard, in Terms very plain, to acknowledge.

When upon the Revolution the Parliament fell moſt willingly into the War, as a Thing the Enemy, by eſpouſing King *James*'s Intereſt, made abſolutely neceſſary: The firſt Branch of our Expence was carried on in the common Road of levying Taxes, and the Money required for every Year's Expence was raiſed and paid within the Year.

The Nation was rich, Trade prodigiouſly great, Paper-Credit run high, and the Goldſmiths in *Lombard-ſtreet*, &c. commanded immenſe Sums; Anticipations were indeed in Practice, they had been ſo of old, and borrowing Clauſes were added to the Bills of Aid; but theſe laſted but a few Months, the Money

came in of courſe, and they were paid off in their Turn: Land-Tax, Polls, additional Duties of Cuſtoms, Exciſes, and the like, were the Ways and Means by which theſe Things were done; the Year generally ſupported its own Demands; all the Loans were ſuppoſed to be temporary, and to end with the Collection.

As the War every Year grew heavier upon us, and the Expence increaſed, new Ways and Means were neceſſary to ſupply the growing Demand, till all the Taxes that could be raiſed by the ordinary Way, were found little enough to bring the Annual Expence about.

This put the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury upon liſtening to new Taxes, and entertaining all the Projects for raiſing Money, that the working Heads of the Age could ſupply them with.

Theſe, backed with Parliamentary Authority, were too unadviſedly ſuppoſed to raiſe ſuch certain Sums as the publick Occaſions then called for, and borrowing Clauſes were added to them, limitting the ſaid Sums; which paſſed as a giving the Treaſury Credit upon the Acts of Parliament for ſuch Sums as they were granted for; but the Collections falling intirely ſhort of the Sums propoſed, left the Publick in Arrear to the Lenders, and from hence came the great Load of Deficiencies, which the Nation feels the Weight of to this Hour.

As the Sums given fell ſhort, ſo the War called every Year for ſtill greater Sums; which, added to the Deficiencies of the old Taxes, grew ſo heavy, that our Managers found it was in vain to ſtruggle with the Difficulty any longer, upon the Foot of Annual Taxes; and that it was next to impoſſible to raiſe every Year what the publick Occaſions called for.

This led them of courſe to a new Method to ſupply the great Demands of the War, *viz.* by eſtabliſhing annual Receipts of limited or perpetual Intereſts for ſuch Sums, as might be borrowed upon the Credit of the Nation, the Principal to ſink in the Hands of the Publick. Theſe were called FUNDS.

To encourage the People to lend upon theſe Funds, Premiums for advancing the Money, large Intereſts, and other Advantages were annexed; ſuch as 14 *per Cent. per Annum* upon Annuities, with Survivorſhip, Chance of Prizes by Way of Lottery, 7 *per Cent.* upon Exchequer Bills, *and the like.*

Here, together with the innumerable Tallies, which upon the Deficiency of former Taxes as aforeſaid, went about the Town upon Diſcount, and the great Obſtruction of running Caſh, by calling in the old Coin, was the firſt riſe given to the Art and Myſtery of Stock-Jobbing; a Practice, whether good or evil in its Conſequences to the publick Affairs, is not to the preſent Purpoſe to enquire.

By this Method has the greateſt Part of our yearly Taxes, ſince that Time, been raiſed; the Parliament eſtabliſhing Funds for Payment of Intereſt, and the People advancing Money, by Way of Loan, on thoſe Intereſts.

It may not be improper here for ſome People to reflect, That in the Advantages granted by the Government upon theſe Loans, and the great Diſcounts upon Tallies on the deficient Aids, mentioned above, were founded the great Stocks of Money, Banks, and powerful Credit; with which ſome People are grown to ſuch a Height, eſpecially in their own Opinion, as to talk of influencing the publick Affairs, and as it were menacing the Government with Apprehenſions of their lending or not lending, as they are, or are not pleaſed with the Manage-

ment

ment of, or Managers in the publick Oeconomy; and this is the Subject I am a little to ſpeak to.

LOANS to the Government, by the Gradations aforeſaid, having been found eſſentially neceſſary, the firſt Steps to that new Method were found fatally incumbering; the high *Premio's* given, the great Advantages propoſed, and the large Intereſts paid to the Lender. The Government appeared like a diſtreſſed Debtor, who was every Day ſqueezed to Death by the exorbitant Greedineſs of the Lender; the Citizens began to decline Trade and turn Uſurers; Foreign Commerce, attended with the Hazards of War, had infinite Diſcouragements, and the People in general drew home their Effects, to embrace the Advantage of lending their Money to the Governmeat. Then grew up the BANK, whoſe ſecond Subſcription being founded upon a Parliamentary Security, for making good the deficient Tallies, was formed by receiving in thoſe Tallies at *Par*, which coſt the Subſcribers but 55 to 65 *per Cent.* by which the greateſt Eſtates were raiſed in the leaſt Time, and the moſt of them, that has been known in any Age, or in any Part of the World.

This, I ſay, turned the whole City into a Corporation of Uſury, and they appeared not as a *Bank*, but rather one general Society of Bankers; all Men that could draw any Money out of their Trades, run with it to *Exchange-Alley*, to buy Stocks and Tallies, ſubſcribe to Banks or Companies; or to the Exchequer with it to put into Loans, and lend it upon the advantageous FUNDS ſettled by Parliament.

It is meet to mention theſe Things, for the Sake of the People who have gotten ſuch great Eſtates by the Government, to let them know from whence the Advantages they have made, did proceed; and alſo for ſome other Reaſons which will appear in the Sequel of this Diſcourſe.

The Government, to preſerve to themſelves the Advantages of the Loans, and yet to avoid being impoſed upon and oppreſſed by thoſe exorbitant Intereſts and Encouragements, about the Year 1698, entered into Meaſures to ſecure the Loan of Money, and yet lower the Advantages given to the Lenders.

The firſt was done by the Parliament, applying themſelves to reſtore *Credit*, by a Vote to make good all Deficiencies, and erecting a punctual, juſt, and fair Management of the Payments; by which every ſeveral Engagement being honourably complied with, the Credit of the publick Affairs revived, and the Exorbitances the former Years were expoſed to, wore off of courſe.

This tedious Recapitulation of Things will appear leſs trouble to the Reader, when he ſees the uſe I ſhall make of it.

Here may be ſeen ſeveral Things, which, if well conſidered, tend to the lowering the high and extravagant Imaginations of ſome People, with reſpect to *Loans*, *Credit*, *Borrowing* and *Lending* of Money to the Government; ſuch as theſe;

I. Large Intereſts, Advantages, *Premio's* for Advance of Money, and the like, will bring in *Loans* in ſpight of Parties, in ſpight of Deficiencies, in ſpight of all the Conſpiracies in the World to the contrary; while a juſt, honourable, and punctual Perfomance on the Part of the Government, does but maintain the Credit of the Nation.

II. As the Affairs of the Government have made *Loans* neceſſary, and they can not go on without borrowing; ſo the Stream of Trade and Caſh is ſo univerſally turned into publick Funds, the whole Nation feels ſo much of Gains, ſo much by, and depends ſo much upon the publick Credit, that they can no more do without the Funds, than the Funds can do without the Loan.

III. Theſe Borrowings and Lendings are become ſo much a Trade, ſo many Families have their Employment from, and get ſo great Eſtates by the negotiating theſe Things, that it is impoſſible for any particular Set of Men to put a Stop to it; or to get any ſuch Power into their Hands, as to give the Government juſt Grounds of Apprehenſion, that this or that Party of Men can put a Check to the publick Affairs, be they *Whigs*, *Tories*, *City*, *Court*, *Banks*, *Company*, or what they pleaſe to call themſelves.

I ſhall not tie myſelf to ſpeak to theſe apart, *the Liberty of this Tract will not admit of it*, but in a ſummary Way you will find the Fact demonſtrated, and the Conſequence evident.

Men in Trade, more eſpecially than the reſt of Mankind, are bound by their Intereſt; Gain is the End of Commerce, where that Gain viſibly attends the Adventurer, as no Hazard can diſcourage, ſo no other Obligation can prevent the Application.

Impiger extremos currit Mercator ad Indos.

To pretend after this, that Parties ſhall govern Mankind againſt their Gain, is to philoſophize wiſely upon what *may be*, and what would be politick to bring to paſs; but what no Man can ſay was ever put in practice to any Perfection; or can be ſo by the common Principles that govern Mankind in the World.

There have been Combinations in Trade, and People have ſeemed to act counter to their preſent Intereſts; nay, have gone on in apparent Loſs, in purſuance of ſuch Combinations; but they have always been made in order to ſecure a Return of greater Gain; and therefore, the Laws made againſt ſuch Combinations, are not made to prevent Peoples going on to their Loſs, but to prevent the end of that appearing Loſs, *viz.* The Ingroſſment or monopolizing of Trade, to come at ſome Advantage over others, and thereby make an exorbitant Gain.

But it was never yet heard, that the Zeal of any Party got the better ſo much of their Intereſt, as to put a general Stop to the current and natural Stream of their Intereſt; that a People ſhould reject the fair and juſt Advantages which have raiſed ſo many Eſtates, and are the due Supplies to the Breaches made by the War upon general Commerce. To talk that we would not lend Money to the Government, while the Parliament ſettles Funds, allows Intereſts, gives *Premio's* and Advantages, is to ſay, Nature will ceaſe, Men of Money will abſtain from being Men loving to get Money. That Tradeſmen ſhould ceaſe to ſeek Gain, and Uſurers to love large Intereſts; that Men that have gained Money ſhould leave off deſiring to get more; and that Zeal to a Party ſhould prevail over Zeal to their Families; that Men ſhould forfeit their Intereſt for their Humour, and ſerve their Politicks at the Price of their Intereſt.

Let

Let thoſe that promiſe themſelves theſe Things, enquire among the Merchants, and ſee if Parties govern any thing in Trade; if there is either *Whig* or *Tory* in a good Bargain; Churchman or Diſſenter in a good Freight; High Church or Low Church in a good Adventure; if a Shop-keeper ſees a good Penny-worth, a Scrivener a good Mortgage, a monied Man a good Purchaſe, do they ever aſk what Party he is of that parts with it? Nay, rather in ſpight of Party-Averſions, do we not buy, ſell, lend, borrow, enter into Companies, Partnerſhips, and the cloſeſt Engagements with one another, nay, marry with one another, without any Queſtions of the Matter?

Let us come to the general Body of People as Fate has unhappily divided us; where are the Men, ſuppoſing a Party Conſpiracy againſt the Government in this matter of Loan; Where are the Men who would hold together, and refuſe making 7 *per Cent.* of their Money to preſerve the Engagement? Where are the Men who would ſtay their Hands, and loſe the Probability of gaining a Thouſand Pounds a Year by Lottery? *No, no,* it is not to be done; the Stream of Deſire after Gain runs too ſtrong in Mankind, to bring any thing of that kind to Perfection in this Age. The Thing is ſo impracticable in its Nature, that it ſeems a Token of great Ignorance in the Humour of the Age to ſuggeſt it; and a Man would be tempted to think thoſe People that do ſuggeſt it, do not themſelves believe what they ſay about it.

In the matter of Loan it next comes in our way to enquire, how does the Caſh of the Nation, which is the Thing we are upon, ſtand divided, and how is the Government in Hazard of any Combination of this kind? If it be impoſſible to make this Enquiry without any Party-Biaſs, and ſo as to give Offence to neither Side, it ſhall be done. I do not ſay who is in, or who out; who has the Management, who had it, or who would have it; let that ſtand as it does, or may; but how do the Parties ſtand, with reſpect to one another; ſuppoſing any one Party would endeavour to ſtagnate the general Circulation of Credit, in Prejudice of the other: As for the purpoſe;

Suppoſe a Whig Adminiſtration, and all the High-Church-Men and their Appendices in hopes to reduce them to Exigences in the Management, ſhould conſpire together to run down the Publick Credit, and lend no Money on any of the Funds. *Vice Verſa*; ſuppoſe a Reverſe, and the Whigs in general ſhould do the ſame Thing. Let us enquire; Are either of theſe Parties ſo rich in Caſh, ſo powerful in lending, that all the Loans muſt depend upon their Money; or are either of theſe Parties ſo inconſiderable in this Caſe, that their Support ſhould ſignify nothing without the Concurrence of the other? If the laſt were true, that weak Party could make no manner of Figure in this Government, or be ſignificant enough for the Sovereign without viſible Diſtraction to engage with. To deſcend to Particulars.

The Notion is general, at leaſt among themſelves, that the Groſs of the Caſh is with the Whigs; and the *Review* ſpeaks of it as a Thing capable of ſome Demonſtrations; though with his good liking, it may be ſaid, he may be miſtaken. Some have gone a Length beyond the Author of the *Review*, and will have it, that the Money lies in the Hands of the Diſſenters; and will allow the Church-men, eſpecially the High-Church Men, to have little enough for themſelves, and by Conſequence leſs to ſpare to the publick Loans.

Others will tell you, the High-Church-Party have a large Share of the Nation's Caſh in their Hands; that they have generally a Proportion of Money, and beyond Compariſon more Land than the other. They add, That as they have more Land, they can when they pleaſe have more Money; and that therefore, though they ſhould grant that the Low-Church and Diſſenters put together have the moſt ready Money, yet allowing them the Superiority in the Lands, they can fetch the Money into their own Hands when they pleaſe.

It is not for me to determine who has moſt Land, or who moſt Money; it is my Opinion, neither have ſo much or ſo little, as to render them formidable or contemptible to one another in the Matter of Loan. Both Sides have enough to be uſeful to, and both Sides have little enough to ſtand in need of one another; and in this Diviſion the Ballance of Parties (which at this time is the only Felicity that we can find in having any Parties at all) does conſiſt.

I make no Difficulty to acknowledge, That where the Land is, there is the Foundation of all the real Wealth in the Nation: I do not ſay, it is in this or that Party excluſive; That the Gentlemen, who call themſelves of the High-Party, have a great Share of the Land, is moſt certain, but that they have ſo much more than the Whigs and Diſſenters joined, as ſome will alledge, I cannot determine. No doubt where the Land is, there can be no want of Money; becauſe Land will at any time raiſe Money: whereas Money, without the Aſſiſtance of Trade, Land-men, or Governments, can operate no way, but like the Viper, preying upon itſelf.

This leads me to examine the Difference between *Loan* and *Fraud* in this Caſe. Examining which, ſomething may perhaps come to light for our Inſtruction, which has not been much thought of before.

Solomon tell us, *The Borrower is Servant to the Lender*; but with the Wiſe Man's Leave, in this Caſe it is not ſo. *Solomon* is there to be underſtood ſpeaking of the poor borrowing Wretch, who borrowed upon the Foot of Charity and Compaſſion, and therefore he juſt before ſays, *The Poor uſes many Entreaties, but the Rich anſwer roughly.* The poor Man that borrows on his ſingle Promiſe to ſupply his urgent Neceſſity, *uſes Entreaties*, as we may ſay, *He begs to borrow*; but the *rich Lender* is ſurly, hardly conſents, *anſwers roughly*, and is with Difficulty brought to lend.

But we are to diſtinguiſh here between *Solomon*'s Borrower deſcribed as above, and he that borrows on a ſufficient current Security: He is no more Servant to the Lender, than the Lender is Servant to him; having an unqueſtioned Security to give, he ſcorns to aſk you twice; but if you do not think fit to lend your Money, he goes to another.

This is apparent in the *Publick Securities*, as well as in private; and will make it out, if ever put to the Teſt, That the People of *England* ſtand in as much need of *the Funds* to lend their Money upon, as the Government ſtands in need of their Money *upon thoſe Funds*. I prove this matter of Fact, freſh in your Memories, and undeniable in all its Circumſtances. In the Beginning of the War, when the Money lay abroad in Trade, the Knowledge of Affairs young, and the People not apprized of the Thing; the Anticipations upon Taxes and Loans came heavy, and were ſmall, *What drew them on?* Large Premio's, high Intereſts, Chances of Prizes, Survivorſhip, and the like.

Thus when the Neceſſities of the Government were great and their Credit young to borrow, the Lenders made their Market: But when the Government found themſelves *rich in Funds*, their Demands, *though great*, yet not preſſing; Credit eſtabliſhed, the Parliament, *the great Fund of Funds*, and Centre of Credit, ready to make good Deficiencies, and leaving no room for Jealouſies in the Minds of the People, *What was the Caſe?* You took off your Premiums, you drew no more Lotteries for ſixteen Years, you lowered your Intereſt, you brought your Annuities from 14 to 7 *per Cent.* and your Intereſt on Tallies from 7 to 6 *per Cent. per Ann.* From 7 *per Cent.* upon Exchequer Bills, you came down to 4 *per Cent.* And what was the Conſequence? The Neceſſity of the Lenders being more to lodge their Money for Improvement, than the Neceſſity of the Borrowers was to aſk, they came always down to your Price; and had you brought the general Intereſt of Loans to 4 *per Cent.* they muſt have come down, for Money is no longer Money than it can be improved. *Nay, it is to be obſerved*, the Eagerneſs of the People to bring in their Money encreaſed, as the Advantages of lending decreaſed: Having no way to improve it better, they were under an abſolute Neceſſity of bringing it in, for the Sake of the Improvement.

Are theſe any of the People, who can be ſuppoſed to ſay to the Parliament, They will not lend their Money? It would almoſt provoke a Man to laugh at them. You will not lend your Money! Why, what will you do with it?

Perhaps you will not lend it to the Government; *well*, you will *then* lend it upon private Security, upon Land, and the like; why then thoſe you lend it to, will lend it to the Government, and ſo the Malice of the Affair will be loſt, and the Advantage too. Will you run it into Trade? *Do ſo by all means.* Some of thoſe Hands it will circulate through, will lend it to the Government. Your very *Export* and *Import* is a Loan to the Government. In ſhort, the Government ſhall have your Money *firſt or laſt*, do what you will with it.

Suppoſe it were poſſible to divide this Nation into two Parts, the Landed-men and the Monied-men, and the Government were to be put into the Hands of the *firſt* againſt the Conſent of the *laſt*; and the Monied-men knowing the Landed-men could not carry on the War without Money, reſolved to lend them none, I mean as a Government, What courſe ſhould the Landed-men take?

In my Opinion, they ſhould paſs an Act, That none of thoſe People ſhould be admitted to lend any Money to the Government at all; What then would be the Conſequence? They would be immediately diſtreſſed with the Weight of Money without Improvement; they would eagerly lend it to the Landed-men at 4 *per Cent.* upon their Land; and they again lending it to the Government at 6 and 7 *per Cent.* the Government would be ſupplied, and the Landed-men would get 3 *per Cent.* by the other Men's Money.

I am not making Application; but let any of the preſent Parties, who boaſt of their having the Groſs of the Money, reflect what they would ſay, if any Act were to paſs, That no *Whig*'s Money, or no *Diſſenter*'s Money, or no High-Church-Man's Money ſhould be accepted upon Loan; That they ſhould not be allowed a Transfer upon any Stock, or to buy any Annuity; the Complaint would be very loud of their being excluded the common Advantages of their Fellow-Subjects; and that paying their Share of Taxes, they ought to have room for equal Improvements, and ought not to be excluded; *and this is true too*, it

would be hard. Then they would run about to their Friends among the contrary Party, fasten their Money under their Names, and perhaps give one half *per Cent.* or one *per Cent.* Commission to others to lend, buy, and transfer for them. And what would the Government feel in all this?

The Case is this: No Party can be so foolish to think they can be able to stop the Loan of Money to the Government; nor need the Government think of putting the Laws in Execution against such Combination (*though if any such appeared, it would they might be prosecuted*.) Keep up but the Credit of Parliament, and let that Parliament find Funds, it is not in the Power of any Party of Men to stop the Current of Loans, any more than they can stop the Tide at *London-Bridge*, in its constant Course of Flux and Reflux from and to the Sea.

There is no doubt but the *French* have Agents among us, who would be glad to weaken our Hands in the War, and prevent our Supplies for that Purpose: From them it must be that these Notions creep into People's Heads; *Englishmen* cannot in their common Senses be so weak; telling us that we shall have no *Loans*, is much at one to telling us we shall have no Recruits to our Army; as, while you can pay Armies, you shall never want Men; so while you can pay Interest, you shall never want *Loans*.

The Estates that some Men boast of, by which they are enabled to lend, and made bold enough to threaten a Stop of it, were gained by lending. Those that have them are too eager to encrease them, those that want them are too eager to gain them, by the same Method, and all too covetous and too selfish not to come into any good Proposal.

The worst these Men can do, is, by making Things appear backward, to raise the Rate of Interests, and move the Parliament to add something to the usual Encouragements for lending; and if the Nation pays this, who have they to blame for it? Yet neither will they be able to do this, the present Credit of the *British* Parliament putting it out of their Power; for as the Necessity of Lending will prompt on one Hand, the undoubted Security of Parliamentary Credit removes all the Jealousies our Party-Men would raise on the other.

The Zeal some Men shew for their Country, as well as Justice to the Government, is nevertheless very conspicuous in this; who, first, to glorify their Party-Prejudices would have the War miscarry, rather than Money should be lent, while such Men manage as they pretend not to like; secondly, Reproach some People with Designs to make Peace with *France*, and yet endeavour by discouraging *Loans*, to render it impossible for them to carry on the War.

But both these will be disappointed: While the Parliament supports Credit, and good Funds support the Parliament, Money will come in as naturally, as Fire will ascend, or Water flow; nor will it be in the Power of our worst Enemies to prevent it.

If the Author of this appears again in Publick, it may be upon the Subject of FUNDS.

AN

An ABSTRACT of the PUBLICK FUNDS, granted and continued to the Crown ſince 1 *Wm. & M.* and ſtill exiſting, *viz.* I. The Revenue of the CIVIL LIST. II. ANNUITY-FUNDS for Ninety-nine Years. III. LOTTERY-FUNDS for Thirty-two Years. IV. PERPETUAL FUNDS, redeemable by Parliament, *viz.* 1. To the Bank of *England.* 2. To the *Eaſt India* Company. 3. To the Bankers in *Car.* II. 4. To the *South-Sea* Company. With an ESSAY for the more ſpeedy Redemption of the *Perpetual Funds*; an Apology for the ſame; and an Appendix, for Exchange of a Revenue in *Ireland.* Written by Mr. *Aſgill.* 1715.

The Revenue of the CIVIL LIST *(by Act* 1 Anne *ſettled on Her Majeſty for Life) according to a Computation thereof made in order to the Union in* 1706. *Taken from a Medium of Three Years then laſt paſt.*

The Great Branches of the Revenue, viz.

	l. per Ann.
1. THE Temporary and Hereditary Exciſe on Beer, Ale, and other Liquids, granted to the Crown, 12 *Car.* II. (excluding 3700 *l.* a Week, ſince taken out, by ſubſequent Acts, for Publick Uſe) and including the Charges of Management paid by the Caſhier	286,178
2. The Additional Cuſtoms of Tunnage and Poundage on Wines and other Goods, granted to King *William* for Life; excluſive of Drawbacks and Allowances for damaged Goods	256,841
3. The Revenue of the Poſt-Office, including Charges paid by the Receiver	101,101

The Small Branches of the Revenue.

1. Fines on Alienations, including Charges	4,804
2. Poſt-Fines by a Rent reſerved thereout	2,276
3. Wine-Licences (including Charges)	6,314
4. Sheriffs-Profers, about	1,040
5. Compoſitions in the Exchequer	13
6. Seizures of unaccuſtomed and prohibited Goods	

Carried over

	l. per Ann.
Brought over	
7. The Revenue of the Dutchy of *Cornwal*	9,869
8. The Revenue of the Principality of *Wales*	6,857
9. Other Revenues, by Rents of Lands, and Fines on Leaſes	2,906
Total	691,204

The Firſt-Fruits and Tenths, ſince remitted to the Clergy, was about 18000 *l. per Ann.* charged with ſeveral Penſions.

By an Act 1 Georgii, *the ſame Revenue is ſettled on His Majeſty for Life.*

Subject to	*l. per Ann.*
1. 700 *l.* a Week taken out of the Poſt-Office, by 9 *Anne*, to make up one of the Lottery-Funds	36,400
2. 35000 *l. per Ann.* charged on the Temporary and Hereditary Exciſe for 32 Years from *Michaelmas* 1713, for the Queen's Debts	35,000
3. The Revenues in *Wales* and *Cornwal*, now belonging to his Royal Highneſs, as Prince of *Wales* and Duke of *Cornwal*	16,726
Deductions	88,126
Remaining to the Crown	603,078
	691,204

ANNUITY-FUNDS, *granted for* 99 *Years.*

		l. per Ann.	*s.*	*d.*
4 *W. & M.*	On the firſt 9 *d. per* Barrel, *&c.* additional Exciſe; for which the Fund, after *June* 1700, was to be 70,000 *l. per Ann.*	70,000	00	0
5 *W. & M.*	On two Sevenths of another 9 *d. per* Barrel additional Exciſe	40,000	00	
2 *Anne.*	On part of 3,700 *l.* a Week out of the Temporary and Hereditary Exciſe	105,945	10	6½
3 *Anne.*	On Surplus of the ſaid 3,700 *l.* a Week	46,000	00	0
4 *Anne.*	On one Third additional Tunnage and Poundage, and another 9 *d. per* Barrel Exciſe	184,242	14	0
5 *Anne.*	On Low-Wines, Hawkers and Pedlars, part of Stamp-Duties, and 1 *l.* 16 *s.* a Barrel additional Duties on Sweets	72,187	10	0
6 *Anne.*	On the Annual Surplus of three former Annuity-Funds, *viz.* 3 *d.* Tunnage, 4 *Anne*; Annuity-Fund, 5 *Anne*; Annuity-Fund, 4 *W. & M.*	40,000	00	0
6 *Anne.*	On one Half of Tunnage and Poundage granted *Car.* II. for Life, and by 5 *Anne* continued to 1712	80,000	00	0
	Total *per Annum*	638,375	14	6½

LOT-

LOTTERY-FUNDS, *granted for* 32 *Years.*

		l. per Ann.	*s.*	*d.*
8 *Anne.*	On Duties continued on Coals, *&c.* and additional Duties on Houſes ——	135,000	00	0
8 *Anne.*	3 *d. per* Barrel new Exciſe, Cuſtoms on Pepper, *&c.* —— ——	81,000	00	0
9 *Anne.*	12 *d. per* Pound granted *Car.* II. on Goods imported, Duties on Water-borne Coals, additional Duties on Candles ——	135,000	00	0
9 *Anne.*	Duties on Hides, *&c.* Licenſing Hackney-Coaches, *&c.* 700 *l.* a Week out of the Poſt-Office —— ——	186,670	00	0
10 *Anne.*	Duties on Soap, Paper imported and made, Printed Linens, Silks and Stuffs; new Stamp-Duties —— ——	168,003	00	0
10 *Anne.*	Additional Duties on Hides, Vellum and Parchment; new Duties on Starch, Coffee, Tea, Drugs, Wire, Policies of Inſurance —	168,003	00	0
12 *Anne &* 1 *Georg.*	Additional Duties on Soap, Paper, *&c.*	116,573	12	0
	Total *per Ann.*——	990,249	12	0

PERPETUAL FUNDS.

		l. per Ann. s. d.	*Redeemable on Payment of, l. s. d.*
	To the Bank *of* England.		
5 *W. & M.* & 7 *Anne.*	On five Sevenths of 9 *d.* Additional Exciſe ——	100,000 00 0	1,600,000 00 00
5 & 7 *Anne.*	On Duties on Houſes, called the Window-Tax —	106,501 13 5	1,775,027 17 10
7 *Anne.* 8 *Anne.* 9 *Anne.* 12 *Anne.*	On two Thirds Additional Tunnage and Poundage, firſt granted 3 *Anne*, for four Years.		
	Duties on Coffee, *&c.* granted 6 *Anne.*		
	Half Subſidy of Tunnage and Poundage, by 6 *Anne* continued to 1714.		
	The Surplus above 80,000 *l. per Ann.* of the other Halves of Tunnage and Poundage, by 6 *Anne* continued for 96 Years——	327,818 00 0	Exchequer-Bills. 4,580,312 10 00
	Totals —— ——	534,319 13 5	7,955,340 07 10

PER-

PERPETUAL FUNDS.	*l. per Ann.* s. d.	*Redeemable on Payment of,* *l.* s. d.
Brought over the several Funds to the *Bank*	534,319 13 5	7,955,340 7 10
To the East-India *Company.*		
9 *W.* & 6 *Anne.* Additional 6*d.* on Stamps. Additional Duties of 7*d. per* Gallon on Salt. *East-India* Silks	160,000 00 0	3,200,000 0 00
The Bankers *Debt*, Car. II.		
12 *W.* Part of 3,700 *l.* a Week out of Hereditary Excise	39,855 16 0	664,263 0 00
To the South-Sea *Company.*		
9 *Anne.* Duties on Wine and Vinegar, Tobacco, *East-India* Goods, Wrought Silks, Whale-Fins. Surplus of Salt, *&c.*	568,279 10 0	9,471,325 0 00
Totals of Perpetual Funds Redeemable	1,302,454 10 5	21,290,928 0 00

Totals of the Annual Issues out of the PUBLICK REVENUE, *payable to the several Funds aforesaid; besides the Civil List.*

	l. per Ann. s. d.	*l.* s. d.
To the Annuity Funds	638,375 14 6½	
To the Lottery Funds	990,249 12 0	
To Perpetual Funds, Redeemable	1,302,454 10 5	
Total of Annual Issues		2,931,079 16 11½
The Annual Incomes of the Publick Revenue, by the Computation made for the Union in 1706. (excluding the Land-Tax, Malt-Tax, and Civil List) were	2,352,836 00 0	
The new Duties granted since the Union, being mixed with former Funds, cannot be exactly accounted; but are computed at (*per Ann.*) about	852,804 12 0	
Total of Annual Income		3,205,640 00 0
Income more than Issues		274,560 00 0

But Surpluses or Deficiencies in several of the Funds, may alter this Computation.

An

An ESSAY *for the more ſpeedy Redemption of all the Perpetual Funds (except the Original Fund of* 100000 *l.* per Ann. *annexed to the Bank of* England *upon their firſt Creation)* viz.

BY raiſing another Perpetual Fund of 120,000 *l. per Ann.* as an Intereſt of 6 *per Cent.* for borrowing two Millions thereon in Specie, and paying the ſame into the Bank of *England*, for circulating and maintaining the Credit of Exchequer Bills, to be iſſued with an Intereſt of 3 *per Cent.*

That thereupon the Parliament (according to their Power of Redemption) may pleaſe to give Notice for redeeming ſuch of the former Perpetual Funds as they ſhall think fit firſt to redeem.

And that thereupon the Exchequer iſſue out to the Bank as many Exchequer Bills as will pay off the Funds ſo to be redeemed.

That theſe Bills be current in all Receipts of the Publick Revenue, from the time of the iſſuing, and payable by the Bank at Demand, till they are all ſunk and cancelled.

And then the two Millions lodged in the Bank, ſhall be repaid out by them, in Diſcharge of the Tallies of Loan, upon the ſaid new Fund of 120,000 *l. per Ann.* which Fund ſhall from thenceforth ceaſe.

A Computation of the Gain to the Publick by the Succeſs of this ESSAY.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
The Total of the Principal to be paid for Redemption of all the Perpetual Funds in the Abſtract (deducting 1,600,000 *l.* ſecured upon the Original Fund to the Bank) is	19,690,928	00	0
Taking this to be twenty Millions:			
The Annual Intereſt at 3 *per Cent.* on 20 Millions in Exchequer Bills, is	600,000	00	0
To which add the Intereſt of 6 *per Cent.* for two Millions on the new Fund	120,000	0	0
Both	720,000	00	0
The Annual Intereſt now payable for all the Perpetual Funds in the Abſtract (except the 100,000 *l.* Original Fund to the Bank) is	1,182,454	10	5
From whence deducting the 720,000 *l.* the Reſidue annually gained by the Publick towards Diſcharge of the Principal, will be	462,454	10	5
Add to this the Annual Surplus of the laſt Fund to the Bank, which by the Act is to be annually applied towards Diſcharge of the Principal of Exchequer-Bills (in caſe there be ſuch Surplus)	270,999	00	0
Remaining to be annually applied towards Diſcharge of Principal	733,453	10	5

And

And thus by the Uſe of two Millions for about thirty Years, twenty Millions on the Perpetual Funds will be diſcharged near about the Time of the Expiration of the laſt Lottery Funds.

An APOLOGY *for this Publication.*

HAVING a little more Leiſure than I would have, I ſpent Part of laſt Summer in making an Abſtract, from the Acts of Parliament, of all Aids granted and continued to the Crown ſince 1 *Wm. & Mary.*

And from that Abſtract, I again abſtracted what I now publiſh; as the Long Funds ſtill continuing: for there are ſome other Temporary Loans yet unſatisfied; but the Funds granted for them being near expired, and by which they are like to be ſatisfied, I have omitted them in this Abſtract.

And I make my firſt Apology for the Abſtract itſelf.

For that by reaſon of ſeveral Contingencies happened ſince paſſing the Acts abſtracted (to which I could not be privy, without being converſant in the Exchequer) there are ſeveral Variances in this Abſtract from the Account of the ſame publick Debts delivered in by Mr. *Lownds* to the former Parliament.

The chief of which is the firſt Article of the Annuity-Funds; which in the Abſtract is 70,000 *l. per Ann.* that being the Sum allowed by the firſt Propoſal in the Act, to be paid from 1700, for raiſing a Million on Lives, with Advantage of Survivorſhip, at 7 *per Cent.* But that Propoſal failing, and the Million being chiefly raiſed on the ſecond Propoſal, at 14 *l. per Cent.* for one Life only; the Annual Fund, by Mr. *Lownds*'s Account, is 62,041 *l.* more than the 70,000 *l.*

In the ſubſequent Annuity-Funds there are ſome leſſer Variances, which being eaſily reconcilable, I omit to mention them.

In all the Lottery-Funds, the Abſtract agrees with the Account, except the tranſpoſing the Fund of 81,000 *l.* which in Mr. *Lownds*'s Account is joined to the Annuities for 99 Years, as being firſt propoſed in the Act for an Annual Fund of 9 *l. per Cent.* abſolute. But on Failure of that, the Money was raiſed (on the laſt Propoſal in the Act) by a Lottery; and is therefore inſerted in the Abſtract amongſt the other Lottery-Funds.

In the Funds to the *Eaſt-India* Company, the Abſtract and the Account agree.

And ſo they do in the Bankers Debt, *Car.* II. except that in the Account that Fund is ranked with the Annuities for 99 Years, and in the Abſtract amongſt the Perpetual Funds redeemable, as being ſo in fact.

In the two firſt Funds to the Bank of *England*, the Abſtract and Account agree.

In the laſt Fund (which was for the preſent Exchequer-Bills) the Principal Sum in the Account is 63,120 *l.* 14 *s.* 6 *d.* ¼ more than in the Abſtract; which ſeems to be for ſo many more Bills iſſued for quarterly Intereſt, not aſcertained in the Act.

In the Fund for the *South-Sea* Company, the Abſtract makes the Principal to be 293,357 *l.* 4 *s.* 8 *d.* more than in the Account: which ſeems to ariſe from hence,

hence, That of the Sum of 1,296,552 *l.* 9 *s.* 11 *d.* ¾. one of the Articles of Deficiencies provided for by that Act, there was but 1,001,426 *l.* 11 *s.* ½ ſubſcribed into the Company; and the Reſidue being 295,125 *l.* 18 *l.* 10 *d.* ¾. is charged in the Account among other temporary Loans. And then the Difference remaining between the Abſtract and the Account, is only 1768 *l.* 14 *s.* 10 *d.* .

And as for the Computation in the Abſtract, of the Total of the publick Iſſues and Incomes, I took the Iſſues before the Union from the Computation then made thereof, in order to the Union. But for the Iſſues granted ſince the Union (having ſeen no other Computation of them) I made a Computation of them by Gueſs, which is the Computation in the Abſtract; and therefore I do not offer it as authentick.

Having thus made my Apology for the Abſtract, I will apologize (as well as I can) for the Eſſay made upon it.

For that the Eſſay ſeems to take for granted two Things, when perhaps neither of them will be admitted.

Firſt, *It ſeems to take for granted, that all the Perpetual Funds (except the Original Fund to the Bank) were redeemable at any time; whereas the time for Redemption of the reſt, is not yet come.*

To this, the Anſwer ſhall be hiſtorical.

5 *W. & M.* The original Fund of 100,000 *l. per Ann.* annexed to the Bank on their firſt Creation, is by that Act made redeemable at any time, on twelve Months Notice, after *Aug.* 1, 1695.

8 *W. & M.* Upon enlarging their capital Stock, the time for Redemption is enlarged till after the 1*ſt* of *Auguſt* 1712, on the Payment of the 1,200,000 *l.* advanced on their Original Funds, and all other Monies due on any Tallies then in their Hands; which Tallies being then on temporary Loans, are ſuppoſed to be ſince ſatisfied.

And by that Act, no other Bank is to be eſtabliſhed during the Continuance of this.

5 *Anne.* The firſt Duties on Houſes (called the Window-Tax) firſt granted 7 *W.* are made perpetual, for paying to the Bank an Intereſt at 4 *l.* 10 *s. per Cent.* for circulating 1,500,000 *l. &c.* in Exchequer Bills.

But this Fund is by the ſame Act made redeemable at any time, without Redemption of their former Funds or Tallies.

7 *Anne.* Upon their advancing 400,000 *l.* more on their original Fund, the time for Redemption thereof is enlarged till after *Auguſt* 1, 1732. on Payment of 1,600,000 *l.*

12 *Anne.* On their laſt Agreement for circulating the preſent Exchequer-Bills, the Fund granted for thoſe Bills is made redeemable at any time, without Redemption of their former Funds (as the Window-Tax was by the former Act) But the time for Redemption of their original Fund is thereby enlarged till after *Auguſt* 1, 1742. and thereupon their Corporation to ceaſe.

12 *W.* The Redemption of the Bankers Debt is left indefinite, and ſo is redeemable at any time.

9 *W.* The Fund for the *East-India* Company was at first made redeemable at any time, on three Years notice, after *Septemb.* 11, 1718.

6 *Anne.* Upon their advancing 1,200,000*l.* more upon the same Fund, their Redemption is enlarged till after *March* 25, 1726. on Payment of 3,200,000*l.* And thereupon their Fund and Corporation to cease.

10 *Anne.* This Redemption is again discharged, and the Fund made again redeemable on three Years notice, after *March* 25, 1733. Without determining their Corporation.

9 *Anne.* The Fund for the *South-Sea* Company is made to commence from *Decemb.* 25, 1716. and redeemable at any time, upon one Year's notice, after the said *Decemb.* 25, 1716.

10 *Anne.* Their Corporation and sole Trade is to continue for ever, notwithstanding the Redemption of the Fund.

Now as to the *East-India* and *South-Sea* Companies, it is easily guessed that what they chiefly aimed at, was not the Continuance of their Funds, but of their Corporations and sole Trades.

And the Fund to the *East-India* Company being now reduced to *5 per Cent.* it cannot be esteemed but they will esteem it a Favour, rather than an Injury, to have that redeemed; leaving them their Corporation and sole Trade.

And if the *South-Sea* Company were so apprehensive of the Value of their Trade, that they have obtained an Act to perpetuate it before they will adventure to begin it; would not they also esteem it a Favour to have their Fund redeemed, and their sole Trade left them into the Bargain; and if they should not, the time given for their Redemption draweth nigh.

Taking it therefore, That all the perpetual Funds (except the original Fund of the Bank of *England*) are or may be immediately redeemable by the Parliament, I shall make no farther Apology in that Point.

The Part remaining for farther Apology, is, *That the Essay seems to take for granted that two Millions of Money in Specie will be sufficient for Circulation or maintaining the Credit of twenty Millions in Bills issued at* 3 per Cent.

Now as I do confess that I have no Affidavits for Proof of this in the Affirmative: So I take myself to be secure against any honest Man's Affidavits for disproving it in the Negative.

And though the Computation of Gain is made upon the whole: Yet the Essay itself is not made absolutely, but on such Funds as the Parliament shall think fit to redeem.

The Drift of the Essay being levelled rather to find out the Nature, than to adjust the Quantity of the thing essayed.

In Arithmetick we know that each Figure stands for more or less, according to the Position or placing it to the Right or Left.

If it stands in the Extreme to the Right, it is but a Unit, signifying its own single Value or first Denomination.

But by every Remove or Degree from thence to the Left, it gains an additional Value of ten times more than it did before.

And in the Use and Productions of Nature, this Remark is left us by the Author of it:

Except

Except a Corn of Wheat fall into the Ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much Fruit.

And he hath alſo left us a Parable, as the Duty of all Men (Bodies Perſonal or Politick) to uſe and improve all their Talents of Life to the beſt Advantage, ſo as to encreaſe and make them prolifick.

And hath ſet a Doom upon our keeping or hoarding them in their own ſingle Value only, as dreadful as that for loſing or ſquandering them.

To bring this to the Point in hand:

The Annuity and Lottery-Funds being temporary only, will diſcharge themſelves by Efflux of Time (if not otherwiſe provided for.)

But beſides thoſe, here is an annual Iſſue of about Thirteen Hundred Thouſand Pounds granted in Perpetuity, and which will never ſpend or be diminiſhed by Efflux of Time.

And ſo muſt remain a perpetual Rent-Charge upon the Kingdom;

(Of which, the Proprietors of the Funds are Landlords,
The Subjects Tenants,
And the Crown Collector)

Unleſs ſome other Proviſion be made for redeeming the ſame.

And this Proviſion muſt be,

Either by raiſing twenty Millions more upon new Funds, and paying away the whole in its own ſingle Value only, for diſcharging the like Value upon the former Funds:

(Which would be but a bare Exchange of Taxes, without any Gain to the Publick, or Eaſe to the Subjects.)

Or elſe theſe preſent Funds muſt be redeemed from their own Produce, if ſuch Redemption be feaſible.

To manifeſt which, is the Drift of the Eſſay.

That Money (by a due Poſition and proper Application of it) is capable of an Addition beyond its firſt ſingle Value, and of being prolifick in multiplying its own Species (or ſomewhat equivalent to it) hath been made ſo evident by Uſe and Practice, that I need no other Arguments but the Facts.

And therefore I will be a little hiſtorical in this alſo.

In which though I may vent ſome Things that may not be true, yet my Conſcience ſo ſhall guide my Pen, that none of them ſhall be Lyes.

He that relates a Truth which he himſelf doth not believe, telleth a Lye: *Surely when they ſay the Lord liveth, they ſwear falſly.*

Therefore he that vents an Error which he thinks to be true, doth not lye.

5 W. & M. The firſt Bills iſſued by the Bank, were 1,200,000 (under their Common Seal) at 3 *per Cent.* which they paid at the Exchequer for their Original Fund of 100,000 *l.* Which Bills had no Currency in the Revenue by that Act, and were iſſued in the Recency of the Notions of Publick Credit, and in Oppoſition to the private Bankers, who had moſt of the Caſh then in their Hands; and in the Recency of the Revolution, and Heat of a War, which annually drained the Kingdom.

To circulate and maintain the Credit of theſe 1,200,000 *l.* in Bills, the Bank called in from their Members 300,000 *l.* only, being 25 *per Cent* of the 1,200,000 *l.*

On the Foot whereof, they gained for the 300,000*l.* twenty *per Cent.* clear of the 3 *per Cent.* on their Bills, (beſides 4000*l.* a Year, intended for their Charges.)

Of this 300,000*l.* it was ſaid, they did not find Occaſion to uſe 40,000*l.* in lating the 1,200,000*l.* Bills ſo iſſued.

But launching out afterwards into a larger Credit on their Caſhiers Notes (iſſued without Intereſt) they called in more Payments from their Members.

And by theſe Caſh-Notes without Intereſt, they (by Degrees) drawed in their 1,200,000*l.* Bills at Intereſt, and did not re-iſſue them.

5 *Anne.* Upon their Agreement for circulating 1,200,000*l.* *&c.* Exchequer-Bills on the Window-Tax, at 4*l.* 10*s.* *per Cent.* the Exchequer were to iſſue the Bills either with or without Intereſt, as the Bank ſhould deſire.

And the Bank, by giving out their own Bills without Intereſt, kept the Exchequer-Bills to themſelves, and thereby gained the Intereſt on them.

7 *Anne.* The Bank agreed to cancel theſe Bills, and to accept an Intereſt on the ſame Funds of 6 *per Cent.* inſtead of the 4*l.* 10*s.*

And by the ſame Act agreed to circulate 2,500,000*l.* more Exchequer-Bills, to be iſſued with Intereſt at 3*d.* *per Cent. per Diem*, (being 3*l.* 10*d.* *per Ann.*) Beſides which, the Bank were to have (for Circulation) a further Intereſt of 3*l.* *per Cent.* Which Bills were iſſued accordingly upon their laſt Funds.

But in the Middle of this Act there is inſerted a ſhort Proviſo, That the Bank ſhould not be obliged to pay theſe Bills, till they had paſſed through the Publick Revenue; after which they were called *Specie-Bills.*

8 *Anne.* The Bank agreed to circulate 400,000*l.* more of the like Bills on the ſame Fund, and at the ſame Intereſt; making together 2,900,000*l.* with further Bills for Intereſt till the Commencement of the Fund.

9 *Anne.* Reciting the Proviſo, 7 *Anne*, *That the Bills ſhould not be payable by the Bank, till they had paſſed through the Revenue:* It is enacted, that for paying them as well before as after, the Bank ſhould have 45,000*l.* *per Ann.* more, till a Million of the Bills ſhould be cancelled.

12 *Anne.* Reciting that the Bills iſſued for the Intereſt to *Lady Day* 1713. amounted to 480,312*l.* 10*s.* It is enacted, That 1,200,000*l.* more of like Bills, on the ſame Fund and Intereſt, ſhould be circulated by the Bank (as the former) for which they had 8000*l.* *per Ann.* more added to the 45,000*l.* making 53,000*l.* *per Ann.* for Circulation, over and above the 3*l.* *per Cent.* and 3*d.* *per Diem.*

All which makes the Intereſt payable by the Publick to be 7*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.* *per Cent.* on the preſent Exchequer Bills; the Total whereof, by Mr. *Lowndes*'s Account, is 4,643,433*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* ½.

Theſe Bills thus iſſued by the Exchequer to the Bank, and remaining in their Power, either to keep them in the Bank, and thereby gain the whole Intereſt upon them for the Company, or to iſſue them out for Payment of their own Bills: it doth appear in Fact, that they elect to pay their own Bills in Specie, rather than part with Exchequer-Bills for them. Nor will they give out any Exchequer-Bills for leſs Sums than 100*l.*

If therefore the Bank do thus maintain the Credit of their own Bills without any Intereſt upon them, and that their Creditors do rather keep thoſe Bills without Intereſt, than receive their Money in Specie; how much rather would the Creditors

Creditors accept Bills with Intereſt, and keep and transfer them from one to another for Lucre of the Intereſt, than bring them to the Bank for Payment?

From whence I hope it is already evident, That the Nature of the Eſſay for Payment of Debts by Bills at Intereſt is not notional or chimecal, but rational and practicable, and warranted by Uſage and Cuſtom.

But as to the Quantity eſſayed, it is not in me to give an Inventory, for the Bank, of all the Receipts and Payments (publick and private) that paſs through their Hands; and conſequently what is the Amount of their Credit, by all Bills ſtanding out againſt them, or what Sums they have in Caſh to anſwer them.

And much of this being occaſional and uncertain, there is no certain Account to be given of it.

But from Conſideration of the Publick Funds granted to themſelves, and their Manner of purchaſing the ſame with Bills, and their maintaining the Credit of the ſame Bills; there may be a Gueſs taken, and a Compariſon made, how, and in what Quantities the ſame, or other Funds, may be repurchaſed or redeemed with like Bills.

And if the Bank in their firſt Creation (under a Juncture of Difficulties) did eſteem 300,000*l.* in Specie ſufficient for maintaining the Credit of 1,200,000*l.* of their own Bills iſſued at 3 *per Cent.*

It is no falſe Arithmetick to compute thereupon, that two Million in Specie will now maintain the Credit of eight Millions in Exchequer-Bills iſſued at the ſame Intereſt, with an addition of a Currency in the Revenue, which their Bills then had not.

And ſhould the Eſſay be advanced no farther than for eight Millions, even that in Length of time would redeem the whole twenty Millions; *viz.*

Taking the Medium of Intereſt on the preſent perpetual Funds to be 6 *per Cent.*

	l.
The Intereſt on eight Millions is	480,000
The farther Sum annually paid for Circulation of Exchequer-Bills	53,000
Preſent annual Payments	533,000
Intereſt of this eight Millions at 3*l.*	240,000
Intereſt of two Millions on new Funds	120,000
	360,000
Annually gained	173,000
Add to this the Surplus of the laſt Fund to the Bank	270,999
Remaining for annual Diſcharge of Principal	443,999

This being the Calculation of Gain by Redemption of eight Millions only, it may be further conſidered whether it is not probable that the whole twenty Millions may be thus redeemed.

And remembering that from the firſt Succeſs of the Bank One Hundred Thouſand Pounds (or leſs) had been ſufficient to have maintained the Credit of

their 1,200,000*l.* in Bills at 3 *per Cent.* in Caſe they had continued them at that Intereſt.

And that the Bank have ſince advanced their Credit for vaſt Sums on their own Bills without Intereſt, and hereby alſo drawn in their Bills at Intereſt; it doth not ſeem any falſe Computation in Arithmetick, to ſuppoſe that two Millions in Specie will maintain the Credit of twenty Millions in Bills, carrying an Intereſt of 3 *per Cent.* nor that it can be any Hazard (upon calling in the two Millions on the new Fund) forthwith to iſſue out eight Millions in Bills at 3 *per Cent.* for diſcharging ſo much of the preſent Funds: The Succeſs whereof would give the Parliament a Specimen for all the reſt.

But am not I, all this while, reckoning without my Hoſt?

For though the Eſſay itſelf ſhould ſeem feaſible, if the Bank ſhould think themſelves *Felones de ſe*, in executing it, by redeeming their own Funds (on which they now receive ſo large an Intereſt) can any one expect that they ſhould ſerve the Publick at their own Expence?

I do not expect they either ſhould or ought; nor am I propheſying *what the Bank will do*, but eſſaying to ſhew *what they may do.*

The Bank of *England* are a thinking Body, and do not want me to think for them.

And if they think that the Uſe of two Millions in their Bank, and ſo much of the 3 *per Cent.* on the Bills, (given out for Redemption of other Funds) as will fall to the Share of the Bank in circulating them, will more than anſwer any Loſs by Redemption of their own Funds; then their own Intereſt would ſeem to lead them into the Thing.

But if they ſhould be of Opinion in the Negative, then I deſire to be *called and nonſuited.* For they being (in this Cauſe) both Judge and Jury, I would not ſtand a Verdict againſt their Opinion.

But though I muſt not *think for them*, I hope it is no Offence to *think of them.* (A Cat may look on a King.)

And this is one of my Thoughts of them, That if they would exert their Credit for the Redemption of theſe Funds, in like manner as they have done for the Purchaſe of their own, they would thereby render themſelves *really* (what they are now *nominally*) *the Bank of* England.

And would well intitle themſelves to a Perpetuity of their Bank and original Fund, *Quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint*; and no honeſt Man deſires to hold his Office by any better Title.

And being thus united to the Landed Intereſt, theſe Bills would be as current in the Rents of the Subjects, as the preſent Bills are in the Revenues of the Crown.

And this would do them no hurt; for though none but monied Men can pay Bills, landed Men may receive them.

But for Fear of the Wits falling upon me as a *Land-Bank Man* (*from whence, Libera nos Domine*) I will touch no farther upon that String.

But if the Bank would do their Part in this, where is the two Millions?

I wiſh it were come to that. And if there were no other Fund to be found, but a perpetual Land-Tax of Three-pence in the Pound redeemable, the Landlords would be no Loſers by it, in Caſe they and their Tenants might thereupon be immediately

immediately discharged of the *Window-Tax* now payable to the Bank. Which the Parliament might do, by directing that Fund to be first redeemed.

This Tax hath galled and disgusted the Subjects more than one other; and especially since they esteem it a Re-Imposition (by a new Name) of the *Hearth-Money:* from which (*as a Badge of Slavery*) they were released by King *William* and Queen *Mary*, in their first Parliament.

Nor doth the Change of the Name seem to better the Case, but rather makes the Tax more unnatural.

The former being a Tax *upon Lights kindled by Man*, but the present a Tax *upon the Lights of Heaven.*

A *Simon Magus Tax*, farming out the Gifts of God for Money.

Whereas *Diogenes* in his Tub demanded it as a natural Right from the Conqueror of the World, *To stand out of the Sun*, and not take that from him which he could not give to him.

And though the Excises on Food and Raiment may be at bottom as extensive and universal as this Window-Tax; yet they being not so visible, are paid more insensibly, and with a less Eye-sore to the People: (*for what the Eye cannot see, the Heart doth not rue*).) I can walk all Day long with a Hole in my Stocking (very well contented) if I myself do not know it, nor any one else tells me of it. *Non videmus id manticæ quod a tergo est.*

And having an entire Confidence in his Majesty's sincere Intentions, of gaining the Affection of all his Subjects, and in the Resolutions of the Legislature to execute those Intentions: I have presumed to quote the Commencement of this Tax, and to mention a Release of it in the first Annal of his Reign, as what would leave a grateful Impression of him, upon the Minds of all his Subjects, and give them Occasion to make a pleasing Recognition (within themselves) of the Choice of their Representatives in his first Parliament.

To whom I make my last Apology, as seeming to dictate (if I do seem.)

But far be that from me!

I am but a Passenger, telling a Tale I have met with in my Travels.

In which I am the Reverse of other Quacks, for *I profess a publick Way of Practice to be my Way.*

Nor have I said any thing, but what any one else did or might know before.

However, perhaps it is no hurt to know it over again.

Running to and fro, seems to be the posture of Children and Madmen, rather than of Students or Philosophers.

And yet there is a saying, that Knowledge shall increase by it; *Many shall run to and fro, and Knowledge shall be increased.*

For that, by traversing the same Ground over and over again, we may chance to find something we had not before observed.

Knowledge is easy to him that understandeth.

When the Fact is truly stated by one, the Conclusions upon it are the easier to be made by others.

Nor do I esteem myself (for starting these Facts) above the Degree of an Almanack Maker; venting some Memorandums of common Things, to help the Memories of Men of more *superior Genius*, whose greater Affairs do not admit them to keep those Accounts themselves: *Non vacant exiguis.*

Therefore though nothing that I have ſaid ſhould be received, if ſomething of it be but remembered, it is as much as one of my Trade can expect.

And then though the Eſſay be rejected, the Abſtract may ſtand for an old Almanack.

But if any of my Readers ſhould be ſo angry, as to ſtrike them both out, becauſe I made them:

I humbly deſire the Favour of them (on Behalf of the Printer) to let the Apology ſtand; being what (I fancy) he chiefly depends on.

An APPENDIX *for Exchange of a Revenue in* Ireland.

SINCE I am playing the Fool, I will have my Game out, by traverſing from *Great-Britain* to *Ireland*.

In 1650. Upon the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. he gratified the Subjects in what they had ſo long deſired, by giving his royal Aſſent to an Act for exchanging the Tenures *in Capite* of Lands in *England* held of the Crown, for an hereditary Exciſe then granted to the Crown in lieu thereof, and which is ſtill continuing.

In 1663. A Court of Claims was erected in *Ireland*, for all Lands ſeized and ſequeſtered on account of the Rebellion there in 1641.

And it is ſaid, that all the Lands that paſſed that Court were 6,883,846 Acres.

In *Leinſter*	4*d.* ½	*per* Acre.
In *Munſter*	3*d.* ½	
In *Connaught*	2*d.* ½	
In *Ulſter*		

Theſe Quit-Rents lying hard upon the Whole, and on many of the barren Lands, exceeding the yearly Values thereof; King *Charles* II. by ſeveral Letters Patents reduced the ſame ſo far, that the whole now remaining (by the Accounts I have had) is about 60,000*l. per Ann.*

And theſe Quit-Rents being firſt charged on each Eſtate in groſs, and ſeveral Parts of thoſe Eſtates being ſince ſold, the ſame hath occaſioned Difficulties in the Appertionment, and frequent Diſtreſſes and Oppreſſions on the Tenants; from whence the Proprietors of the Lands have long deſired to have their Lands diſcharged of this Rent.

And though I never heard any mention made by others of an Exchange for them.

By the Act of Settlement (or Explanation) afterwards paſſed in *Ireland*, there was impoſed a Quit-Rent (out of thoſe Lands) to the Crown by way of Acridge, *viz.*

Yet

Yet I have heard that mention made of them, that induced me to believe, That if his Majeſty, with his Parliament of *Great Britain* (for he cannot without them) will be pleaſed to accept of an Equivalent for that Revenue, the Parliament in *Ireland* would grant an hereditary Exciſe or Cuſtom to the Crown in lieu thereof.

And that ſuch an Exchange would be very grateful and acceptable to the Subjects of that Kingdom.

And therefore I have vented my own Thought of it. In which I ſpeak feelingly (as a Party concerned.)

But yet I ſpeak fooliſhly, without Commiſſion.

However, having broached it, I will leave it to *run to and fro itſelf*; by which perhaps it may fall into better Hands.

And having thus hinted this, I will hint one Thing more with it.

22 *Feb.* 1688. King *William* ſent a Declaration to *Ireland*, That the forfeited Eſtates there ſhould be diſtributed to them that ſhould be aiding in the Reduction of that Kingdom.

In this Reduction, the Garriſons of *Londonderry* and *Enniskilling* were the moſt ſignal, and have ever ſince had repeated Aſſurances of Recompence from the Crown.

But the forfeited Eſtates in *Ireland* being afterwards diveſted out of the Crown by the Parliament of *England*, and ſold for the Satisfaction of other Debts;

The Demands of thoſe Garriſons have ever ſince been applied for to the Parliament of *Great Britain*.

And the Commiſſioners appointed by her late Majeſty, for ſtating the Debts in King *William*'s Reign, reported their Arrears of Pay to be 195,091 *l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*

In 1711. From which Return the Chairman of a Committee of the Houſe of Commons made a Report of the ſame to the Houſe.

But by reaſon of the Continuance of the War, no farther Application was made for Payment during the laſt Reign.

Now if his Majeſty and his Parliament of *Great-Britain* will be pleaſed to accept of ſuch an Exchange for the Quit-Rents in *Ireland*, and will admit of a ſmall collateral Thing, (rather a Kindneſs than a Prejudice to the Subjects of *Great Britain*) perhaps the Subjects of *Ireland* would ſubmit to eaſe the Subjects of *Great Britain* from the Demand of thoſe Garriſons, by making ſome Proviſion for the ſame in *Ireland*.

But I alſo ſpeak this fooliſhly, without Commiſſion, and therefore will not farther explain it, unleſs I meet with better Authority than my own.

However, be that as it will, the Demands of theſe Garriſons cannot now remain much longer unſatisfied (one way or other) without treating them as Malignants, for being the firſt that ſtood to their Arms in Defence of the Proteſtant Intereſt in *Ireland*; and thereby facilitated that Revolution, which introduced the *Hanover* Succeſſion to the Crown.

A Short STATE *of the* WAR *and the* PEACE.

THE Grand Alliance was concluded on the Firſt of *September*, 1701, and the main Deſign of it appears from the Words of the Second Article, *viz.*

His Sacred Imperial Majeſty, His Sacred Royal Majeſty of Great Britain, *and the* States-General, *deſiring nothing more earneſtly than the Peace and general Quiet of all* Europe, *have judged, That nothing can be more effectual for the Eſtabliſhment thereof, than the procuring* an Equitable and Reaſonable Satisfaction *to his Imperial Majeſty for* his Pretenſion to *the* Spaniſh *Succeſſion*; *and, That the King of* Great Britain *and the* States-General, *may obtain a particular and ſufficient Security for their Kingdoms, Provinces, and Dominions, and for the Navigation and Commerce of their Subjects.*

In purſuance of this Agreement the War was proclaimed, and with theſe Views was carried on to the Year 1706. The annual Charge of this Nation, and the Progreſs of the Increaſe of that Charge may be ſeen in the following Account.

The Expence of the War come to in the Year,

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
1702	3,706,494	02	10 ½
1703	3,898,066	13	10 ¾
1704	4,444,947	04	01 ½
1705	5,087,783	07	01
1706	5,693,529	08	10 ¼

It pleaſed God to bleſs the Arms of her late Majeſty, and of her Allies, with ſo many ſignal Victories, during theſe five Years, eſpecially in the laſt of them, *viz.* 1706, that the great End of undertaking this War, ſo clearly expreſſed in the above-mentioned Article, ſeemed to have been fully anſwered, and the Power of the Enemy reduced to a juſt Balance.

On the 21*ſt* of *October* 1706, the Elector of *Bavaria*, in the Name of the *French* King, propoſed to open a Treaty of Peace, but this Offer was rejected.

The Eſtimate of the War amounted to, in the Year,

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
1707	6,180,413	18	02 ½
1708	6,381,926	06	01 ¼
1709	6,713,645	05	04 ¾
1710	6,734,043	09	11
1711	6,851,468	16	07 ¾

The Reader will obſerve, That the Charge of the Year 1702, was a great deal ſhort of Four Millions, and that in the Year 1711, it amounted to near double that Sum; and there was likewiſe a Debt incurred of near Eight Millions; yet

yet the Revenues of *England* were under ſuch Anticipations, that ſhe was not able to raiſe, within the Compaſs of one Year, above 2,500,000 *l.* over and above ſuch Funds as were given for paying Intereſt.

The Proportion of Forces to be furniſhed by *England* and *Holland* for the War of *Flanders*, was thus adjuſted, *viz.* *England* to furniſh two Parts of five by Land, and *Holland* the other three; by Sea *England* was to furniſh five Parts of eight, and *Holland* the other three. The Quota's were thus ſettled by the late King *William*, as Mr. Secretary *Vernon* acquainted the Houſe of Commons, by his Order.

From the Year 1702 to 1711 *, both incluſive, ſuch were the Deficiencies of the Allies, that *England* was obliged to furniſh above this Quota, the Sum of Twenty Millions.

The Princes of the Empire being required to pay their Quota, according to the Conſtitution of the Empire, they alledged their Inability, by pleading, that their Men were already engaged in the Service of *England*; ſo that all this while we actually paid thoſe Men, who were otherwiſe, by previous Contract, obliged to ſerve in the common Cauſe: On the other ſide, the *Dutch* alledged, That they were under no other Obligation than to exert their Strength *totis viribus*, and by Conſequence, that they alone were the Judges how far it was proper or convenient for them to exert that Strength.

It is to be obſerved, That *Great Britain* thus exceeded her Proportion, though ſhe neither did, nor was it poſſible for her to gain any thing by a Land-War: At the ſame time the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which had made ſuch a prodigious Acquiſition as that of the Electorates of *Bavaria* and *Cologn*, and ſeveral other Territories in the Empire; of the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Dutchies of *Milan*, *Mirandola*, &c. in *Italy*; which Countries were thought ſufficiently able to maintain 90,000 Men; and the *Dutch*, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of *Flanders*, and received all Contributions to their own Uſe, were ſtill defective.

Great Britain then being burthened above her natural Strength, and having Two hundred forty four thouſand and twenty Men in Pay, was fallen under an immenſe Debt, the annual Intereſt whereof amounted to three Millions, for Payment of which Intereſt the Nation laboured under a general Exciſe, excepting Bread and Fleſh; the Duties applied in former times to the Support of the Government, and many more ſince laid, in the courſe of two long Wars, were alienated for the Payment of the aboveſaid Intereſt; ſo that the Taxes on Land and Malt, which every Body underſtood to be for extraordinary Uſes only, were now to be applied to the Maintenance of ſuch Ships and Guards as ſhould be neceſſary, even in time of Peace, and are therefore, in effect, perpetual: (What would be our Reſource in caſe of new Wars, is dreadful to imagine;) whereas, if Peace had been made in 1706, at which time the End propoſed by the Declaration of War was fully anſwered, and good Conditions offered, the Nation would have ſaved above thirty two Millions.

Between the Years 1706 and 1712, we made ſome Conqueſts in *Flanders* and *Italy:* On the other hand we loſt two great Battles in *Spain*, the laſt of which was deciſive; for by the taking of our Troops at *Brihuega*, which cauſed the Rout

* Vide *Repreſentation of the Houſe of Commons* 1712.

of *Villa Vicioſa*, the War was in a manner extinguiſhed on that Side, ſo that the Affairs of the Confederacy in general, were in a worſe Situation in 1712, than they were in 1706.

Monſieur *Meſnager* was in *Holland* moſt part of the Years 1707 and 1708, and converſed with ſeveral of the *Dutch* Miniſters, upon the Propoſals he brought with him from *France*, by the Connivance and with the Privity of the States-General; as Monſieur *Callieres* had formerly done in the Years 1695 and 1696. It is likewiſe notorious to the World, that when Articles of Peace were concerted at *Gertruydenberg*, thoſe Conferences were held by the *French* and *Dutch*, without the Intervention of the reſt of the Allies; for when the Imperial Plenipotentiary inſiſted, that he had a right to be preſent, the *Dutch* refuſed to admit him; and when he complained to Prince *Eugene* of this Treatment, he received an Order from his Highneſs, to follow the Example of the *Britiſh* Miniſter, whoſe Miſtreſs, he ſaid, tho' ſhe contributed more to the War than any of the Allies, did, however, reſign herſelf ſo entirely to the Wiſdom of the States-General, that ſhe truſted them alone with that Preliminary Negotiation.

At this Time the *French* laboured under great Difficulties, by reaſon of the Famine in their Country, and the Diſorder of their Finances, and therefore made conſiderable Offers; among others, to give up the Monarchy of *Spain* and the *Indies*, as may be ſeen by the printed Accounts of the Proceedings there. It is further to be obſerved, that whilſt this Treaty was on Foot, all Action in *Flanders* was ſuſpended.

In 1711, the *French* were recovered from the Effects of the Famine; and the extraordinary Demand made by the Allies, that the *French* King ſhould himſelf make War upon his Grandſon, raiſed ſuch a Spirit of Reſentment and Indignation in his People, that they chearfully ſubmitted to the *Dixme Royal*, which alone could retrieve the ill Condition of his Finances; and which the *French* Court, until that Time, did not think ſafe to impoſe on them; a general Belief did then prevail in the *French* Nation, that the Allies had no other View in inſiſting that the King ſhould act ſo unnatural a Part, but in order to break off the Treaty, and perpetuate the War.

The breaking off this Treaty was *indeed fatal*, for it was ſoon followed by the Misfortunes in *Spain*, which left King *Philip* entirely Maſter of that Monarchy.

In the ſame Year, *viz.* 1711, the Emperor *Joſeph* died, the Hereditary Countries devolved on King *Charles*, the only ſurviving Prince of the Male Line of *Auſtria*, who was likewiſe choſen Emperor; upon which the King of *Pruſſia*, and other Princes of the Empire, the King of *Portugal*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, declared they would never conſent that the ſame Perſon ſhould be Emperor and King of *Spain*; the *Dutch* were likewiſe of this Sentiment, for when an Article was propoſed by *England* to be inſerted in the *Barrier Treaty*, that no Peace ſhould be made, till the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy was reduced to the Obedience of the *Auſtrian* Family, the States-General ſtruck it out of the counter Project, tho' agreed to by the Queen in Council, and ſtrongly recommended to my Lord *Townſend* by Mr. Secretary *Boyle:* And that they have proceeded always upon this Maxim, appears from the following Clauſe of the ſecond Partition Treaty, entered into by King *William* and the States, on the third of *March*, 1700, *viz.*

That

That the Kingdom of Spain, *and the* Indies, *ſhall never be united, nor belong to the Perſon of him who ſhall be Emperor or King of the* Romans.

In Conformity to the Senſe of this Article, and to the univerſal Conſent of the Allies, *who would not, nor ever have yielded, that a King of* Spain *ſhould be Emperor of* Germany, her late Majeſty wrote to the ſeveral Electors in favour of King *Charles*, in ſo ſtrong Terms, that he has ſince owned her Goodneſs in his Behalf, as what was moſt eſſential towards raiſing him to the Imperial Dignity.

The Campaign of 1711 paſſed without any conſiderable Action, and the *Dutch* refuſed to contribute towards the Expence of Barracks and Forage; by which the Projects for quartering the whole Confederate Horſe under the Cannon of the Frontier Towns, and making Incurſions from thence, into the Heart of *France*, during the Winter, as well as opening the Campaign early in 1712, were entirely fruſtrated.

Things being in this Situation, that is to ſay, all Treaties for Peace being broke off, and the Meaſures that would moſt probably have reduced the Enemy meeting with Oppoſition from our Allies, her Majeſty thought it proper not to refuſe a Paſſport, which the *French* King deſired for a Perſon whom he intended to ſend with Propoſals of Peace. The Paſſport was accordingly diſpatched, and Monſieur *Meſnager* came hither inveſted with the Character of Plenipotentiary, and with a Letter from the *French* King, acknowledging her late Majeſty Queen of *Great-Britain*; having, at the ſame Time, acquainted the *States-General, that he did intend to addreſs himſelf to the Queen on that Subject.* Her Majeſty received that Perſon favourably, and ordered her Miniſters to hear his Propoſals. In Obedience to her Orders, they conferred with him, and in ſome Time, general Articles were agreed to, by which the *French* King was obliged to give Satisfaction to all the Allies; the Points relating to *England*, were likewiſe adjuſted, and were to take Effect in caſe that Satisfaction was given, and a general Peace concluded, not otherwiſe; for the late Queen was free from any Obligation whatſoever to the *French* King.

Purſuant to theſe Articles, which had been communicated to the Confederates, conformable to the Grand Alliance, a Treaty was opened at *Utrecht*, by their unanimous Conſent and Approbation, in *January* 1712: And notwithſtanding the great Obſtructions given to it, was happily concluded *March* 31, 1713; all Care having been taken to prevent the Union of the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, that the Nature of the Caſe would admit of, ſince there was but one Prince of the Male-Line of the Houſe of *Auſtria* now alive; and that the Powers abovementioned had determined, that the *Spaniſh* Crown ſhould never be united to the *Imperial*; ſpeedy Meaſures were therefore taken for paſſing the Acts of Renunciation, which would not have ſo eaſily been obtained, if King *Philip* had been in actual Poſſeſſion of the Dignity of Dauphin of *France*; and the great Mortality among the Princes of that Houſe gave juſt Reaſon to apprehend that ſuch a Thing might happen.

Whilſt this Treaty was depending, a Ceſſation of Arms was proclaimed for two Months, as had been uſually practiſed in the like Caſes, leſt any Event of War might interrupt the Courſe of the Negotiation; but that even thoſe two Months might not be fruitleſs, the Queen inſiſted, and it was granted, that *Dunkirk* ſhould be immediately delivered into her Hands, the Demolition whereof being

being of great Importance to *England*. She had formerly propoſed *it might be made an Article of the Barrier-Treaty, but the* Dutch *rejected it*. Her Majeſty had all the Reaſon in the World to ſecure this Point of *Dunkirk*, by a Treaty, ſince it was not to be obtained by Action; for in the Compaſs of Fifteen Campaigns in the two laſt Wars, the States could never be prevailed with to aſſiſt in any way towards the Siege of that Town, *alledging it would be the Work of two Years*.

The Peace of *Utrecht* may be ſaid to have been as general as any that was ever made, for all the Parties in the War ſigned their Peace with *France* on the ſame Day, excepting the Emperor and the Empire.

Here it is to be obſerved, *That the Emperors of* Germany *have not made Peace at* Ryſwick, Nimeguen, *or any other Congreſs, at the ſame Time with the reſt of their Allies*; leſt the Princes and States of the Empire, who, as Sovereigns, have a Right to aſſiſt at ſuch Conferences, ſhould by that means have an Opportunity to juſtify their particular Claims: It has therefore been an eſtabliſhed Maxim of the Imperial Family, to put off the ſigning of their Treaties of Peace for ſome Time, that the Members of the Empire may be under the Neceſſity of ſubmitting their Pretenſions to the *Imperial* Diet, where the Emperor has more immediate Influence and Authority.

That this Peace was beneficial to *Great-Britain*, will appear from the following Conſiderations.

Firſt, That ſeveral Advantages were obtained for this Nation above what had been ever aſked before in our Behalf, either at the *Hague*, or at *Gertruydenburg*, *viz.* * *Hudſon's-Bay*, Part of the Iſland of St. *Chriſtophers*, all *Nova Scotia*, or *Arcadia*, with the City of *Port-Royal*, now called *Annapolis-Royal*, the Iſland of *Minorca*, the Town and Caſtle of *Gibraltar*, and the *Aſſiento* Trade. Add to this, that more ample Proviſion hath been made for the Freedom, Rights, and Immunities of the *Britiſh* Subjects, than will be found in any former Treaty whatſoever.

Secondly, From the Encreaſe of our Shipping, and the Improvements of our Trade, which will appear from the following Abſtract, faithfully collected out of the Publick Regiſters.

Ships Outward-Bound, and Cleared from the ſeveral Ports of England.

For the Years.	1710.	1711.	1712.	1713.	1714.
Encreaſe of Shipping.	N°. 3,550	N°. 3,759	N°. 4,267	N°. 5,807	N°. 6,614
Encreaſe of Shipping *a Lond.*	806	907	1,055	1,446	1,550

* Note, *Treaty of* Breda, 1667, *Art.* 10. *Lord* Hollis *and Mr.* Coventry, *yielded up* Nova Scotia *to* France. *Treaty between* England *and* France, *for ſettling Peace in* America, 1686, *ſigned by the Lords* Sunderland *and* Godolphin, *yielded up* Newfoundland *and* Nova Scotia, *Art. 4th and 5th.*

Ex-

Exportation of Woollen Manufactures.

Species of Goods.	Flannels, Perpets, Serges and Stuffs Exported from *Chriſtmas* 1708 to *Chriſtmas* 1709.	Flannels, Perpets, Serges and Stuffs Exported from *Chriſtmas* 1713 to *Chriſtmas* 1714.	Encreaſe of the Year 1714 more than the Year 1709.
Total of Flannels,	668,726 Yds.	993,166 Yds.	324,539 ½ Yds.
Perpets and Serges,	492,295	1,531,272	1,038,977
Stuffs.	795,199	2,076,779	1,281,580

Lead Exported.

From *Chriſtmas* 1709, to *Chriſtmas* 1710.		From *Chriſtmas* 1713, to *Chriſtmas* 1714.	
Exported in *Engliſh.*	Foreign	Exported in *Engliſh.*	Foreign
Tun C. qrs. *l.*	Tun C. qrs.	Tun C. qrs. *l.*	Tun C. qrs. *l.*
10633 : 9 : 2 : 25	2290 : 11 : 30	15,525 : 11 : 0 : 18	2088 : 7 : 3 : 14

F I S H.

	The Amount of the Exportation of Fiſh for the Years 1709, 1710, and 1711.	For the Years 1712, 1713, and 1714.	The Increaſe of the Years 1712, 1713, and 1714, more than the Years 1709, 1710, and 1711.
Total	149,514 Barrels.	319,296 Barrels.	169,782 Barrels.

Memorandum, To this may be added, the great Importation of Bullion into theſe Kingdoms, as well as the Riſe of Exchange in our Favour, ſince the laſt Peace.

By what has been already ſaid, it is believed the Reader is convinced it was abſolutely neceſſary for the *Britiſh* Nation to have Peace, and that the Terms of the Peace ſhe had were advantageous to herſelf and her Allies; who are ſo far convinced that the Ends of the Grand Alliance are anſwered, and the Power of their former Enemy brought within due Bounds, that they have no farther Apprehenſions from him, but think themſelves at Liberty to conteſt with each other for Dominion.

The Satisfaction her late Majeſty had in this Negotiation, has been ſignified in Speeches from the Throne to two Parliaments ſucceſſively; that thoſe two Parliaments approved all the Steps taken in it, will be ſeen by their Votes; and that the Opinion of their Repreſentatives was confirmed and approved by the whole Nation, is evident from their ſeveral Addreſſes.

Here it is not improper to take Notice, that the Parliament declined entring into any Diſquiſition of the Treaties of *Ryſwick* and *Limerick*, tho' *Hudſon's-Bay* was given up by the former; the *Popiſh* Religion re-eſtabliſhed, with all its Privileges and Immunities, and the *French* Armies ſupplied with their beſt Troops by the latter.

By

By the Laws of this Kingdom, the Power of making Peace and War is veſted in the Sovereign; if then the Command of the Sovereign, after mature Deliberation in Council, and I may add, by the previous Conſent of her Allies, followed by the Approbation of two Parliaments, be not ſufficient Juſtification to Miniſters employed in a Treaty, acting againſt no known Law, nor charged with any Corruption, whoſe Life, whoſe Property is ſafe in *Great-Britain?* And where are the Liberties of thoſe People, who upon any Change of Adminiſtration, may be made a Sacrifice to private Reſentments?

The Queen, attended by both Houſes of Parliament, by all her Great Officers, by the City, and attended by the univerſal Acclamations of her Subjects, made a ſolemn Thankſgiving to Almighty God, in the Name of herſelf, and her People, for the Bleſſing of a Peace, happy and beneficial to them, and to her Allies.

The DEBTS of the Nation ſtated and conſidered in Four Papers, *viz.* I. A LETTER to a Friend concerning the Publick Debts, particularly that of the Navy. II. A State of the Five and Thirty Millions mentioned in a Report of a Committee of the Houſe of Commons. III. An ESTIMATE of the Debt of Her Majeſty's Navy, on the Heads hereafter mentioned, as it ſtood on the 30th of *September* laſt, with what thereof has and will be ſatisfied by the *South-Sea* Stock, purſuant to the late Act of Parliament in that Behalf, and what remains of the ſaid Debt on the ſaid 30th of *September* to be diſcharged: With Obſervations thereupon. IV. A brief Account of the Debts provided for by the *South-Sea* Act, and the Times when they were incurred: With ſome ſhort Obſervations. 1712.

A LETTER *to a Friend, concerning the* Publick Debts, *particularly that of the* Navy.

THE Reports of *Miſmanagement*, *Miſapplication* and *Embezzlement* of the Publick Money, have ſo generally prevailed in the Nation, that I do not wonder you ſhould deſire to be informed of the ſeveral Facts from which theſe Charges are drawn againſt the late Miniſters. Nor was I more ſurprized to find that the Debts of the Kingdom, with the Cauſes and Methods of contracting them, were made the chief Subject of Complaint and Cenſure; ſince no

no greater Crime can be imputed to any Miniſtry than a corrupt Management, or Profuſion of the Publick Treaſure. In order therefore to anſwer your Enquiry, and to ſet this Matter in a true Light, I will examine the ſeveral Articles that make up this great *Debt*; ſetting forth, at the ſame time, the extraordinary Expences which have been made, and the particular Services which have been performed. By this View of the whole, you will be able to judge how far thoſe Expences and Services were occaſioned by *abſolute Neceſſity, and the Good of the Publick*; or required *by the Authority of Parliament:* and, conſequently, how far the late Adminiſtration can be juſtified.

You know, *Sir*, the Debt of the Nation conſiſts of ſeveral Parts: But becauſe *that of the Navy* amounts to the greateſt Sum, and is ſuppoſed to have chiefly affected the Credit, I will firſt preſent you with a State of that Article, and ſubmit it to your impartial Conſideration. And I promiſe you that nothing ſhall be mentioned in this plain Account, that is not grounded upon Matters of Fact, or upon authentick Certificates, called for by the Houſe of Commons for their Information, and laid before them by the proper Officers.

But before I enter upon the particular Examination of this Debt, as it now ſtands, I beg leave to offer ſome general Conſiderations for the better explaining this Affair: And theſe ſhall relate chiefly to the *Manner* in which the Parliament grants Money for that Service, and to the ſeveral Heads of *Expence* that have occaſioned the Increaſe of this Debt.

Firſt, It is very well known that, in the Committee of Supply, the Method of giving Money for the Uſe of the Navy is different from the manner of providing for the Land-Service. In the latter Caſe exact Eſtimates of the whole Expence are given in to the Parliament; according to thoſe Eſtimates the reſpective Sums are granted; and purſuant to them Eſtabliſhments are made, regulating the whole Expence of the Army, and ſubject to no Alteration or Enlargement. But the annual Proviſion of the Navy is made by granting a general Sum, not adjuſted or limited by any particular Eſtimate, but by Computation. For inſtance, It is ſuppoſed that Four Pounds a Month for every Man will anſwer all the Expences upon the ſeveral Heads, except what is called the *Ordinary of the Navy:* And the Money given is more properly to be underſtood in the nature of a Sum granted upon Account, than as a Sum fixed and limited, which is not in any Inſtance to be exceeded. For tho' what is annually given ſhould be the Rule and Meaſure of that Year's Expence, as far as it can poſſibly be complied with; yet it will appear, upon Conſideration, utterly impracticable to make the Expence exactly anſwer to the Proviſion made by Parliament.

The Sums granted for the Navy, during this War, have not been every Year the ſame, tho' the Difference has not been great: But in order to ſtate the Method of computing the Annual Charge, it will be neceſſary to fix upon one certain Sum: And what has moſt frequently been granted, is, *Two Millions Two Hundred Thouſand Pounds*, for maintaining Forty Thouſand Men imployed in the Sea-Service, including Eight Thouſand Marines. This Proviſion is made at the rate of Four Pounds a Month for every Man: And the Proportions ſuppoſed to be allotted to each particular Head of Expence, are by Computation theſe:

l.	*s.*	*d.*			*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
1	07	0	a Man *per Menſem*,	For Wear and Tear,	702,000	00	0
1	10	0		For Wages,	780,000	00	0
0	19	0		For Victuals,	494,000	00	0
0	04	0		For Ordnance,	104,000	00	0
			And for the Ordinary		120,000	00	0
					2,200,000	00	0

By the nature of theſe Services it appears impoſſible, at firſt ſight, to fix and aſcertain the exact Expence upon any Head except that of Wages: For how can it be foreſeen, that the Loſs or Damage of Ships by Storms, or by the Enemy, ſhall be juſt ſo much in one Year, and no more, and that to rebuild or repair them ſhall not exceed the Sum given? This laſt Article of Expence can never be fixed, unleſs it were in the Power of the Parliament to ſet the Price upon all Naval Stores, and even to lower it as the Demand ſhould be greater. And the ſame thing is to be obſerved upon all kinds of Victualling, and Neceſſaries for the Ordnance. For this reaſon the Proviſion is made in Parliament by Computation, and not by Eſtimate; becauſe the Charge and Expence is ſuppoſed to be uncertain: But it is ſtill to be regulated by a good and frugal Management, and to be kept within bounds as much as is poſſible. And therefore it muſt be agreed on all hands, that if no more than Forty Thouſand Men had been employed on board the Fleet during the whole Courſe of this War: And if no extraordinary Services had been performed, which were not included in the Eſtimates of the Navy, and for which no other Proviſions were made; the Perſons, who have had the Care of the Navy, had been guilty of great Miſmanagement, in ſuffering the Debt to run to ſo great a height, and they had juſtly deſerved the ſevereſt Cenſure.

And this brings me to conſider, in the Second Place, the ſeveral *Heads of Expence* that have occaſioned the Increaſe of this Debt.

Firſt, it muſt be confeſſed that more than Forty Thouſand Men have been annually employed on board the Fleet for nine Years laſt paſt. The Perſons moſt converſant in theſe Affairs are of Opinion, that we have maintained in that Service near Three Thouſand Men a Year above the Forty Thouſand; computing at a Medium of all the Years: And the Charge of thoſe Three Thouſand Men extraordinary muſt needs have amounted in nine Years to a very great Sum.

Secondly, We ought to conſider the Nature and Extenſiveneſs of this War: The great Fleets that have been ſent into the *Mediterranean*, and kept abroad the whole Year: The Wear and Tear that a Winter-Campaign muſt occaſion, beyond what is ſuffered in the Summer-Seaſon only: The Expence of all Naval Stores for refitting and victualling our Ships in the foreign Ports of *Portugal*, *Spain* and *Italy*. Theſe and many more Reaſons might be given, to ſhew that the Computation of Four Pounds a Month for every Man, which was taken and ſettled from the Practice and Experience of former Wars, is by no means a full and adequate Proviſion for the Services performed in this. Eſpecially if we reflect that it was impoſſible to proſecute the War in *Spain* with ſo much Vigour as the

the Nation, and the Parliament required, without keeping a conſtant Superiority in the *Mediterranean*.

Theſe general Obſervations being made, I will now proceed to lay the Facts before you.

The Debt of the Navy now to be accounted for, is the Debt as it ſtood at *Michaelmas* Seventeen Hundred and Ten: Which by the Committee of the Houſe of Commons, appointed to ſtate and examine the Publick Debts, was reported to be *Five Millions One Hundred and Thirty Thouſand Five Hundred Thirty Nine Pounds, Five Shillings, and Five Pence*, excluſive of the Regiſter-Office. But ſince your Inquiry has reſpect only to the *late Miniſters*, and you deſire chiefly to be informed how far they are anſwerable or blameable for this Debt, it will be reaſonable to deduct from this great Sum, what was due and incurred before their Adminiſtration. It is well known that the Debt of the Navy is made up and ſtated but once in every Year, which is always done at *Michaelmas*; and that the greateſt Part of the Money, granted for the Service of each Year, is generally iſſued and expended about the middle of it. For this reaſon, ſince the late Lord Treaſurer, who is blamed for this great Debt, entered upon his Office, about the middle of the Year Seventeen Hundred and Two, by which time moſt of the Money given for that Year's Service had been iſſued; we muſt, in Juſtice to his Lordſhip, begin this Account from *Michaelmas* Seventeen Hundred and Two, which was the firſt time that the Debt was ſtated after he had the Care and Management of the Revenue.

The Debt then of the Navy at *Michaelmas* Seventeen Hundred and Two, as it was given in to the Houſe of Commons by the Commiſſioners of the Navy, was *One Million Eight Hundred Forty Nine Thouſand Four Hundred and Six Pounds, Five Shillings and Eight Pence:* But then we ſhould deduct the Debt of the Regiſter-Office as it then ſtood, which was *One Hundred Twenty Six Thouſand Seven Hundred Twenty Seven Pounds*; and that brings the former Sum to *One Million Seven Hundred Twenty Two Thouſand Six Hundred Seventy Nine Pounds, Five Shillings and Eight Pence*: which being incurred before he was employed, ought juſtly to be deducted from the groſs Debt.

In the next place we ſhould conſider, how much has been iſſued ſhort to the Navy of the *Two Millions, Two Hundred Thouſand Pounds*, which I have ſaid was near the Sum annually voted for that Service: And we ſhould alſo examine how ſuch Deficiencies did ariſe, and how far it was neceſſary or prudent to let them fall upon the Navy.

Firſt, It muſt be obſerved, that whatever is voted more in the Committee of Supply, than it afterwards raiſed in the Committee of Ways and Means, or whatever is received leſs in the Exchequer than the Sum at which the Grants are eſtimated in Parliament, proves a Deficiency, that muſt fall upon ſome part of the Publick Services intended thereby to be provided for. And I muſt inform you, that an authentick *Account of the Sums that have been voted, addreſſed for, or enacted, ſince her Majeſty's Reign, with the Grants for anſwering the ſame, and the Deficiencies thereupon*, has been delivered in to the Houſe of Commons: By which Account it appears, that after the Deductions of ſuch Sums, as were made good by ſubſequent Parliaments, the real Deficiency of the Funds in nine Years did amount to *One Million Eight Hundred and Sixty Nine Thouſand, One Hun-*

dred Eighty One Pounds: And that *One Million Four Hundred and Eleven Thousand and One Pounds, Nine Shillings, and Nine Pence Halfpenny*, did fall upon the Navy. And it must be allowed by all Persons that this Sum is to be deducted out of the Debt of the Navy, because if it had been duly supplied, the Debt would have been really so much less.

Secondly, It must be considered how far it was prudent or necessary to let so great a Proportion of the whole Deficiencies to be placed upon a single Head of the Navy. And here I cannot but enter so far into the Justification of the late Ministry, to confess to you freely, that, in my humble Opinion, those Deficiencies could have fallen no where else so well. You need not be told, that far the greatest Part of the other Publick Services admit of no Credit at all: Nor could any other Credit of any kind have been had at so easy Terms as in the Navy, or have so little effected the Publick. It is needless to say, that the Army can give no Credit; and after the happy Effects we have seen of an Army duly paid, every body must approve that Part of the Management, who does not repine at the constant Successes, which we must all allow were obtained under the late Ministry. The Seamen, who have Victuals and all things necessary supplied for them on board, can bear to wait some time for their Wages, but the Soldiers can never want their Subsistence. The Pay also of the Foreign Troops in her Majesty's Service must be punctually answered, and the Subsidies to Confederate Princes must be duly remitted, or the whole Alliance had been dissolved. Bills of Exchange must be exactly complyed with, or there would have been an End of Foreign Credit. And even at Home the Guards and Garrisons must have their Pay, or the Country would soon have felt the Effects of Free Quarter. It was therefore impossible that these necessary, immediate and unavoidable Services could bear any part of the Deficiencies: And if deficient Talleys had been struck and issued for them, the Discount upon those Talleys, and consequently the Loss to the Publick, would have been much greater than was known in the first nine Years of this War. At the same time it must be admitted further, in justification of the late Ministers, that the placing these Deficiencies chiefly upon the Navy, affected very little the Credit for many Years: Large Sums were constantly advanced, and almost forced upon the Government at Five or Six *per Cent.* at the highest: The Navy Bills carried but Six *per Cent.* Interest: and as long as the Course of the Navy was held to be sacred, and no new Distinctions were started between National and Parliamentary Credit, the Discount upon those Bills was only in proportion to the Remoteness and Distance of their Course of Payment. And I must here observe one thing more, in Justice to the late Ministry, That if any Man will take the Pains to trace the Discount upon Navy-Bills, from the Beginning of this War to *November* One Thousand Seven Hundred and Nine, the time when that *infamous Sermon* was preached in St. *Paul's*, he will find that the Discount upon Navy-Bills was never till then so high by Ten *per Cent.* as it is now, when we are told that the Credit is restored, and that effectual Provision is made for paying the Debts of the Nation.

I must needs therefore own to you my Opinion upon this Head, That since there was a real Deficiency in the Parliamentary Grants, which must fall somewhere, the late Ministers shewed good Management in placing it upon the Navy, where it least affected the Publick Credit, as I have already proved. This makes the

the Deduction above-mentioned, of *One Million Four Hundred and Eleven Thousand and One Pounds, Nineteen Shillings and Nine Pence Halfpenny*, to be juſt and reaſonable.

This, with the Sum before deducted, reduces the Debt to *One Million Nine Hundred Ninety Six Thouſand Eight Hundred Fifty Seven Pounds, Nineteen Shillings and Eleven Pence Halfpenny.*

The Sum laſt mentioned is properly the Debt that was incurred by the late Miniſtry: And I will now go on to ſhew you how much of that Debt was occaſioned by extraordinary Expences or Services for which no Proviſion was made; but which were underſtood by every Houſe of Commons to be abſolutely neceſſary; and moſt of them were directed by ſome Addreſs, or Act of Parliament.

The firſt Inſtance that I ſhall give you of a certain and known Expence for which no Proviſion was granted, is *the Intereſt* that has been paid upon Navy Bills. And tho' this was very low for ſome time, as I obſerved before, yet it has in nine Years amounted to the Sum of *Two Hundred and Forty Two Thouſand Six Hundred and Sixty Five Pounds, and Twelve Shillings:* The like Intereſt has been paid upon Victualling-Bills for the ſame time, amounting in the whole to the Sum of *Two Hundred and Nine Thouſand Two Hundred and Thirty Nine Pounds, Twelve Shillings and Six Pence.* Theſe Intereſts have been conſtantly paid together with the Bills, and were known all the while to be paid out of the Money granted annually for the current Service of the Navy: But no Proviſion was ever made to anſwer this additional and growing Charge.

Some Expences have been made by the Authority of Acts of Parliament, tho' no particular Proviſion was given for them: And of theſe we muſt diſpute the Neceſſity, tho' they happen to be the Exceedings of Parliamentary Grants. Of this kind are firſt the Rewards and Premiums mentioned in an Act, 3 & 4 *Annæ*, for encouraging the Importation of Naval Stores from *America*, and directed to be paid by the Commiſſioners of the Navy in particular Bills made out, and to be paid in Courſe. This has coſt the Publick *Eighteen Thouſand Pounds, Sixteen Shillings and Six Pence.*

Secondly, A Bounty to the Officers and Seamen of the Fleet, of *Five Pounds* a Head for all *French* Priſoners, given by an Act, 6 *Annæ.*

This was likewiſe charged on the Courſe of the Navy, and has amounted to the Sum of *Thirty Four Thouſand One Hundred Fifty Five Pounds.*

Thirdly, An Encouragement for raiſing Seamen for the Year One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Six, granted by an Act, 4 & 5 *Annæ.*

Purſuant to which there has been expended the Sum of *Four Thouſand Seven Hundred Twenty Nine Pounds, Ten Shillings and Five Pence.*

Other Expences have been occaſioned by Addreſſes of the Houſe of Commons; and it muſt alſo be allowed that theſe were neceſſary and unavoidable.

On the Firſt of *December*, One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Three, the Houſe of Commons addreſſed her Majeſty, that ſhe would pleaſe to give Orders for recruiting the Ships loſt in the Great Storm: And on the Third of *November* following, an Account of the extraordinary Expence upon that Head was preſented to the Houſe, amounting to the Sum of *One Hundred Thirty Four Thouſand Two Hundred Thirty Two Pounds.*

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On the ſame Day another Addreſs was made, That her Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to beſtow ſome Charity upon the Widows and Relations of the Officers and Seamen who periſhed in the Storm: Which was accordingly directed, and amounted to the Sum of *Fifteen Thouſand One Hundred Fifty Eight Pounds, and Eleven Pence.*

On the Second of *November*, One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Four, an Addreſs was made to the Queen, that ſhe would be pleaſed to give ſome particular Bounty and Rewards to the Officers and Seamen of the Fleet under the Command of Sir *George Rooke*, for their good Services againſt the *French* in the *Mediterranean:* And that Bounty coſt the Nation the Sum of *Thirty Thouſand Seven Hundred Seventy Seven Pounds, Thirteen Shillings and Five Pence.* Tho' theſe Expences were made in purſuance of the Addreſſes of Parliament, yet no Proviſion was ever granted for them.

There were ſome other Expences, for which no Money was given by Parliament: And yet they muſt be confeſſed to be neceſſary Conſequences of the other Parts of the Service.

The *One Hundred and Twenty Thouſand Pounds*, granted annually for the Ordinary of the Navy, has never anſwered the ſtanding Charge upon this Head, which has exceeded that Sum by at leaſt *Twenty*, and ſometimes *Thirty Thouſand Pounds* a Year; as appears by Accounts that have been every Year laid before the Parliament. And here it is obſervable, that tho' this be the only Eſtimate that is given in of any part of the Navy-Expence, yet the Parliament never made a full Proviſion for it; which is a new Inſtance that the Navy-Money is to be underſtood, as I ſaid before, only in the nature of a Sum given upon Account. And this is ſtill evident, when we conſider that in the Year One Thouſand ſeven Hundred and Four, no Sum at all was given for the Ordinary of the Navy: yet it could not be ſuppoſed that nothing was to be expended upon that Head, unleſs the Admiralty and Navy-Offices, with every Branch of them, were to ſtand ſtill for one Year, or the Officers were all to ſerve without Salaries. Upon this Head therefore, it muſt be confeſſed moſt reaſonable to make the uſual Allowance of one Year, which is *One Hundred and Twenty Thouſand Pounds.* And tho' the other Exceedings have been annually ſo high as I juſt now mentioned, yet becauſe I will in every Article keep within due Compaſs, I will compute them but at the rate of *Fourteen Thouſand Pounds per Annum*, which in nine Years amounts to the Sum of *One Hundred and Twenty Six Thouſand Pounds.*

In the Years One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Two, One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Three, and One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Four, no Proviſion was made for the Tranſport Service; but when ſuch large Sums had been granted for the Forces ſerving abroad, it was doubtleſs *a neceſſary Conſequence* that the Men, Arms, and Horſes, ſhould be tranſported, tho' the Parliament had given no Money to that Uſe. For this Service therefore, in thoſe three Years, there was iſſued out of the Navy-Money, *Eighty Four Thouſand Five Hundred and Fifteen Pounds, Twelve Shillings and Eight Pence.*

The extraordinary Charge of the Marine Regiments ſerving on Board the Fleet, is likewiſe an Expence of the ſame nature. Every body knows, that thoſe Eight Thouſand Men are included in the Forty Thouſand for which the annual Proviſion is made in Parliament; and conſequently their Pay is ſuppoſed but equal

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to the Wages of ſo many ordinary Seamen. But it is as well known, that the Marines are officered and formed into Companies, and are upon the ſame foot of Expence as all other Regiments. And there has been iſſued out of the Navy-Money, ſince this Reign, the Sum of *Nine Hundred and Twelve Thouſand Two Hundred and Eight Pounds, Fourteen Shillings and Eleven Pence*, for the paying theſe Regiments. But their Wages as ordinary Seamen, ſuppoſing they had been Eight Thouſand Men complete, for eight Years paſt, which is about the time they were firſt raiſed, would have amounted to but *Seven Hundred and Ninety Two Thouſand Five Hundred Thirty Three Pounds, ſix Shillings, and Eight Pence.* So that the extraordinary Expence in this Particular has been, *One Hundred and Nineteen Thouſand Six Hundred Seventy Five Pounds, Eight Shillings, and Three Pence.* This is another Proof of what I have ſo often mentioned, That Parliamentary Proviſion is by no means ſuppoſed to be equal to the Expence upon each Head.

The Charge of the Office of Sick and Wounded Seamen, and for maintaining Priſoners of War, may be alſo reckoned very juſtly a *Neceſſary* Expence of the ſame kind. This Charge has been all along borne by the Navy three Fifths out of Wages, and two Fifths out of Victualling-Money. But when it is conſidered, that more than Forty Thouſand Men have been employed in this Service, and that all the Species of Victualling have been at high Rates, with an Intereſt and Diſcount upon the Bills, I muſt leave you to judge, whether theſe Heads could poſſibly bear this extraordinary Expence, for which no other Proviſion was made. And there has been iſſued for this Service the Sum of *One Hundred Thouſand Two Hundred Twenty Eight Pounds, Fourteen Shillings and Six Pence.*

There has been another extraordinary Charge upon the Victualling of abſolute Neceſſity, and peculiar to this War, which is, the Hire of Merchant Ships to carry out Victuals and all other Neceſſaries for the Supply of Men of War in the *Mediterranean*, in *Portugal*, and in the *Weſt-Indies*. It was impoſſible for many of the Ships to receive or ſtow Proviſions ſufficient for the time that they have been kept abroad: Nor could ſeveral Species of the Victualling be preſerved ſo long good and wholeſome. This Article of Freights and Demurrages to Merchant-Ships, has amounted in this War to the Sum of *One Hundred and Forty Five Thouſand Five Hundred and Ninety Eight Pounds, Seventeen Shillings, and Three Pence Farthing.*

I will trouble you but with one Article more, I mean that of furniſhing Proviſions for Land-Forces ſent to *Spain* and *Portugal*, and for the Garriſon of *Gibraltar*. And ſince ſo much ſtreſs has been laid upon it, I beg leave to give it a particular Conſideration.

Every body allows, that all Victuals neceſſary for Land-Forces ſent abroad, muſt be furniſhed at the Expence of the Government; and that no Money is granted by Parliament for this Uſe. But then it is objected, that no part of this Charge has been *reaſſigned to the Victualling*, nor *any Deductions made* from the Pay of thoſe Forces, to reimburſe the Publick. Now I confeſs, Sir, it does not appear to me out of what Money thoſe Reaſſignments ſhould have been made, when none was granted for that Uſe, without a greater Miſapplication than that which is complained of. It remains therefore only to be conſidered, how far *it was adviſeable* to have made thoſe Deductions from the Soldiers; and *how far all the*

the Money that could have been deducted from them, would have made good the Expence of the Publick.

For the Firſt, I have been frequently informed, that it was a Matter duly weighed by the proper Officers; and that they always thought it expedient to continue to the Men their Pay, which became due whilſt they were on Board. And to deal plainly with you, Sir, I cannot help being of the ſame opinion myſelf. For, it had been too great a Diſcouragement to thoſe Regiments, whoſe hard Fate had allotted to them the Service of *Spain* and *Portugal*, if, upon their Embarkation, a Stoppage had been put to their Pay, which was their only Comfort and Relief under the Apprehenſion of a ſevere and hazardous Expedition. The great and endleſs Deſertions which have ſtill been the Conſequence of all Orders of Embarkation for thoſe Countries, were ſufficient Warnings to the Government, not to add any new Hardſhips to that Service. For the Men, eſpecially thoſe who were new raiſed, were in ſuch fear of the long and dangerous Voyage, of the unavoidable Sickneſs occaſioned by cloſe Stowage on Board, of the lamentable Mortality which they had reaſon to dread upon their firſt landing in a new Climate, and being expoſed to the ſharpeſt Colds of a Camp, from the intolerable Heats of crowded Tranſports, that I have often heard it was difficult for the Officers, with their utmoſt Care, to get on Board two Thirds of a Regiment. What then muſt have been the Conſequence, if they had known at the ſame time, that they were to receive no Pay all the while they underwent theſe Hardſhips and Dangers at Sea? Eſpecially conſidering that the Marines on Board the ſame Fleets, and ordered for the ſame Service, had not only the ſame Allowance of Victuals, whilſt the Land-Forces were kept at ſhort Allowance, which is ſix Men to four Mens Meat, but were entitled likewiſe to receive their full Pay and Subſiſtence. Such different Uſage in the ſame Body of Men would have created ſo much Diſorder, Mutiny and Deſertion, that it would have been impoſſible to carry on the War in *Spain*. So that, upon the whole matter, I ſhould rather have thought it reaſonable, to have given ſome further Encouragement to theſe poor Men, than to have made *thoſe Deductions* from them; which ariſing to a ſmall Sum, whilſt they were on Board, gave them new Life and Spirit upon their Landing, and enabled them to buy freſh Proviſions, and other neceſſary Supports.

In the next place, it muſt be owned, that theſe Deductions would have availed very little towards making good the Expence of the Publick. The uſual Stoppages were firſt to be made; Tents, Kettles, and all the Field and Camp Equipage, were to be provided; and theſe the Men were now obliged to buy for themſelves out of their Sea-Pay: Whereas, in the practice of the Army, a Fund is raiſed for anſwering theſe Expences, by what is uſually called the *Winter-Stoppages*; that is, by ſtopping ſo much out of every Man's Pay, whilſt the Regiments are in Winter-Quarters, or in Garriſon, as is ſufficient for this Purpoſe. And whenever it has happened, that any Regiment ordered to *Flanders* has been obliged to take the Field, without going into Garriſon, the Charge of the Camp-Neceſſaries has been always borne by the Publick, and made good to the Regiment by Contingent-Warrants. But this has been conſtantly ſaved to the Publick in the Regiments ſent to *Spain*: And if an exact Account could be had of the whole Charge upon this Head there, where no Winter-Stoppage could be made,

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it would be found that all the Deductions that could have been taken from the Men during their Paſſage, would have exceeded very little the Charge of buying their Field-Equipages.

But if, notwithſtanding what has been ſaid, it be admitted, that Deductions ſhould have been made, let us then conſider, what would have been the Amount of the whole, and how much would have been ſaved to the Publick. The Sum of *Six Hundred and Six Thouſand Eight Hundred and Six Pounds, Seven Shillings, and Seven Pence*, which is the whole of this extraordinary Charge, is not an Account of the certain Expence that has been made, but a Computation of the Charge, as the Commiſſioners of the Victualling have ſtated it; reckoning at the Rate of *Ten Pence* or *Twelve Pence* a Day for every Man; and taking in the whole Loſs by Diſcount of the Bills, the high Price of all Proviſions, the Freight for carrying them out, and all other incident Charges. Let us now ſee how much the Soldiers could have paid towards this *Ten Pence* or *Twelve Pence* a Day. The Subſiſtence of a private Man is but *five Pence* a Day, after the Deduction of Off-Reckonings, and the weekly Stoppage for ſmall Accoutrements, authorized by Act of Parliament: So that if the whole had been ſtopped, it had not anſwered half the Expence. But it is very well known, that the Land-Forces were always kept at *Short Allowance*, whilſt they were on Board; and, by the ſame Rule, that the Seamen, when at Short Allowance, receive what is called *Short-Allowance Money*, inſtead of the whole Victualing, the Land-Forces always received, whilſt they were on Board, *two Pence* a Day for every Man out of their Subſiſtence, to buy Brandy and Tobacco, and ſuch other Refreſhments as were neceſſary to ſupport them at *Short Allowance*. This reduces the Subſiſtence of a Man to *three Pence* a Day; which, computing the Charge at a Medium, between *ten Pence* and *twelve Pence* a Day, would have anſwered little more than a *Fourth*, not near a *Third* of the Expence. And therefore if all had been done that is pretended to have been neceſſary, near *Four hundred and fifty Thouſand Pounds* had remained as a Part of the Debt unavoidably incurred, and for which there had been no Reaſon to blame the late Adminiſtration. And when the other Part is thoroughly weighed, I believe you will think, as I do, that it would have been extreme hard to pinch ſo many brave Men, who every Day ventured their Lives for their Country, to ſave only *Twenty* or *Thirty Thouſand Pounds* a Year.

The ſame Reaſoning will in a great meaſure hold, for the Proviſions furniſhed to the Garriſon of *Gibraltar*, where the Men are likewiſe kept at *Short Allowance*. Nothing can there be got for Money from the Country; and all ſuch Proviſions and Refreſhments as are brought into the Town by ſmall Boats, are twice as dear as in other Places. The Price alſo of Shoes, Stockings, and all ſmall Accoutrements, is ſo very high, that *Twelve-Pence* a Week there, will not go ſo far as the uſual Stoppage of *Six-Pence* a Week does here. And as this Particular has almoſt every Year been enquired into, it has ſtill been found expedient and neceſſary to continue to the Men their Pay. And a diſtinct Account has been kept of what has been furniſhed by the *Dutch*: which is a juſt Demand upon them, and muſt certainly be allowed among other Accounts, that are depending between the two Nations.

I have now gone through the ſeveral Particulars, which I will conclude with an Abſtract of the whole Account, and ſome few Obſervations upon it.

An Abſtract of the foregoing Account.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
The Debt of the Navy, excluſive of the Regiſter-Office, as ſtated by the Committee of the Houſe of Commons, was at *Michaelmas*, 1710.	5,130,539	05	08
But deducting the Debt of the Navy, as it ſtood at *Michaelmas*, 1702. excluſive alſo of the Regiſter-Office	1,722,679	05	08
And deducting what has been received ſhort by the Navy in this War	1,411,001	19	09½
Which together make the Sum of	3,133,681	05	05½
There remains neat Debt incurred during the late Adminiſtration, to be accounted for by Extra-Services.	1,996,857	19	11½

Extra-Services.

Intereſt paid and due on Navy-Bills	242,265	12	00
Intereſt paid and due on Victualling-Bills	209,939	12	06
Paid for Naval Stores imported from *America*, by an Act of the 3d and 4th of the Queen	018,000	16	06
Paid the Bounty-Money of 5 *l. per* Head, for *French* Priſoners, by an Act 6° *Annæ*	034,155	00	00
For raiſing Men, by an Act 4° and 5° *Annæ*	004,729	10	05
Rebuilding Ships loſt in the great Storm	134,232	00	00
Bounty to Widows and Relations of Officers and Seamen loſt in the great Storm	015,158	00	11
Bounty to Officers ſerving under Sir *George Rook* in the *Mediterranean*	030,777	13	05
To the Ordinary of the Navy for the Year 1704.	120,000	00	00
And upon the Account of the Extraordinary Expence, at 14000 *l. per Ann.* for nine Years	126,000	00	00
Iſſued to the Commiſſioners of Tranſports in the Years 1702, 1703, 1704.	084,515	12	08
The Extra-Expence upon Account of Marines	119,675	08	03
Iſſued to the Office of the Sick and Wounded	100,228	14	06
The Hire of Ships to carry out Victuals and Proviſions to the Men of War	145,598	17	03¼
The Victualling Land-Forces ſent to *Spain* and *Portugal*	606,806	07	07
Total of Extra-Services	1,991, 383	06	00¼
Ballance	0,005,474	13	11¼

The Ballance of *Five Thouſand Four Hundred Seventy Four Pounds, Thirteen Shillings* and *Eleven Pence Farthing*, that appears at the Foot of this Account, is

is so very inconsiderable, that I am persuaded you will be much surprized to see the extraordinary Services and Expences come so near to the Debt that has been incurred: Especially, if you consider, that in this Account no Allowance is craved for the high Rates upon all Kinds of Naval Stores and Victuals, which have been occasioned by the Discount upon the Bills, nor for the Number of Men that have exceeded Forty Thousand; because I was resolved not to insert any thing that depended so intirely upon Calculation, as to admit any Doubt or Uncertainty. If by a moderate Computation there had been an Allowance made upon those Heads, the Extraordinary Expences would have exceeded the Debt to be accounted for. But then it must have been remembered, that at the Beginning of the War the Fleet was in a much better Condition than it can possibly be in at this time: And the Magazines were full of all manner of Stores, which are now exhausted. And how much it will cost to put the Fleet into the same Condition again, and to replenish the Magazines, cannot be computed till the War is ended, and their Condition can be known: But it must be admitted, that this has been an Ease to the Service, and has prevented the further Increase of the Debt.

I must likewise observe, that there have been no Appropriations in this War of any particular Sums to any particular Services; but one general Clause only, appropriating the Sums granted each Year to the Service of that Year; in which a Latitude was always given of applying the Money granted for the Navy, as well to Services *already performed*, as *to be performed*; which is a sufficient Authority for the Methods practised there. And though a great deal of Industry has been used to persuade the World, that an undue Preference and Partiality has been shewn to the Service in *Flanders*, and that all other Services were postponed, cramped, and starved, in order to supply that Army; you cannot but observe, that there is not any one Article in which the Navy-Money was applied to that Use. Nor have the Enemies of the late Ministers pretended to give an Instance where that Service ever received out of the Publick Money, more than its due Proportion, granted by Parliament.

I must make one Observation more to you, That as the Debt of the Navy has annually increased, an annual Account of it has been laid before the House of Commons, who were constantly informed how far the Provision made for the preceding Year had fallen short of answering the Expence. But being sensible that the more pressing Supplies were as much as could well be raised within the Year, they still thought it more adviseable to leave the extraordinary Charges as a growing Debt, than to increase the present Burden upon the People, by enlarging the usual Provision for the Navy. And in the Parliament before the last, a particular State and Account of the Navy-Debt being called for, the late Ministers were so far from being blamed upon this Subject, that after a full Consideration and long Debate about the Causes and Methods of contracting that Debt, the House came to a Resolution in their Favour, and went as far in approving their Conduct and Management, as any subsequent Parliament has gone in censuring of them. And when the Justice of two differing Parliaments comes to be the Question, I will not take upon me to determine between them; but will only make this short Remark, That from such time, at least, as the Sense of the House was known upon this Occasion, the late Ministry cannot be thought blameable

meable for proceeding in their uſual Method, when they were ſupported by the Authority and Approbation of Parliament.

Upon the whole Matter, I have now ſhewn you ſo many Inſtances of *Extraordinary Services* performed, that were either of abſolute Neceſſity for the Good of the *Public*, or were *directed* or *approved* by *Parliament*; that I cannot but think you will agree with me in acquitting the *late Miniſtry* from all Imputation of Miſmanagement, Miſapplication, or Embezzlement of the Navy-Money. And I muſt do them the Juſtice to ſay one thing more in their Behalf, That I have not found, upon the ſtricteſt Enquiry, that they were guilty of Neglect or Remiſſneſs in their Duty; or that they wanted Ability or Zeal to carry on the Service of the Nation. And therefore I am afraid the great Noiſe and Clamours that have been raiſed againſt them, proceeded rather from Intereſt, private Ends, and Party-Strife, than from any true Care or Concern for the Public. But the preſent Turn is now ſerved: And when the People ſhall come to reflect calmly upon the *late Adminiſtration*, which they have heard ſo induſtriouſly blackened and villified, I believe they will find the Services of that Miniſtry not inferior to thoſe of any that went before it; and an Example to be imitated, rather than to have been ſo hardly cenſured, by that which has lately ſucceeded it.

But I have troubled you enough, Sir, for one time: Some Account of other Parts of the Debt, you may expect hereafter.

I am, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

'TIS now almoſt a Twelvemonth ſince the foregoing Account was publiſhed, which has ſtood hitherto unimpeached, and the Publick has not ſeen any Anſwer or the leaſt Objection made to any Part of it; but the Author upon further Peruſal of it, has obſerved, That in the Deduction of what has been received ſhort by the Navy in this War, *there is included what was received ſhort by the Navy in the Year* 1702; *but the whole Debt of the Navy at* Michaelmas, 1702, *having been before deducted, what was received ſhort by the Navy before* Michaelmas, 1702, *ought not to have been included in the general Deduction; as this was no wilful Miſtake, the firſt Opportunity is taken to rectify it, and for the further Satisfaction of ſuch, as ſhall have the Curioſity to examine in this Particular, I deſire they will obſerve, That the whole Year's Deficiency of the Year* 1702, *is not at all concerned in this Queſtion, but what was iſſued ſhort to the Navy only in that Year; and to ballance this, a very moderate Allowance for the extraordinary Rates that have been paid for all Kinds of Naval Stores and Victuals, and for the Number of Men exceeding the* Forty Thouſand *will ſufficiently recompenſe what is gained in the Account by this Miſtake.*

A State of the Five and Thirty Millions *mentioned in the Report of a Committee of the Houſe of Commons.*

I Was long ſince informed, that in many Parts of the Country, our People were taught to think they had been *plundered of Thirty Five Millions*. I believed, for ſome Time, it was needleſs to diſprove this Report, which I thought was unlikely to laſt: But being ſtill aſſured that the ſame Rumour continues, I have at length reſolved to enquire into the Grounds and Reaſons of it. Yet, before I enter upon this Examination, I cannot help declaring how much I am ſurprized, that ſuch wild Reports ſhould find Credit in the Kingdom. I am ſenſible, the *printing the Votes* has been now ſo long in Uſe, that the People do not only claim as their Right and Privilege, to have a daily Account of the Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons; but they think they are competent Judges of whatever is tranſacted by their Repreſentatives. And they conceive themſelves ſufficiently entitled to debate and reaſon, to cenſure or approve all Things and Perſons that at any Time come before the Parliament. I am alſo ſenſible, that he who has but read the Votes, takes upon him to determine as peremptorily as if he were fully informed not only of the Facts, but of all the Reaſons and Motives that induced the Houſe to come to ſuch Reſolutions. Nor am I ignorant what ſtrange Concluſions are often drawn from hence, and what groſs Miſtakes paſs upon the World. This muſt needs be evident to every Man that hears the common Notions and Opinions which we find are generally received; and which would appear to us moſt unaccountable, if we were not determined wilfully or ignorantly to eſpouſe and maintain whatever is thought neceſſary for the Support of a Party.

But ſo notorious an Inſtance of this I never met with, as in the preſent Caſe; ſince I am told, that in every Coffee-houſe and Ale-houſe, in ſome Countries, I may hear it with Confidence aſſerted, and find it too generally believed, that *Thirty Five Millions were loſt to the Publick during the late Adminiſtration.* And if I ſhould argue the Matter with theſe People, and endeavour to ſhew the Falſhood or Abſurdity of ſuch an Opinion, their Refuge would be to a Vote of the Houſe of Commons. That at beſt, *there are Thirty-five Millions not accounted for:* And for this they would be very poſitive they have the Authority of Parliament.

This being the Fact, as it is repreſented, I can no longer forbear to explain the whole Matter with the utmoſt Care and Impartiality. For to wreſt the Meaning of *a Vote* beyond what the Words do naturally import, or to put Conſtructions upon them, which it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe the Houſe of Commons could intend; ſeems to me to be the higheſt Preſumption. And therefore in Juſtice to the preſent Parliament, as well as to thoſe concerned in this *Reſolution*, I will endeavour to ſet it in a true Light, and to clear it from the Miſtakes and Miſrepreſentations which have been made concerning it, thro' the Ignorance of ſome, and I wiſh I could not add, thro' the Malice and Induſtry of others.

In order to this, it will be neceſſary to ſtate and explain the *Vote* upon which theſe Suggeſtions are grounded, and the *Report from the Committee to whom it was referred to enquire, How far the ſeveral Impreſt Accountants had paſſed their*

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Accounts: And afterwards I will give an Abſtract of the ſeveral Particulars, with ſome Obſervations upon the Whole.

The Vote of the Houſe of Commons was, "That it appears to this Houſe, "that of the Monies granted by Parliament, and iſſued for the Publick Service "to *Chriſtmas* 1710, there are *Thirty-five Millions, Three Hundred and Two "Thouſand One Hundred and Seven Pounds, Eighteen Shillings and Nine Pence,* "for a great Part whereof no Accounts have been laid before the Auditors, and "the reſt not proſecuted by the Accountants and finiſhed."

Firſt then, it is obſervable, that a Time is expreſſed when the Accounts in queſtion did determine, which was at *Chriſtmas* 1710. And tho' no Accountant is obliged by the Courſe of the Exchequer to *render* his Account under fifteen Months, nor ſome under eighteen, yet this Vote takes in all Accounts to the firſt Meeting of the Committee. But there is no mention made from what Period of Time they did commence; which the Houſe of Commons would not have omitted, if they could have ſuppoſed that ſo unreaſonable a Conſtruction would have been made of their Vote, as to charge the whole upon the late Miniſtry. To have been particular in every reſpect, was too much for the compaſs of a Vote: We muſt therefore, upon this Occaſion, have Recourſe to the *Report* abovementioned; and there we ſhall find, that Lord *Falkland*'s Account begins in *December* 1682, and ends in *March* 1688-9. Lord *Ranelagh*, 'tis very well known, was Paymaſter of the Forces during the whole late Reign, Sir *Thomas Littleton* Treaſurer of the Navy for about three Years before the Queen's Acceſſion to the Crown; and the Accounts of Captain *Atkinſon*, and others, Commiſſioners of Tranſportation, during the late War only, amount to near a Million of Money. So that here are Accounts from King *Charles*'s, King *James*'s, and King *William*'s Reign in the principal Branches of Expence in all the Revenue, brought in to make up and ſwell this general Account: And this, I am told, is by many thouſands of People *without Doors* imputed to the late Miniſtry, tho' the *Houſe of Commons* was ſo juſt and careful to print the *Report*, that all Men, if they pleaſed, might be clearly and fully informed of the true State of this Queſtion.

In the next Place, 'tis to be obſerved, that the Vote aſſerts no more, than that *for a great part of Thirty-five Millions, Three Hundred and Two Thouſand, One Hundred and Seven Pounds, Eighteen Shillings and Nine-pence, no Accounts has been laid before the Auditors*, without diſtinguiſhing what that *great Part* was; which makes it neceſſary to enquire how much that *great Part* amounts to.

But I muſt firſt take Notice of a material Diſtinction, which it will be neceſſary to carry along with me thro' this whole Enquiry, between *Rendering* and *Paſſing Accounts*. An Accountant ſhould be always ready to render an Account of all Publick Money by him received, and to ſhew to what Uſes it has been expended; that thoſe who have the Care and Inſpection of ſuch Matters, may be ſatisfied that the Money has been duly applied to the proper Services. And it is in the Power of every Accountant, ſo far to *render* an Account of what Money has been iſſued to him, as to prepare and *lay his Account before the Auditors* in a reaſonable Time; though from the Nature of ſome Services, 'tis utterly impoſſible to do it within the Time limited and required by the Courſe of the Exchequer. And when Accounts are thus *rendered*, and Vouchers for every particular

ſar Sum delivered to the Auditor, without which Accounts cannot properly be ſaid to be laid before him; the Publick is in a great meaſure ſecured, by ſeeing and knowing the Diſtribution and Expence of every particular Sum, though the Accounts are not *actually paſſed:* Which then ſeems chiefly neceſſary for the Intereſt and Security of the Accountant. But though he be ſenſible of this, and deſirous to *paſs* his Accounts, yet it is not always in his Power to get over the Difficulties and Delays which he meets with for want of *Form only*; the common Courſe and Practice of Payments in ſeveral Offices being inconſiſtent with the Rules and Methods eſtabliſhed in the Exchequer for *paſſing* Accounts. Several Inſtances of this I ſhall give you before I conclude, but what I have ſaid, is at preſent ſufficient to make good the Diſtinction between *paſſing* and *rendering Accounts*. And this Diſtinction the Houſe of Commons had very clearly in their View, when they ſaid, *For a great Part whereof no Accounts had been laid before the Auditors:* By which they manifeſtly fix the Blame upon Accounts not being *rendered*, or which is the ſame Thing, *not laid before the Auditors*.

I come therefore now to conſider how much of *the Thirty-five Millions has not*, in this ſenſe, *been accounted for*. And though 'tis ſaid in the Country, that the *Whole is unaccounted for*; 'tis almoſt ridiculous to endeavour to diſprove that, unleſs one could ſuppoſe that *a great Part* can be by any body underſtood to mean the *Whole*. But how much this *great Part*, for which no Account has been *rendered*, amounts to, may eaſily be found by any Perſon that will give himſelf the Trouble to look into *the Report*; where he will ſee, that the *Committee*, from Certificates of the Auditors of the Impreſts, have ſtated the Accounts of the ſeveral Accountants therein mentioned, under the Heads of *Charge*, *Diſcharge*, and *remains to be accounted for*. The Charge contains the whole Charge of all Monies received by the Accountants out of the Exchequer, or otherwiſe: The Diſcharge, as well *Accounts that lay before the Auditors*, *as Accounts actually paſſed*; and a Ballance is then ſtated at the Foot of each Account; which Ballances being added altogether, amount to but *Seven Millions*, *Five Hundred Fifty Seven Thouſand*, *Five Hundred and Thirteen Pounds*, *Two Shillings and Eight Pence*.

What then can be more unaccountable, than the common Error which People have entertained of this Matter? The Houſe of Commons has been careful to ſet it in a true Light, by publiſhing the particular State of the whole, and ſetting down in expreſs Words, how much under each Head *remains to be accounted for*; which wanted no Skill but common Addition for any Man to be informed of: And yet the Country is amuſed and impoſed upon by a groundleſs Noiſe of *Thirty-five Millions not accounted for*, in direct Contradiction to a Report publiſhed by Order and Authority of the Houſe of Commons.

By what I have now ſhewn, it appears, that of the *Thirty-five Millions*, &c. there ought no leſs to be ſtruck off, than *Twenty-ſeven Millions*, *Seven Hundred Forty-four Thouſand*, *Five Hundred Ninety-four Pounds*, *Sixteen Shillings and a Penny*; which already reduces that immenſe Sum, to *Seven Millions and a half*, &c. as is beforementioned. This laſt Sum is all that remains to be accounted for, I mean, all for which no Account had been rendered at *Chriſtmas*, 1710. But then it muſt be admitted, that all the Accounts are not *actually paſſed* for the other Part, though they have been duly rendered. It will therefore now be neceſſary

ceſſary to enquire into the Reaſons and Allegations that have hindered or delayed the *paſſing* ſeveral of them, and how far thoſe Reaſons can be juſtified.

I will not take upon me to affirm, that all the Accountants have been as expeditious as they poſſibly might have been, in *paſſing their Accounts:* And it may well be thought ſtrange, that twenty Years, or indeed half that Time, has not been found ſufficient to finiſh diverſe of them. But as the chief End and View of thoſe who have been moſt induſtrious to inſinuate this wrong Conſtruction through the Kingdom, has been to blacken and load the late Miniſtry, it does not ſeem neceſſary to my preſent Purpoſe, to enquire how far the Officers employed in former Reigns have diſcharged their Duties. If any Irregularities in Payments, or improper Diſtributions of the Publick Money, have prevented or delayed the paſſing thoſe Accounts, there can be no Reaſon that this ſhould be charged upon the late Adminiſtration. The Accounts of former Reigns are no further to be conſidered, than as a Burden tranſmitted down to ſucceeding Miniſters, who are obliged from Time to Time, to give ſuch Orders towards the paſſing of them as become neceſſary: And they are no farther blameable, than as thoſe Orders ſhall upon Examination be found to be ill grounded or unwarrantable.

Many Inſtances might be given, in which the paſſing of Accounts is only obſtructed by ſome Irregularities or unneceſſary Delays: And that the Houſe of Commons was ſenſible of this, appears from the Order of Reference, when a Committee was firſt appointed to enquire, *How far the ſeveral Impreſt Accountants had paſſed their reſpective Accounts*; wherein it was directed, that the Committee ſhould not only *conſider of Methods for the more effectual and ſpeedy compelling Accountants to paſs their Accounts*, but likewiſe, *to obviate all Irregularities and unneceſſary Delays in the ſame.* The Houſe of Commons therefore was convinced, that ſeveral Difficulties and Obſtructions, which attend the *paſſing of Accounts*, are not in the Power of the Accountants to remove, but want to be corrected and obviated by the Authority of Parliament. And this is ſufficient to prove in general, that it is not always in the Power of an Accountant to *paſs* his Accounts within the Time required; therefore the not finiſhing or *not actually paſſing* Accounts, is not to be imputed as a Crime, when they only are delayed by the Forms and Niceties of Offices; or for neceſſary Reaſons ariſing from the Nature and Remoteneſs of the Service; or from an Impoſſibility of complying with the regular Courſe of the Exchequer.

This being premiſed, I will now conſider the Reaſons and Allegations of the ſeveral Accountants, and how far they may be juſtified. The Report indeed ſets forth, That though the principal Accountants, and all that were ſummoned by the Committee, did offer Reaſons in their own Vindication, the Committee did not think fit to examine them; *for that they were not empowered by the Houſe ſo to do.* The Reaſons therefore having never been before the Houſe, they could not enter into them; nor could do more than barely ſtate the Facts. But yet, whoever will look into the ſaid Report, will find, that the chief Delays have ariſen either *from the want of Privy-ſeals*, or from *the Nature of the Services performed*, or from *the Remoteneſs of the Places where the Payments were made*, or from *the Method and Practice of Paying and Accounting, which is peculiar to the Navy-Office.*

The *passing Accounts by Privy Seals* has formerly made a great Noise in Parliament; and had once a Censure in such strong and general Terms, that I believe it has very much obstructed the obtaining *Privy Seals*; and has occasioned such a Nicety in granting them, as, if always insisted on, will make the *passing* several Accounts utterly impracticable, and furnish the Accountants with an Excuse, that may cover any wilful Delay or Neglect. It is as needless, as it is difficult, to mention all the Instances where *Privy Seals* are not warrantable, and ought not to be granted: But it is certain that in some Cases they are not only requisite, but that they ought not in Justice to be refused. Several Disallowances may be made to an Account in the Exchequer, for want of *regular Vouchers*, when it is evident by Receipts and such other Proofs, as the Service was capable of supplying, that the Money was expended to the proper Uses for which it was granted. And nothing but a *Privy Seal* can supply this Defect, which indeed is only a Defect in Form.

The Rules of the Exchequer are very antient, and were certainly in their Original well contrived for the Service and Security of the Publick; but it is not to be supposed that Rules and Orders of so long a Date, when the Receipts and Issues were very much less, and the Money generally expended within the Kingdom, can be strictly adapted to the Services and Occasions of the present Times. The Annual Grants and Expences do so far exceed any thing known in those Days, and are of such infinite Variety, that Cases must every Day arise which were unforeseen, and consequently could not be provided for. And this makes it necessary either to alter or new-model the Course of the Exchequer, that it may suit better with the Incidents of the present Times; or, if the antient Course is to be preserved sacred and inviolable, to have a discretionary Power lodged somewhere, that it may dispense with the strict Rules for the Accommodation of the Publick Service. This Power is now in the *Privy Seal*, and ought in Justice to be exercised; but with that Care, and under such Checks and Limitations, as may best secure the Revenue, and prevent any Fraud or Loss to the Publick. A few Instances that concern the present Question will, I think, fully clear this Matter.

The Payments to foreign Princes for *Subsidies*, and to their Troops in Her Majesty's Service for *their Pay and Extraordinaries*, are always made pursuant to *Treaties and Establishments*. Those being the Conditions upon which the foreign Forces are stipulated for, and taken into the Service, the Payments can be made upon no other: And this is likewise agreeable to the *Grants* of Parliament, which are always founded upon the *Treaties*. But the Course of the Exchequer requires likewise Muster-Rolls, and Signs Manual, for all Payments made by the Pay-Master of the Forces, which in this Case cannot be had: And therefore the Accounts for such Payments always have passed, and must always pass by *Privy Seals*. And this happens even in the Service of *Flanders*, where, it is very well known, the Payments have been made with all possible Strictness and Regularity.

But he that expects the same Method and Exactness in *Spain* or *Portugal*, must be very little acquainted with the Nature of that Service: For there, a Moiety almost of the Money granted annually, has been expended for the Pay of Foreign Troops, and their Embarkations from *Italy*; for the Pay of the

King of *Spain*'s own Troops; for the Support of his Houſhold and Civil Liſt, which every body knows cannot be regularly allowed in an Army-Account; for Regiments of *Spaniards*, that have been formed, reduced, and perhaps raiſed again in the Compaſs of a Year, as the Face of Affairs has altered; and for infinite *Contingencies and Extraordinaries* of the War, for which no Proviſion could be made but upon Account. And whoever conſiders the Nature of theſe Services, the long Marches backwards and forwards of thoſe Armies, the alternate good and bad Succeſs of that War, and the Remoteneſs and Diſtance of that Country, which made it impoſſible to ſend Orders from hence upon any Emergency, or every new Occaſion, will, I believe, not much wonder that Accounts of that War are not eaſily paſſed. For how is it poſſible, that the Payments made in ſuch remote Parts under the Care and Direction of different Perſons, and liable to ſo many Accidents and Diſorders, ſhould be adjuſted with ſo much Regularity and Diſpatch, as Affairs of the like Nature here at home? Or how can it be ſuppoſed, that a great many of thoſe Payments, which could not be allowed without the Authority of a *Privy Seal*, ſhould ever be *paſſed without one?* Yet an Account of the Receipts and Payments for that Service may be ſo made up, as may plainly ſhew, that the Money was applied to the proper Uſes, though the Vouchers may not be ſo regular and perfect, to enable the Auditor to paſs the Account.

Another great Inſtance of the Neceſſity of *Privy Seals*, is, The Method of *paſſing* the Accounts of the Treaſurer of the Navy: upon which the Committee obſerves, "That though this is an Account of the greateſt Sums of Money, and "of the greateſt Conſequence to the Kingdom; yet it paſſed in a Method quite "different from any other Account, the ſame being brought to the Auditor "in Volumes, ſigned by three Commiſſioners of the Navy, without any "Vouchers, which the Auditor is empowered thus to paſs by the Authority of "a *Privy Seal*."

By this time I queſtion not but both the Juſtice and Neceſſity of *Privy Seals* appear evident in ſome Caſes; and I ſhall only add, That I would not be thought to contend here for *Privy Seals*, to ſupply the Want of Vouchers or Receipts for Money, but only to make good any Defect in Form or Regularity, occaſioned by the Neceſſity of the Service, and which by the ſtrict Courſe of the Exchequer could not be allowed.

But farther, to demonſtrate the Security of the Publick, I muſt obſerve, that *Privy Seals* are never granted till the Account, and all the Vouchers produced to ſupport it, have undergone the ſtricteſt Examination, and the *Privy Seals* themſelves have been referred to the Auditors: Whereby the ſame Perſons, in whom by the Law and Rules of the Exchequer, the Power of examining and judging of all Vouchers is lodged, have the Re-examination of all ſuch Vouchers as appear irregular and deficient; and if they ſhall be found reaſonable to be allowed upon the Report and Opinion of the Auditors, the Warrant goes for directing the *Privy Seal* to paſs the Account.

And this furniſhes me with another Argument to ſhew, That the *rendering or laying an Account before the Auditors*, is, in a great meaſure, the chief Satisfaction that is given to the Publick: Or at leaſt, That when the Account with all the Vouchers is *laid before the Auditors*, the Accountant has done all that for

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ſome time is in his Power to perform. The firſt Examination of the Account, the Re-conſidering it upon the Diſallowances, and all the Forms and Steps thro' the ſeveral Offices that are neceſſary to *perfect Accounts* of ſuch large Sums, as are now chiefly under Conſideration, are Works of Time; and moſt certainly make an Accountant very excuſable, that has rendered his Account, and delivered in his proper Receipts and Vouchers, although his Account *be not actually paſſed.*

To bring then this Matter to a Concluſion, it is plain, That as Accounts have been *rendered for all the Thirty-five Millions*, &c. except for *Seven*, &c. So we find *by the Report*, that the principal Accountants alledge and chiefly inſiſt on the Want of *Privy Seals* for their Juſtification, which became neceſſary by the nature of the Services, and which only could enable them to comply with the preſſing Occaſions of the War.

It is not my Buſineſs to conſider the particular Defences of each Accountant, any farther than is neceſſary to my preſent Purpoſe; but ſome few Obſervations may not improperly be made upon them.

In the Earl of *Ranelagh*'s Account, as ſtated by the Committee, we find, *That all his Accounts, even to his final Account, lay before the Auditors, with a Ballance only to be accounted for, of* One Thouſand Seven Hundred Seventy One Pounds Eight Shillings and Sixpence: *But that upwards of Six Millions was depending for Want of a* Privy Seal, *which is reckoned into the Thirty-five Millions: That of the Diſallowances which had been made to his Account for Want of regular Vouchers, a* Privy Seal *after a ſtrict Examination had been directed to diſcharge him of near Four Millions; and that he was applying to be diſcharged of the Remainder in the ſame Manner; and that his final Account was delayed only for Want of theſe* Privy Seals. Upon which I ſhall only obſerve, That till it is once poſitively determined for what Diſallowances it is reaſonable to grant him *Privy Seals*, and for what not; and till ſuch as are found reaſonable are diſpatched, it will be impoſſible to know what Ballance is really due, and ought juſtly to be charged upon him at the Foot of his Account. And as long as the *Privy Seals* are ſtopped for ſuch Allowances as have been judged reaſonable, as well as for thoſe which have not yet paſſed Examination; it furniſhes him with a very plauſible Excuſe for not paſſing his final Account, which muſt wait the Fate and Iſſue of the preceding.

In Mr. *Brydges*'s Account, as ſtated by the Committee, we find, *That his Accounts were ſo far delivered in, as to leave at the time of the firſt Meeting of the Committee, a Ballance to be accounted for, of above Six Millions, but that above Eight Millions were reckoned into the Thirty-five; for which the Accounts were either then fully adjuſted, or lay before the Auditors: And that his Accounts delivered in at that time, contained his whole Account for the Service of* Flanders *to* December, 1709. *and for the Service in* Spain *and* Portugal *to* December, 1707. But I am very credibly informed, That when the Report came from the Committee, and this Matter was debated in the Houſe, Mr. *Brydges* informed them, and very much to their Satisfaction, That he had farther delivered in his Accounts to the Auditors, for the Service in *Spain* and *Portugal*, for the Years 1708, and 1709. By which he has *rendered* an Account of *Three Millions Two Hundred and Twenty Seven Thouſand, Three Hundred Seventy Eight Pounds, Two*

Shillings and Six-pence. Which being deducted from the former Sum of *Six Millions, Three Hundred and Twenty Thousand and Seven Pounds, Six Shillings and Eleven Pence*, reduces the Sum to be accounted for to *Three Millions, Ninety Two Thousand Six Hundred Twenty Nine Pounds, Four Shillings and Five Pence*; which is no more than one Year's Account only. And if it is enquired how it comes to pass, that in six Years that Gentleman has actually passed but one Account, it will be found by the Report, *That the* Privy Seal, *which after due Examination was directed by Her Majesty's Warrant for his Account, ending at* Christmas, 1706. *was kept back; and that put a full Stop, not only to that, but to his subsequent Accounts. Part of which have been some time adjusted and ready for Declaration, and the rest delivered into the Auditors; but none of them can be declared before the preceding Accounts are passed.* And that *Privy Seals* are just and necessary for Moneys issued to the Services of *Flanders, Spain* and *Portugal*, I think is already proved. Or if a Precedent were wanting for it, we find in the Report, That Mr. *Fox* his Predecessor did *pass* his Accounts by the Help of such *Privy Seals*. But if it be objected, That Mr. *Brydges*'s delivering in his Accounts since the Meeting of the Committee, may reasonably be supposed to be occasioned by this very Enquiry; I beg any Man to consider how it was possible for him to prepare Accounts of that nature for above *Three Millions*; or even to transcribe them, if they had not before been in the greatest Forwardness imaginable.

It would be too tedious to enter into all the Particulars, and would swell this Paper beyond my present Design; I will therefore mention no more but Sir *Thomas Littleton*'s Account, as it was stated by the Committee: where we shall find, *That (including what was paid over to his Successor) above Ten Millions and an Half are reckoned into the Thirty Five; for which his Accounts either lie before the Auditors, or are under the Examination of the Navy Board.* But the Method of accounting by the Treasurer of the Navy, is known to be so very voluminous and tedious; and at the same time, his whole Account is under such Checks and Regulations, that as it is impossible for him to do more than *render* his Accounts within the time limited, and the Publick in the mean while is effectually secured; so it would be very unjust to blame him for unavoidable Delays. But I think it needless to say any more upon this Head, and shall only insert a Paragraph out of the Observations of the *Commissioners of the Navy*, which I find in the Report very full to my present Purpose, in these Words: "And sure no Man can think it reasonable that any Treasurer of the Navy "should have any Trouble given him for not passing his Accounts, whilst they "are kept open only for the Accommodation of the Service; or can there (in "our humble Opinion) be any Colour for it whilst such exact Accounts are kept "in this Office, as that at any time it may be known to a Penny what Moneys "remain in his Hands, which is never considerable? the Necessities of the Ser"vice, and the Care of this Office, drawing it away as fast as he receives it, ex"cepting remote Tallies sometimes lodged in his Hands by Orders from the "Treasury, until they can be made useful for one Head or other; of which the "like Account is kept, and can at any time be given."

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These Instances in the great and principal Branches of the publick Revenue, I hope are sufficient to give any Man so clear a View into the Nature of publick Accounts, that I need not descend to any more Particulars.

But I must add one Thing more in Justice to the late Ministry, that they took Care, thro' the whole Course of this War, not only to issue the Money for the proper Services, but likewise to see that it was duly applied to them. This appears by the Certificates, which were constantly required, and every Week, or Fortnight, delivered by the *Chief Paymasters*, of their respective Remainders in their Hands: So that by this means, *the Lord Treasurer* was always informed what Money had been actually expended, and what still was left to be applied to such Uses, as the Occasions of the Government required. And if it is not to be doubted, but those that had the Care of the Revenue were fully informed of the Nature and Necessity of all these Services, and had so far seen and known the Distribution of the Money, as to be satisfied in general of the due Application of it, I would be glad to know with what Reason or Justice they could permit the Rigour of the Law to be executed against Accountants, who they had Reason to believe had not defrauded the Publick, but had done all they could to pass their Accounts. Besides, I must further observe, that the *Treasury* is not concerned in the Process of the Exchequer, more than to grant Warrants for *stopping such Process*, when, upon Application of the Accountant, they shall be found just and reasonable. It is the proper Business and Duty of the *Exchequer* to compel Accountants to pass their Accounts, and there that sole Power by Law is lodged; and it is so effectually provided for, that the Auditors are obliged every Half-Year to return Certificates to the Remembrancer of all Accountants that are in Arrear, and Process is issued in Course against them. And if any Accountant, by Memorial or Petition to the Treasury, sets forth his Reasons why his Accounts are not passed, and humbly prays a Warrant to stop the Process, this Memorial is always referred to the Auditors, and a Warrant is never granted but upon their Report and Opinion of the Case; nor is the Process usually stopped but till the next Term only, and then it issues again in Course, without further Order. But I know not any Method of making this Matter so plain, as by inserting here a Copy of a Treasury-Warrant for stopping Process; by which not only the Form, but the Purport and Effect of all such Warrants may very easily be conceived. I will instance in a Warrant granted to stop Process against the Earl of *Ranelagh*.

AFter, &c. Whereas *my very good Lord* Richard *Earl of* Ranelagh *hath, by his Memorial, set forth, that his Accounts as late Paymaster of the Forces to* Christmas, 1701, *are passed, and that his final Account to* Christmas, 1702, *will be ready for Declaration, as soon as the Auditors of the Imprests have made their Report, as to several Sums craved by his Lordship to be allowed in the said Account, and hath therefore prayed that Process against him may be staved.* And whereas *the said Auditors have certified me, that his Lordship and his Agents have promised to answer diverse Queries made by them, relating to his final Account, by the Beginning of next* Michaelmas *Term, and to prosecute the same till it be passed with all possible Diligence. These are to authorize and require you to forbear issuing forth any Process against the said Earl of* Ranelagh, *for his said Account, until the First Day of* Michaelmas *Term. And if any Process be already issued, you*

are

are forthwith to superſede the ſame: But in caſe his Lordſhip's Accounts are not paſſed by that Time, you are then to iſſue Proceſs without further Order, for which this ſhall be your Warrant. Windſor-Caſtle, *the ſecond of* Auguſt, 1708.

To the Queen's Remembrancer in the Exchequer, or his Deputy. Godolphin.

By this one Example every Man may judge of the Nature and Subſtance of all theſe Warrants, which vary only as the particular Caſes, Circumſtances, and Allegations of the ſeveral Accountants may differ, but are all grounded upon the ſame Foundations, and paſs the ſame Steps and Forms before they are obtained.

And now let any Man, who will give himſelf the Trouble to reflect upon what has been ſaid, tell me in which of the Caſes abovementioned it had been juſt or reaſonable to have refuſed the ſtopping Proceſs. Was an Extent to go againſt the Paymaſter of the Army, becauſe his Deputies in *Spain* or *Portugal* had not returned him all their Vouchers from thoſe diſtant Countries ſtrictly within the Time limited by the Courſe of the Exchequer for Payments made at home? Or was he to ſuffer for paying the Subſidies, and other Extraordinaries to foreign Princes, purſuant to the Treaties, and out of Money granted by Parliament for that very Purpoſe, becauſe he wanted Muſter-Rolls and Signs Manual, and could not obtain a Privy-Seal to ſupply that unavoidable Defect? Should the Proceſs of the Exchequer have gone out againſt the Treaſurer of the Navy, when it was impoſſible for him, within the Time limited, to adjuſt his Accounts? When every Page of his Leidger muſt be examined by the Navy-Board, and ſigned by three of the Commiſſioners? When the Tedioufneſs of this Examination, and of making up the Ship-Books, with the Multiplicity of other Buſineſs, muſt needs hinder that Board from diſpatching the Treaſurer's Accounts? And he is therefore ſure to be every Half Year certified by the Auditors to be in Arrear? Should his Eſtate then have been extended for not having done what he never was able to perform? Every body knows what vaſt Sums of Money are paid by Treaſurers of the Navy upon *Intereſt Bills*; and yet he cannot be diſcharged of that Money 'till *perfect Bills* are made our, tho' the Money has been actually paid according to the Direction of the Treaſury, and by Order of the Commiſſioners; and tho' he has all the Receipts and Vouchers for Payment of it. Theſe Inſtances ſurely are ſufficient to ſhew of what Uſe and Neceſſity Warrants are for ſtopping of Proceſs, and with how great Juſtice they may be ſometimes granted; which is a Matter ſo very evident, that I may venture to affirm, that the Houſe of Commons did not make the ſtopping of Proceſs any Part of their Charge or Imputation.

This, I think, may very reaſonably be concluded, if we conſider that the Houſe of Commons, on *Wedneſday* the 26th of *April*, did order that the proper Officers ſhould lay before the Houſe an Account of all Warrants that had been granted for ſtopping Proceſs, and the Reaſons for them; and that no Return was made to this Order 'till *Tueſday* the 1ſt of *May*. But the Houſe did reſume the adjourned Conſideration of the Report on *Saturday* the 28th of *April*, and came then to their final Reſolutions, without waiting for the Return of the Warrants for ſtopping Proceſs, or having any Papers or Accounts relating to that Matter

before them. How then can we ſuppoſe the Houſe of Commons, that was ſo juſt to call for theſe Accounts, in order to be fully informed, not only of all the Facts, but of the Reaſons and Grounds that occaſioned or juſtified theſe Proceedings, would come to a Determination, and judge or cenſure any Perſons, when ſuch Evidences were not before them, as they knew to be neceſſary for their fully underſtanding the Queſtion? And this ſufficiently clears the Houſe of Commons from all ſuch Inſinuations, as ſuppoſe that they cenſured or condemned the granting of Warrants to ſtop Proceſs, ſince it is apparent they had no ſuch Warrants before them when they came to their Reſolutions, and conſequently it cannot be imagined that they gave any Opinion concerning them.

But as the Nature of the Services, and the Remoteneſs of the Places where the Payments were made, have chiefly occaſioned the Delays in ſome Accounts, and the Applications for a Stop of Proceſs; ſo it is very obſervable, that where the Accounts have not been ſubject to ſuch Difficulties, there is no Complaint at all. An Inſtance of this, we ſee in thoſe of the Paymaſter of the Guards and Garriſons, whoſe Accounts have all along been paſſed and proſecuted with all poſſible Diſpatch; which it is juſt to obſerve for his Credit, ſo it ſhews that due Care has been taken for paſſing Accounts, when the Nature of the Service did not make it neceſſary to diſpenſe with the common Rules and Forms.

I will trouble the Reader with nothing more, but an Abſtract of the Accounts of ſeveral Accountants, as ſtated in the Report, and of Mr. *Bridges*'s Accounts delivered ſince, with a few Remarks upon the whole.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
The Earl of *Ranelagh*'s Charge is	21,015,618	19	04 ½
Diſcharge.	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
By Accounts actually paſſed	14,593,665	04	02 ⅛
By Accounts rendered, or lying before the Auditors	6,420,182	06	08 ⅜
	21,013,847	10	10 ½
Remains to be accounted for	1,771	08	06

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
The Honourable *James Brydges*, Eſq; his Charge is	15,374,289	02	02
Diſcharge.	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
By Accounts actually paſſed	956,789	06	05 ¼
By Accounts rendered, or lying before the Auditors	8,097,492	08	07 ½
	9,054,281	15	00 ¾
By Accounts delivered ſince *Chriſtmas* 1710.	3,227,778	02	06
Remains to be accounted for	3,092,629	04	05

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Lord Viſcount *Falkland*'s Charge is	3,094,723	07	11 ½
Diſcharge.	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
By Accounts actually paſſed	1,122,133	05	11
By Accounts lying before the Auditors	1,465,363	05	09 ¾
	2,587,501	11	08 ¾
Remains to be accounted for	507,221	16	02 ¾

Sir

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Sir *Thomas Littleton*'s Charge is ——	18,382,750	01	05 ¾
	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Discharge. By Accounts actually paſſed, or ready for Declaration	7,559,382	05	03 ¼
By Accounts lying before the Auditors, under the Examination of the Navy-Board, and by Money paid over to *R. Walpole*, Eſq; ——	10,770,179	19	00 ¼
	18,329,562	04	04
Remains to be accounted for ——	53,187	17	01 ¾

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Capt. *Atkinſon*, and others, Commiſſioners for Tranſportation, their Charge during the late War ——	938,646	19	09
Their Diſcharge by Accounts lying before the Auditors	935,807	08	04
Remains to be accounted for ——	2,839	11	05

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Capt. *Atkinſon*, and others, their Charge for this War	120,108	16	03 ½
Their Diſcharge by Accounts rendered or lying before the Auditors —— —— ——	60,546	13	11 ½
Remains to be accounted for ——	59,562	02	04

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Mr. *Nutting*'s Charge is —— ——	108,118	16	10 ½
Remains to be accounted for ——	108,118	16	10 ½

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Mr. *Maſon*'s Charge is —— ——	262,813	19	07
Remains to be accounted for —	262,813	19	07

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Mr. *Povey*'s Charge is —— ——	136,160	00	00 ¼
His Diſcharge by Accounts lying before the Auditors —	135,476	07	00 ¼
Remains to be accounted for ——	683	13	00

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Mr. *Micklethwait*'s Charge is —— ——	480,209	00	11 ¼
His Diſcharge by Accounts lying before the Auditors	376,442	10	09 ¼
Remains to be accounted for —	103,766	10	02

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Mr. *Savery*'s Charge is —— ——	276,078	08	08 ½

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Diſcharge. By Accounts actually paſſed —— ——	63,810	07	02
By Accounts before the Auditors — —	74,728	01	00 ¼
	138,538	08	02 ¼
Remains to be accounted for ——	137,540	00	06 ¾
Total to be accounted for ——	4,330,135	00	02

Thus

Thus we see the *Thirty-five Millions* and upwards, reduced to less than *Four and a Half*, which is much short of one Year's Supply; not to mention other Accounts that have been brought in since the Report, particularly *Three* of the present Paymaster for the Sick and Wounded. And now, if I may be allowed to suppose what I think I have fully proved, that many Irregularities and unavoidable Delays attend the passing of some Accounts, which no Care or Industry can prevent: If it appears that the Nature of the Services, and the Method of Payment in some Offices being inconsistent with the Course of the Exchequer, require Privy Seals, and are the Work of longer Time than is limited for *passing Accounts*; if it appears that those Irregularities which are incident to Accounts, are yet necessary for the Accommodation of the Service, and not to be avoided without infinite Prejudice to the Management; and if it appears that the Security of the Publick does not intirely depend upon the *actual passing of Accounts*, provided they have been *duly tendered*; I hope People will begin to be satisfied, that the Nation has not been cheated of *Thirty-five Millions*, and will not persist to reflect so much upon the House of Commons, as to suppose they could discover such a Loss of the Publick Money, and not find out the Persons that had wickedly embezzled it. For I am obliged to think, that the Justice of this House of Commons is equal to their Mercy, and that they would have named, and effectually have punished any of the late Ministers, whom they had known to be the Authors of such unpardonable Mischief to the Publick. But I have still a greater Authority to persuade me, that no body was guilty of these high Offences, because among the many Removes that have been lately made, I hear of no Man turned out for ill executing his Office, nor of any Accountant removed for *neglecting his Duty in passing his Accounts*; which surely must convince the World, that *her Majesty and her present Ministers*, who have Power and Opportunities to inspect narrowly, and to be fully informed of the Conduct and Behaviour of every Man in his Employment, are satisfied that the Delays, which have happened in *passing* the several Accounts, have not proceeded from any Neglect in the Officers. And what then was to be done by the late Ministers, who were equally satisfied that none intrusted with the Receipt of Publick Money during their Administration, had wilfully delayed the *passing* their Accounts?

To conclude therefore, I hope I have made it appear, as plainly to others as it does to me, that of the *Thirty Five Millions*, &c. Accounts have been duly rendered for all *but Four*, &c. That the Delays which have happened in passing most of the Accounts, have arisen only from Necessity, and the Nature of the Services: That the common Course and Method of Business make it impracticable for the several Accountants to comply with the Rules of the Exchequer: That if in some few Instances all possible Care and Dispatch have not been used to prosecute and finish the Accounts, the Blame is by no means to be laid where the general Clamour has fixed it: That of all the Money granted for the Service of this War, and issued during the late Administration, it does not appear there has been the least Loss and Embezzlement: That there is no Ground to suspect, that by not compelling the Accountants to pass their Accounts, any Frauds and Misapplications have been skreened or concealed; and that, upon the whole Matter, there never was a greater Calumny raised upon less Grounds, than that which I have now disproved.

Navy Office, 19th December, 1711.

An Eſtimate of the Debt of her Majeſty's Navy on the Heads hereafter mentioned, as it ſtood on the 30th of *September* laſt, with what thereof has and will be ſatisfied by the *South Sea Stock*, purſuant to the late Act of Parliament on that Behalf, and what remains of the ſaid Debt on the ſaid 30th of *September* to be diſcharged.

With OBSERVATIONS thereupon.

Heads of the Naval Eſtimates.	Debts as they ſtood on *September* 30, 1711. Particulars. Before this Reign.	Particulars. Since this Reign.	Total.	What of the ſaid Debt has been diſcharged by the S. Sea Stock.	What of the ſaid Debt remains to be diſcharged.
DUE on Bills in the Second Regiſter-Book, as namely for Purſers Ballance Bills, and for Extra-neceſſary Money, Penſions, Half Pays, Surgeons, Free Gifts, *&c.* incurred before this Reign, as by an Account thereof ſent to the Right Honourable the Lord High Treaſurer, on the 10th of *December*, 1711, in order to be taken into the *South-Sea* Stock,	16409 16 00		17146 17 09	17146 17 09	
For Intereſt allowed by the above-ſaid Act for the aforeſaid Debt, from the 25th of *March*, 1711, to the 25th of *December*, 1711.		737 01 09			

Heads of the Naval Eſtimates.	Debts as they ſtood on *September* 30, 1711. Particulars. Before this Reign.	Particulars. Since this Reign.	Total.	What of the ſaid Debt has been diſcharged by the S. Sea Stock.	What of the ſaid Debt remains to be diſcharged.
Wear and Tear, Ordinary and Extraordinary Repairs.					
Due to pay off all the Bills entered in Courſe on the Ordinary and Extraordinary of her Majeſty's Navy to *Lady-day*, 1711, as by an Account thereof ſent to the Right Honourable the Lord High Treaſurer on the 16*th* of *October* paſt, in order to be taken into the *South-Sea* Stock,		1677064 07 03			
Intereſt accruing thereon to the ſaid 25th of *March*, 1711.		97208 05 01	1854096 11 02	1854096 11 02	
Intereſt allowed by the ſaid Act for the aforeſaid Debt from the 25th of *March*, 1711. to the 25th of *December*, 1711.		79823 18 10			
On the ſaid Book of Courſe from the 25th of *March*, 1711, to the 30th of *September*, 1711,		234008 19 11			
Intereſt accruing thereon,		1005 09 10	235014 09 09	235014 09 09	
To her Majeſty's Yards and Rope-Yards, for the Ordinary and Extraordinary thereof,		350489 00 00	350489 00 00		350489 00 00

Heads of the Naval Eſtimates.	Debts as they ſtood on *September* 30, 1711. Particulars. Before this Reign.	Particulars. Since this Reign.	Total.	What of the ſaid Debt has been diſcharged by the S. Sea Stock.	What of the ſaid Debt remains to be diſcharged.
For the Freight of Hoſpital Ships and Tenders; as alſo for Stores delivered into her Majeſty's ſeveral Yards, for which no Bills were made out on the aforeſaid 30th of *September* laſt,		41987 14 01	41987 14 01		41987 14 01
Seamens Wages.					
Due to Men remaining unpaid upon the Books of Ships paid off ſince the 13th of *February*, 1688.	57824 13 05	212517 02 07	270341 16 00		
To Ships in Sea Pay		1829724 00 00	1129724 00 00		2126978 19 04
To pay off and diſcharge all Bills entered in Courſe for Surgeons Neceſſaries, Bounties to Widows and Orphans, Pilotage, *&c.* on the Heads of Seamens Wages,		26913 03 04	26913 03 04		
Victualling Debt as per *an Eſtimate received from thoſe Commiſſioners.*					
DUE to pay off all the Bills entered in Courſe to the 25th of *March*, 1711, as by an Account thereof ſent to the Right Honourable the Lord High Treaſurer, the 14th of *September*, 1711, by thoſe Commiſſioners, in order to be taken into the *South Sea* Stock,		1764762 02 04			
For Intereſt accruing thereon to the 25th of *March*, 1711,		82035 18 07	1929874 06 10	1929874 06 10	
Intereſt allowed by the ſaid Act for the aforeſaid Debt, from the 25th of *March*, 1711, to the 25th of *December*, 1711,		83076 05 11			

Heads of the Naval Eſtimates.	Debts as they ſtood on *September* 30, 1711. Particulars. Before this Reign.	Particulars. Since this Reign.	Total.	What of the ſaid Debt has been diſcharged by the S. Sea Stock.	What of the ſaid Debt remains to be diſcharged.
On the ſaid Book of Courſe from the 25th *March*, 1711, to the 30th of *September*, 1711.		219568 13 11	220799 07 04	220799 07 04	
Intereſt accruing thereon,		1230 13 05			
For Extra-Freights and Donorages to Victualling Ships ſent to *Liſbon* and into the *Mediterranean* with Proviſions for the Service of her Majeſty's Fleet in thoſe Parts, and for Proviſions delivered into Stores, and other Services performed before the 30th of *September*, 1711, for which Bills were not then made out; as alſo to Bills of Exchange, and neceſſary Money, to Purſers Wages, to the Officers, Workmen and Labourers, employed in the ſeveral Yards. For Short Allowance of Victuals to Seamen ſerving on board her Majeſty's Fleet; and for Contingencies, *&c.*		340206 06 06	340206 06 06		340206 06 06
Sick and Wounded, and for Exchange of French *Priſoners, the Debt of that Office as* per *an Eſtimate, received from thoſe Commiſſioners*, viz.					
Due for the Service of the Sick and Wounded Seamen on board her Majeſty's Fleet,		81545 19 6½	115194 17 02		115194 17 02
For Subſiſtence of *French* Priſoners,		20742 02 5			
To Bills of Exchange from foreign Parts,		12906 15 2½			
Total	£ 74234 09 05	7157554 00 06	7231788 09 11	425693 12 10	2974856 17 01

Remaining on the ſaid 30th of September *paſt, of the* South-Sea *Stock*, &c. *towards anſwering the ſaid Debts.* Viz.

	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
THERE was granted by Parliament, in *Page* 403. of the Act for Eſtabliſhing a Trade to the *South-Sea*, for the Debts of the Navy, Victualling, Sick and Wounded, to *Michaelmas*, 1710, the Sum of	5130539	5	5			
In Page 404 of the ſaid Act, there is a Sum of 378859 *l.* 5 *s.* 8 *d.* ¼. directed for the Debts incurred between the 29th of *September*, 1710, and 25th of *December* following, in the ſeveral Offices of the Navy, Victualling, and Tranſports, and for Intereſt on Army and Tranſport Debentures, whereof is to be applied to the Debt of the Navy, on the Head of Wear and Tear 96720 *l.* 3 *s.* 0 *d.* and on the Head of Victualling, 228275 *l.* 12 *s.* 5 *d.* as *per* Letter from *William Lowndes*, Eſq; of the 29th of *November* paſt	324995	15	5			
The aforeſaid Act having alſo made Proviſion for Intereſt of the ſaid Debt, from the 25th of *March*, 1711, to the 25th of *December* following, which Intereſt, as by the aforeſaid Account for the Debts on the Second Book, appears to be 737 *l.* 1 *s.* 9 *d.* And on the Head of Wear and Tear 79823 *l.* 18 *s.* 10 *d.* and for the Victualling, 83076 *l.* 5 *s.* 11 *d.* and make altogether the Sum of	163637	6	6			
There has been Received by the Treaſurer of her Majeſty's Navy, *South Sea* Stock, out of 500000 *l.* granted by the ſaid Act, for the current Year, 1711. whereof by an Order from the Right Honourable the Lord High Treaſurer, of the 2d of *October* laſt, purſuant to her Majeſty's Warrant, under her Royal Sign Manual, dated the Day preceding, there was to be applied for the Courſe of the Navy, to *Michaelmas* 1711, the Sum of 237386 *l.* 0 *s.* 0 *d.* And for the Courſe of the Victualling 51214 *l.* 7 *s.* 2 *d.* making together the Sum of	288600	7	2			
There has been ſubſcribed to the *South Sea* Stock, by the Treaſurer of the Navy, Tallies on the General Mortgage, 1710, for the like Sum in the ſaid Stock, to be applied to the Courſe of the Victualling, to *Michaelmas*, 1711.	168100	0	0			
	6075872	14	6			
Of which, there has been applied to the Services of the Navy and Victualling, as appears in the proper Column, in the foregoing Account, towards the Debt to *Michaelmas*, 1711, the Sum of	4256931	12	10			
Remains of the aboveſaid *South Sea* Stock, to be farther applied, the Sum of				1818941	1	8

On the 30th of September laſt, *There was remaining in the Hands of the late and preſent Treaſurers of the Navy, the Tallies and Money hereafter mentioned, (over and above the Aſſignments of the Navy and Victualling Boards) to be applied to the Services thereof,* Viz.

			l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
Executors of Sir *Tho. Littleton.*	Tallies	On Reverſionary Annuities	46093	0	0			
		On half Subſidies on a General Mortgage, 1708,	4095	3	3			
	In Money		2278	6	6			
	Ditto, for the Victualling		7	10	7			
						52474	0	4
Robert Walpole, Eſq;	Tallies	On the 4th General Mortgage, 1709,	62	18	0			
		On the 12th 4 *s.* Aid	8000	0	0			
		On the 14th 4 *s.* Aid	31800	0	0			
		On Candle	93	19	11			
	In Money		5010	2	6			
	Ditto, and ſeveral Tallies for the Victualling		6592	3	10			
						51559	5	0
Charles Cæſar, Eſq;	Tallies	On the 14th 4 *s.* Aid	44000	0	0			
		On Malt, *Anno* 1711,	110400	0	0			
		On Hops	14390	16	8			
	In Money		73914	19	8			
	Ditto, for the Victualling		8215	11	7			
						250921	7	11
								354954 13 3
								2173895 14 11

	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
THE Debts remaining (by the aforeſaid Account) to be ſatisfied, amounts to the Sum of				2974856	17	1
Towards which the Remains of the *South Sea* Stock, Tallies and Money in the late and preſent Treaſurers of the Navy's Hands, as aforementioned, amounts to the Sum of				2173895	14	11
Wanting on the ſaid 30th of *September* laſt, to diſcharge the ſaid Debts, the Sum of				800961	2	2
But towards anſwering the ſaid Debt, there has been received ſince *Michaelmas* laſt, by the Treaſurer of the Navy, for the Service thereof, the Sum of	497216	6	1			
Remains to be ſupplied to the Navy, of the Sum voted for it the laſt Seſſion of Parliament	295182	14	9	792399	0	10
So that if the Navy could be ſupplied with the aboveſaid Remains, the Charge between *Michaelmas* 1710 and *Michaelmas* 1711, would exceed the Sum granted for the Debt, and what was voted by the Honourable Houſe of Commons, but the Sum of				8562	1	4
But the Produce of the Funds, granted by the Parliament in their laſt Seſſions, falling ſhort to anſwer the Sums voted; the Proportion of the ſaid Deficiencies, which will fall to the Navy, as *per* Letter from *Tho. Harley*, Eſq; amounts to the Sum of				186974	1	2
And conſequently, there will remain unprovided for, the Sum of				195536	2	6

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS *on the foregoing* ACCOUNT.

THE firſt Obſervation that is obvious upon Peruſal of this Paper, is, That this Eſtimate of the Debt of the Navy, as it ſtood on the 30th of *September*, 1711. is made up by carrying on the former Accounts of the Debt of the Navy, and adding to the old Debt the Increaſe that has been made upon the ſeveral Heads betwixt *Michaelmas* 1710. and *Michaelmas* 1711.

By this Account it appears at the Foot of the Column of Totals, that notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid of paying the Debts of the Nation, the Debt of the Navy was at *Michaelmas* Day laſt 7,231,788 *l.* 9 *s.* 11 *d.*

Whereof there has been diſcharged, as in the next Column, by *South-Sea* Stock 4,256,931 *l.* 12 *s.* 10 *d.* and then the Debt at *Michaelmas* laſt remaining to be diſcharged was, as in the laſt Column, 2,974,856 *l.* 17 *s.* 1 *d.*

Towards which there was of *South-Sea* Stock not applied to any Service, 1,818,941 *l.* 1 *s.* 8 *d.* and in Talleys and Money remaining in the Hands of the ſeveral Treaſurers of the Navy 354,954 *l.* 13 *s.* 3 *d.* which making together 2,173,895 *l.* 14. 11. *d.* there remained a Debt at *Michaelmas* laſt no ways diſcharged or provided for of 800,961 *l.* 2 *s.* 2 *d.*

But as a Debt of above 800,000 *l.* incurred in one Year muſt appear very extraordinary, not only becauſe it is a far greater Debt than was incurred in the Navy in any one Year during the whole late Adminiſtration, but becauſe this Parliament had ſo lately declared againſt all Exceedings as *Illegal and Unwarrantable*, it was abſolutely neceſſary to colour this over, and by firſt deducting what had been received ſince *Michaelmas*, and then by deducting what had been paid ſhort of the Sums voted by Parliament, the real Debt of 800,961 *l.* 2 *s.* 2 *d.* is very handſomely reduced to 8562 *l.* 1 *s.* 4 *d.* and there it is ſaid, *If the Navy could be ſupplied with the aforeſaid Remains, the Charge between* Michaelmas, 1710, and *Michaelmas*, 1711. *would exceed the Sum granted for the Debts, and what was voted by the Honourable* Houſe of Commons *but the ſaid Sum of* 8562 *l.* 1 *s.* 4 *d.*

By this Paragraph it plainly appears, that the Expence of the Navy betwixt *Michaelmas*, 1710. and *Michaelmas*, 1711. is the only Account concerned in Queſtion; which demonſtrates that the 497,216 *l.* 6 *s.* 1 *d.* received by the Treaſurer of the Navy ſince *Michaelmas*, cannot be admitted as leſſening the Debt incurred before *Michaelmas*. This Eſtimate of the Debt is dated the 19th of *Dec.* 1711. which within a few Days is another entire Quarter, and it muſt be admitted there has been an Expence made in the Navy in that time, as well as there has been Money received and paid: To deduct then the Money received ſince *Michaelmas*, and not to bring to Account the Expence that has been made in the ſame time, is to take Credit for Five Quarters, and charge themſelves with but Four. Beſides, if the Money received ſince *Michaelmas* has been applied to diſcharge Debts incurred before *Michaelmas*, the whole Quarter's Expence betwixt *Michaelmas* and *Chriſtmas* is unprovided for, and muſt be added to the Debt, and every Quarter's Expence is eſtimated at 524,000 *l.* Or if this Money has been applied to Services performed ſince *Michaelmas*, there can be no Pretence to ſay, it leſſens the Debt incurred before that time: And it is highly

probable this was the Caſe, becauſe we have heard ſo much of paying Ready Money upon all Contracts made ſince *Michaelmas*, which could be ſupplied out of this Money only.

What immediately follows, as little contributes towards leſſening the Debt: To ſay, that the Navy has received 295,182 *l.* 14 *s.* 9 *d.* ſhort of the Sums voted, is giving a very good Reaſon for ſo much of the Increaſe of the Debt. But this was likewiſe the Caſe in every Year during the late Adminiſtration, and was urged as a neceſſary Cauſe of the Increaſe of the old Debt; but this was ſo entirely exploded the laſt Year, that I can ſcarce believe what was then declared *a dangerous Invaſion of the Rights of Parliament*, will now be thought right and juſtifiable: But though it be admitted as a neceſſary Cauſe for increaſing the Debt, the Debt will ſtill remain the ſame until that Money is received to diſcharge it; ſo that I am afraid, if (as is ſaid) *there was wanting on the ſaid 30th of* September *laſt to diſcharge the ſaid Debts the Sum of* 800,961 *l.* 2 *s.* 2 *d.* the Publick will find they have little leſs to pay upon theſe two Conſiderations; though it may ſerve a preſent Turn, and be an Amuſement to ſuch Gentlemen as will give themſelves the trouble to look no farther, to find at the Foot of the Account ſuch a trifling Exceeding, as 8562 *l.* 1 *s.* 4 *d.*

But for the better underſtanding this whole Matter, it is neceſſary now to obſerve, that the firſt Proviſion made in the *South-Sea Act* is for the whole Debt of the Navy, as it ſtood at *Michaelmas*, 1710. and amounted to 5,130,539 *l.* 5 *s.* 5 *d.* There is a farther Proviſion made for Debts incurred in the ſeveral Offices betwixt *Michaelmas*, 1710. whereof the Expence in the Courſe of the Navy and Victualling in that time amounted to 324,995 *l.* 15 *s.* 5 *d.* which being computed into the Total of the Debts is made Part of the Capital of the *South-Sea* Stock, and thereby diſcharged. There is afterwards a Clauſe directing the *Commiſſioners of the Navy and Victualling* to cauſe an Account of the Debts in their reſpective Offices, due on the 25th of *March* 1711. to be made up and ſtated, and tranſmitted to the Treaſury, in order to be ſubſcribed to the *South-Sea Stock*. But this not being computed into the Total of the Debts, is not provided for in the Capital Stock, and conſequently cannot be paid out of any Part thereof, which by the Act is applied to other Services; but muſt be ſupplied either out of the 500,000 *l.* granted for Part of the Proviſion for that Year's Service, or out of ſuch Talleys on the General Mortgage as had been ſubſcribed to the *South-Sea* Stock by the Treaſurer of the Navy. The Proportion of the 500,000 *l.* allotted for the Service of the Navy we find to be 288,600 *l.* 7 *s.* 2 *d.* and the general Mortgage-Talleys ſubſcribed by the Treaſurer of the Navy to be 168,100 *l.* making together 456,700 *l.* 7 *s.* 2 *d.* which was all the *South-Sea* Stock that was made applicable to the current Service of the Navy for laſt Year, except the 324,995 *l.* 15 *s.* 5 *d.* which in the *South-Sea Act* is added to the Capital Stock. But yet we find that over and above the Debts incurred between *Michaelmas* and *Chriſtmas*, provided for in the Bill, and the Expence betwixt *Chriſtmas* and *Lady-Day*, for which Power was given, but no Proviſion made, all the Bills regiſtered in Courſe in the Navy and Victualling, from *Lady-Day*, 1711. to *Michaelmas*, 1711. are likewiſe diſcharged by the *South-Sea Stock*; ſo that the whole Year's Expence upon the Courſe of the Navy and Victualling between *Michaelmas*, 1710. and *Michaelmas*, 1711. is diſcharged by the

the *South-Sea* Stock, which amounts to 1,127,134 *l.* 11 *s.* 9 *d.* although there was Power by Act of Parliament to apply no more than 781,696 *l.* 2 *s.* 7 *d.* The Difference is 345,438 *l.* 9 *s.* 5 *d.* to which I will add no more, but aſk, out of what Part of the *South-Sea* Stock this was paid, and what there is to replace it? or with what Juſtice the Contractors were obliged to take their Payments in the *South-Sea* Stock at ſuch great Diſcounts, for Services, which it is moſt evident the Parliament deſigned ſhould be anſwered out of the Ready Money granted for this Year's Service.

But although there was a Power given by the Act of Parliament to diſcharge the Debts of the Navy, incurred betwixt *Michaelmas*, 1710. and *Lady-Day*, 1711. in the manner above explained, I preſume, it will not be pretended, that this was granted as an additional Supply to the Navy, over and above the 2,200,000 *l.* granted for the Service of the Year, 1711. but muſt be underſtood as a Power to apply ſo much of the *South-Sea* Stock, to the current Service of the Year, as Part of the Supply granted for that Purpoſe. If then the Deſign of the Parliament was to limit the Expence of the Navy to the Sums voted for that Service, in the Committee of Supply, where the Proportions of Expence for all Parts of the Service are always limited and adjuſted; let us enquire how far the Charge of the Navy betwixt *Michaelmas*, 1710. and *Michaelmas*, 1711. has exceeded the Supply granted for that Year's Service; and this may be done, by conſidering it in two different Views, wherein all the Facts are taken from the foregoing Eſtimates, or from Accounts, made up by the Commiſſioners of the Navy and Victualling, of the Debts of the Navy and Victualling from *Chriſtmas*, 1710. to *Lady-Day*, 1711. or from the Report of the Commiſſioners of Publick Accounts; and it will be no Objection, that the Exceedings are not juſt the ſame in the different Views, becauſe they are grounded only upon ſuch groſs Computations as are taken from thoſe Accounts; and it is not pretended here, to ſtate the exact Exceedings, which cannot be adjuſted without a full and particular Account of the Receipts, Iſſues, and all the particular Expences upon each Head of the Navy.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
There was granted for the Service of the Navy (excluſive of the Ordnance) for the Service of the Year, 1711. —	2,096,000	0	0

The Navy had received between Michaelmas, 1710. *and* Michaelmas, 1711. *in* South-Sea *Stock.*

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
For Debts incurred in the Navy and Victualling Offices, from *Michaelmas*, 1710. to *Chriſtmas*, 1710. ——	324,995	15	5
For Ditto, from *Chriſtmas*, 1710. to *Lady-Day*, 1711. —	346,324	19	3
For Ditto, from *Lady-Day*, 1711. to *Michaelmas*, 1711.	455,813	17	1
	1,127,134	11	9
The Navy had likewiſe received in that Time, from the Exchequer, as by Account from the Commiſſioners of Publick Accounts. —— —	1,229,849	3	9½

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Of which there remained at *Michaelmas* laſt, in the Hands of the ſeveral Treaſurers of the Navy, which may be reckoned Part of this Money, not above 300,000 *l.* and there being Tallies on the General Mortgage depoſited with the *Bank*, which were redeemed with this Money, amounting to about 145,000 *l.* making together —	0,445,000	00	0
There had been expended before *Michaelmas*, 1711. of the Moneys received from the *Exchequer*. —	0,784,849	03	9½
And there was wanting at *Michaelmas* laſt, to diſcharge the Debts, incurred before that Time. —	0,800,961	02	2
Total Expence between *Michaelmas*, 1710. and *Michaelmas*, 1711. —	2,712,944	17	8½
Which exceeds the Supply granted by Parliament —	0,616,944	17	8½

Another State of the Exceedings.

The Debt of the Navy at *Michaelmas*, 1711. was —	7,231,788	9	10
The Debt of the Navy at *Michaelmas*, 1710. was but	5,130,539	5	5
The Debt was then increaſed —	2,101,249	4	5
But in the Debt of *Michaelmas*, 1711. is included a Year's Intereſt, from *Michaelmas*, 1710. to *Michaelmas*, 1711. of the old Navy and Victualling Bills, due before *Michaelmas*, 1710. and which are Part of the Capital of the *South-Sea* Stock; which Intereſt is not diſtinguiſhed in the Eſtimate of the Debt of the Navy, but may be computed at —	180,000	0	0
Which being deducted, the neat Increaſe of the Debt, betwixt *Michaelmas*, 1710. and *Michaelmas*, 1711. will be —	1,921,249	4	5
Expended of the Money received from the *Exchequer*, as by the laſt Account —	0,784,849	3	9½
Total Expence between *Michaelmas*, 1710. and *Michaelmas*, 1711. —	2,706,098	8	2½
Which exceeds the Supply granted by Parliament —	0,610,098	8	2

The ſmall Difference between theſe two States, is not worth the Notice; but from what has been ſaid, it is evident, that very great Exceedings have been in the Navy laſt Year, upon which I will make no Reflections, but leave it to other Gentlemen, whoſe Honour ſeems to be a little concerned to reconcile this Practice with the Opinions that have lately prevailed. The Opinion of a private Man, who has no Opportunities of being perfectly informed of theſe Matters, but can only make his own Obſervations upon ſuch Papers as accidentally fall in his Way, may be thought of no Weight or Conſequence; but ſuch Regard has been

been ſhewn to the *Repreſentation made laſt Seſſions of Parliament*, that I ſhall conclude this Paper with tranſcribing one Paragraph from it.

" In examining into the State of the War, and looking back from the Begin-
" ning of it we find, that in ſeveral Years, the Service has been enlarged, *and*
" *the Charge of it encreaſed beyond the Bounds preſcribed, and the Annual Sup-*
" *plies granted by Parliament:* To this *new and illegal Practice*, we muſt, in
" great meaſure, aſcribe the Riſe and Growth of the heavy Debts that lie upon
" the Nation; nor does the Conſequence of it end there, for we muſt alſo repre-
" ſent it to your Majeſty, as *a dangerous Invaſion of the Rights of Parliament.*
" The Commons muſt ever aſſert it as their ſole and undoubted Privilege, to
" grant Money, and to adjuſt and limit the Proportions of it; and when your
" Majeſty has recommended to them, to conſider of Supplies, and they have de-
" liberated upon the ſeveral Eſtimates for the Annual Services, and conſidered
" and determined what the Nation is able to bear, their Proceedings would be
" very vain and ineffectual, if, after the reſpective Sums are ſtated, and grant-
" ed, *thoſe through whoſe Hands the Diſpoſition of them paſſes, are allowed, in*
" *any Meaſure, to alter and enlarge them.* This is an Attempt which very little
" differs from *levying Money without Conſent of Parliament*, as will appear to
" your Majeſty from this one Conſideration, that a Charge of that kind once in-
" curred, and laid as a Debt upon the Navy, or any other Publick Office, is
" ſo far binding upon Parliament, that, how little ſoever they approve of the
" Means by which it was contracted, yet the Publick Credit being pawned, the
" Commons cannot, without the Ruin of that, refuſe to provide for it."

A brief Account of the DEBTS *provided for by the* South-Sea *Act, and the Times when they were incurred. With ſome ſhort Obſervations.*

IT is too notorious with what Induſtry it has been inſinuated, and how generally received, that the whole Capital Stock of the *South-Sea* Company was a Debt contracted by the late Miniſtry. A Debt of near *Nine Millions and a half* was thought a very heavy Burden upon the Nation, and what a great many were ready to conclude muſt be occaſioned by ill Management, or by Embezzlement of the Publick Money. I will not ſay that the Total of the Capital Stock was ſwelled to this Height with no other View than to blacken the late Miniſtry, tho' I believe that was an Incident that did not make the Project at all the leſs agreeable; becauſe it is very evident, other People found their Account in it, not only by applying ſo great a Share of it to the Service of the current Year, but becauſe it was eſſential to their very Project. But to ſee how far the late Miniſtry are juſtly chargeable upon this Account, I thought it worth while to examine into the ſeveral Particulars, and enquire by what Degrees, at what Times, and in what Manner this great Debt was contracted; and I found, that the Debt incurred during the late Adminiſtration, was not near one half of the whole Sum provided for by this Act; that the Debt at *Michaelmas*, 1710, to which Time all the Debts were ſtated and adjuſted, was but *Six Millions, Seven Hundred Sixty-one Thouſand, Six Hundred and Ninety Pounds, Eighteen Shillings, Seven Pence Farthing*; of which, *Two Millions, Eight Hundred Ninety-*

ſeven

ſeven Thouſand, Five Hundred Thirty-nine Pounds, Nineteen Shillings, Four Pence, three Farthings, was an old Debt of the laſt War, and incurred before the late Adminiſtration: and that to the Debt due at *Michaelmas*, 1710, there is added above *Two Millions, Seven Hundred Thouſand Pounds*; which either aroſe from a great Part thereof being granted in Aid of the Supplies for laſt Year's Service, or from the Nature of the Project; there being no other Proviſion for the growing Intereſt, but by making it Principal, the Intereſt, together with the General Mortgage-Tallies, was included in this Proviſion; all which being no Part of the Debt due at *Michaelmas*, 1710, is not to be imputed to the late Miniſtry, whoſe Charge muſt be allowed to determine with their Adminiſtration; but being now made Part of the groſs Debt, which by this *Darling Project* is no otherwiſe paid, than by being turned into a perpetual Debt, with an Intereſt of 6 *l. per Cent. per Ann.* muſt be admitted to be an Increaſe of the Debt ſince the Change of the Miniſtry.

A View of the whole Debt, diſtinguiſhed under the three following Heads, will beſt explain this Matter.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
The Principal Sum provided for by the *South-Sea* Act, at *Chriſtmas*, 1711, was	9,471,325	00	0

Which aroſe thus:

Before the late Adminiſtration,

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
The Debt of the Navy (excluſive of the Regiſter-Office) at *Michaelmas*, 1702, was	1,722,679	05	8
Ditto of the Ordnance	166,293	09	0¾
The Principal Money of the Army and Tranſport-Debentures	987,157	03	8
Arrears of Subſidies to the Elector of *Hanover*, and Duke of *Zell*	9,375	00	0
Deficient Tallies on Coals, *&c.*	12,025	01	0
Total Debt at *Michaelmas*, 1702.	2,897,529	19	4¾

During the late Adminiſtration,

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
The Debt of the Navy (after the Debt of *Michaelmas*, 1702 is deducted) was at *Michaelmas*, 1710	3,407,859	19	9
Debt of the Tranſports, at *Michaelmas*, 1710	424,791	05	4¼
The Intereſt then in Arrear on the Army and Tranſport-Debentures	31,499	14	1¼
Total Debt at *Michaelmas*, 1710	3,864,150	19	2½

Since

Since the Change of the Miniſtry,

The Debts incurred in the ſeveral Offices of the Navy, Ordnance, and Tranſports, and for the Intereſt of the Army and Tranſport-Debentures between *Michaelmas*, 1710, and *Chriſtmas*, 1710	378,859	05	8½
Intereſt of ſuch Part of the Debt as carried Intereſt from *Chriſtmas*, 1710, to *Lady-Day*, 1711	85,000	00	0
Intereſt of the whole, from *Lady-Day*, 1711, to *Chriſtmas*, 1711, from which Time ſuch Debts as carried no Intereſt were charged with Intereſt, and the Intereſt in Arrear was made Principal, and charged with Intereſt	386,325	00	0
Five Hundred Thouſand Pound Stock granted for the Service of the current Year	500,000	00	0
By ſubſcribing the Subſidy-Tallies of the Year 1710, in order to have the General Mortgage free at the Year 1716, to be made a Fund for paying the Intereſt of the whole Debt provided for by this Act; the Principal and Intereſt of which at *Lady-Day*, 1711, (from which Time the Intereſt was made Principal) amounted to	1,371,428	09	1
Total Debt incurred ſince *Michaelmas*, 1710	2,721,612	14	9 ¼
Total of the ſeveral Particulars	9,483,293	13	4½

The Difference that appears to be betwixt the Total of the Particulars and the Total of the *South-Sea* Stock, is occaſioned by the Debt of the Ordnance being more at *Michaelmas*, 1702, than it was at *Michaelmas*, 1710, which is one Inſtance of the Debt being leſſened by the late Miniſtry, where the Service would admit of it.

It is obſervable, that the Debt before the late Adminiſtration neceſſarily occaſioned an Increaſe of the Debt ſince incurred; not only the Intereſt of ſuch Part of the Debt as carried Intereſt, but the Arrears of the ſeveral Offices, being in courſe to be ſatisfied before the new Contracts, advanced the Prices upon all Stores, Proviſions, and Neceſſaries ſupplied for the Uſe of the Publick; and conſequently contributed in ſome meaſure to the yearly Increaſe of the Debt incurred in this War.

Notwithſtanding this, it appears that the whole Debt incurred in eight Years, does not exceed *Three Millions, Eight Hundred Sixty-four Thouſand, One Hundred and Fifty Pounds, Nineteen Shillings, Two Pence Half-penny*; and it appears from authentic Accounts, that the Deficiency of the Funds in that Time, amounted to *One Million, Five Hundred Fifty-ſeven Thouſand, Five Hundred and Forty Pounds, Twelve Shillings, Nine Pence Farthing*; which reduces the Debt contracted in eight Years by the late Miniſtry to *Two Millions, Three Hundred and Six Thouſand, Six Hundred and Ten Pounds, Six Shillings, Five Pence Farthing*; which is not *Three Hundred Thouſand Pounds* a Year, one Year with another. And he that thinks it a great Miſmanagement to incur a Debt of about

about *Three Hundred Thousand Pounds* per Ann. in all the Public Offices, will wonder to find, since the Change of the Ministry, one Year's Debt in the Navy only amounting to double that Sum, as appears by a late *printed Account of the Debt of the Navy at* Michaelmas, 1711, *with Observations thereon.*

This will still seem a little more extraordinary, if it be considered, that the Supplies of last Year did far exceed the Supply of any one Year during this War; which will be found true, if compared with any of the Years of the highest Expence: and still more so, if we may be allowed to take a Medium of the eight Years for one Year's Expence. The Supplies of the eight Years concerned in this Question, amounted to *Forty-two Millions, Seven Hundred Fifty-four Thousand, and Twenty-one Pounds, Six Pence Three Farthings*; which, at a Medium of the whole for one Year, will be *Five Millions, Three Hundred Forty-four Thousand, Two Hundred Fifty-two Pounds, Twelve Shillings, Seven Pence:* and this compared with the *Seven Millions, One Hundred Ninety-two Thousand, Three Hundred Ninety-nine Pounds, Five Shillings, Eight Pence Farthing*, which in Money and *South-Sea* Stock was granted for the Service of the last Year, exclusive of the Deficiencies transferred to the Land-Tax and Malt, and of the *Five Hundred Eighty-nine Thousand, Eight Hundred Thirty-nine Pounds, Seventeen Shillings Four Pence*, (voted this Sessions for making good the Deficiencies of last Year's Grants) will soon shew, that the Shortness of the Supplies was not the Occasion that the Exceedings of last Year were greater than those of former Years, that had lately undergone such severe Censures.

And as for any extraordinary Services performed last Year beyond all former Years, I know of none but that notable Expedition to *Canada*; and am not concerned whether the undertaking a Project that had been before concerted and rejected as impracticable, or the Success that attended it, is to justify so extraordinary an Expence to the Nation.

The present Ministry justified: Or, an Account of the State of the several Treaties of Peace between Her Majesty and her Allies, and *France* and *Spain*: With an Account of the Obstructions of Peace, and of what was done relating to the *Catalans*. 1714.

IN Answer to the Addresses of this House, That her Majesty will be pleased to order an Account to be laid before this House, how far the Peace is compleat between her Majesty's Allies, and *France* and *Spain*, and what is yet wanting to make the same universal; as also what Obstructions her Majesty has met with in her Endeavours to make the same universal and compleat; and likewise that her Majesty would please to order an Account to be laid before this House, of what Endeavours have been used, that the *Catalans* might have full Enjoyment of all the ancient Liberties and Privileges, and that a full State of all Proceedings during the Treaty of Peace, relating thereunto, be likewise laid before

fore this Houſe; her Majeſty has thought fit to order, beſides the Papers herewith delivered in the following State of the Treaties of the Negotiations of Peace, and of the Endeavours which ſhe has uſed that the *Catalans* might have the full Enjoyment of all their ancient Liberties and Privileges, to be prepared and laid before this Houſe.

On the Eleventh Day of *April*, the Miniſters of *Great-Britain*, of *Portugal*, of the preſent King of *Sicily*, and of the States-General of the United Provinces, ſigned their reſpective Treaties with the Miniſters of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty at *Utrecht*.

From that Time, therefore, no Treaties between *France* and any of the Allies remained unfiniſhed, except thoſe of the Emperor, and of the Body of the Empire: The firſt of which was executed at *Raſtadt* on the Sixth of the laſt Month, N. S. and his Imperial Majeſty undertaking therein to procure the Conſent of the Empire to all the Articles of it, the Peace of the latter may, in Effect, be reckoned to have been likewiſe made at the ſame Time, although a Congreſs is appointed to meet at *Baden*, where the Conſent of the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire, is to be given in Form, and ſeveral particular Claims to be diſcuſſed.

Paſſports not having been granted to the Miniſters of *Spain*, 'till more than fourteen Months after the Conferences at *Utrecht* were opened, the Duke *d'Oſſuna* did not come to the Congreſs before the 19th of *April*, N. S. 1713. nor enter on any Buſineſs 'till the Arrival of his Colleague the Marquis *de Monteleon* in the Month of *June*.

On the 13th of *July* following, the Treaty of Peace between her Majeſty and the Catholic King was ſigned; but the Treaty of Commerce could not be finiſhed 'till the 9th of *December*, N. S. 1713.

The Peace between *Spain* and *Portugal* her Majeſty looks upon to be as good as concluded, it appearing by late Accounts from *Utrecht*, that the Project thereof had been drawn up in Form, and ſent to the two Courts to be approved; and that the Differences which remain were too inconſiderable to occaſion any new Delay. In the mean while, her Majeſty has taken the moſt effectual Care of the Intereſts of the King of *Portugal*, having given to that Prince, on the 18th of *Auguſt*, 1713, of her own Motion, and without any Requiſition on his Part, a new Guaranty, whereby the Queen obliged herſelf to ſecure the Reſtitution, even by Force of Arms, if that ſhould become neceſſary, of any Thing which might be taken from *Portugal* before the Concluſion of the Peace; to procure to that Crown the Colony of the *Sacrament* or in lieu thereof ſuch an Equivalent as the King of *Portugal* himſelf ſhould be contented to accept; to obtain Satisfaction to the *Portugueze* for what they claim to be due to them, on account of their *Aſſiento*, or Contract with the Crown of *Spain*; and to ſet on foot, after the Peace, an amicable Negotiation for accommodating the Differences which have ariſen concerning ſeveral Eſtates ſituated in *Portugal*, and claimed by Subjects of *Portugal* reſiding in *Spain*; and concerning thoſe *Spaniſh* Ships which were, about the Beginning of the War, ſeized by the *Portugueze*: On theſe Principles, the Earl of *Straſford* made a ſolemn Declaration to the Miniſters of *Spain*, in *February* laſt, when he exchanged with them the Inſtruments of Ratification of the Treaties between her Majeſty and the Catholick King, that the Peace

which the Queen then ratified, did not dispense with the Obligations which she lay under to the King of *Portugal*, as well by her Guaranty lately granted, as by her defensive Alliance made in 1703, and that her Majesty was determined to assist and defend this Prince on the Foot of the Pretensions specified in the said Guaranty, and according to the Tenour of the said defensive Alliance.

The Treaty of Peace between the Kings of *Spain* and *Sicily* was executed on the same Day on which her Majesty's Treaty with the Crown of *Spain* was signed, that is, on the 13th of *July*, 1713.

All the Articles of a Treaty between the Catholick King, and the States-General, have been long ago adjusted; and that Treaty would have been executed in Form, had not the Ministers of the States-General made and insisted upon a Declaration, which those of *Spain* apprehend to be repugnant to the Terms already settled.

It has not hitherto been possible so much as to enter on a Treaty between their Imperial and Catholick Majesties; the Emperor having thought fit to withdraw the last of his Ministers from *Utrecht*, before those of the King of *Spain* could appear and act in that Congress.

This short Account of the present State of the several Treaties of her Majesty and her Allies with *France* and *Spain*, shews how little is wanting, in Comparison with what has been already done, to render the Peace at last as universal as it would have been long ago, had not continual Obstructions been thrown in the way of this great Work, at its Beginning, and in every Step of its Progress.

France having complained of the Manner of treating, when former Treaties were made to set a Negotiation for a general Peace on Foot; and having for that Reason refused to make any new Overtures to the States-General, her Majesty received, in the Month of *April*, a Proposal from the most Christian King, which she immediately communicated by her Ambassador to the Ministers of *Holland*; assuring them, that in making Peace, as in making War, she would act in perfect Concert with the States: The *Dutch* Ministers, in Return to this Mark of her Majesty's Confidence in them, and Friendship for their Republick, having expressed themselves to be weary of the War, heartily desirous of Peace, and ready to join in any Method her Majesty should think proper to obtain it, gave their Opinion, that the Overture made by *France* was too general; *that it was necessary the Queen should make the* French *explain themselves more particularly*; and that till they had done so, it was not proper to take any Concert with the rest of the Allies.

As soon as her Majesty received this Answer from the *Hague*, she *insisted that the* French *should be more direct and particular in their Overtures*; and that they should form a distinct Project of such a Peace as they were willing to conclude: No Time was lost in carrying this Negotiation forward, and the utmost Care was taken, according to the Desire of the Ministers in *Holland*, whom her Majesty had consulted, to preserve the Secret; but the dilatory Method of treating, which in those Circumstances was unavoidable, and other Accidents, to which Transactions of this kind must be always exposed, were the Occasions that nothing more satisfactory than the first Propositions, which *France* had made, could be obtained till the End of *September*, 1711.

On

On the first of *October*, the Queen's Instructions were given to the Earl of *Strafford*, to repair with all possible Diligence to *Holland*, to acquaint the Ministers of the States with all that had been done, in Consequence of what they had in the Month of *May* desired; and to communicate to them the Propositions, signed by Monsieur *Mesnager* four Days before, to wit, the 27th of *September*; *which her Majesty looked upon to include, in their general Expressions, all the particular Demands proper to be made in the Course of the Negotiation, and to be a sufficient Foundation whereupon to open the Conferences.* The Earl of *Strafford* was, at the same Time, instructed to assure the Ministers of *Holland*, that her Majesty was determined to accept of no Advantages to herself, repugnant to their Interests; nor of any Peace, unless they had all reasonable Satisfaction as to their Barrier, as to their Trade, and to every other Respect: He was likewise to exhort them to join with her Majesty in promoting the strictest Union among all the Confederates, as the only Means to carry the Negotiation successfully forward; and Communications and Assurances of the same Nature were at the same Time given to the other Allies.

Before these Orders could be executed, and even before the last Overtures had been made on the Part of *France*, or it could possibly be known what had been transacted, the whole Confederacy was industriously alarmed; Jealousies were every where sown; and even in *Britain*, the most licentious Clamours were raised against her Majesty's Proceedings.

This Behaviour must appear very extraordinary, when, besides what is abovementioned, it shall be considered, that the receiving a Minister from *France* by her Majesty, which was urged as the Reason of the Apprehensions of the Allies, and which was the only one they pretended to give, was no more than what the *Dutch*, and (there was Ground to believe) others of the Confederates, had several Times done; and that the Person sent hither, was the same Monsieur *Mesnager*, who a Year or two before had laid concealed in *Holland* for many Weeks, and had treated during that Time with the chief Ministers of that Republick.

The fatal Consequences, which the least Appearance of Disunion amongst the Allies would necessarily produce, began then to be felt; and her Majesty found herself obliged to let the *Imperialists* and the *Dutch* know, that the *French* might have been brought to explain themselves further than they did, had it not been for the extraordinary Uneasiness, Impatience, and Jealousy, which upon the first Appearance of taking any Measures towards Peace, discovered themselves among the Allies.

From thence are all the Obstructions to the Peace to be dated; and to those Obstructions alone, such Points as seem to fall short of the Expectations of any of the Parties concerned, are to be attributed. *The Queen foresaw, that nothing would be left undone to force the Negotiation out of her Hands*; as well by those who were against any Peace at all, as by those who feared that her Majesty, being at the Head of the Negotiation, more Advantages might accrue to *Great-Britain*, than they were willing to allow: And therefore the Confederacy, which formed itself in *Opposition to what the Queen had undertaken*, instead of altering her Conduct, became the strongest Reason imaginable to continue it. Things were already brought to that Extremity, *that there was no Middle between a steady Pursuit of the true Interest of* Great-Britain *in the first Place, and abandoning our-*

ſelves to be diſpoſed of in War, or in Peace, as ſhould ſuit the Conveniency, or gratify the Paſſions of the Confederates.

Soon after the Earl of *Strafford*'s Departure to *Holland*, Monſieur *Buys* arrived here with the Character of Envoy from the States-General. When a Miniſter of this Conſequence was ſent, Hopes were immediately conceived, that all Jealouſies might be cured, and a perfect Harmony be created between the Queen and the States: After which, an Union with the other Allies would neceſſarily follow; and the whole Confederacy entering as one Man into the Congreſs, the Sincerity of the *French* would have been ſoon tried, and the Poſſibility or Impoſſibility of obtaining a good Peace ſoon decided.

In order to this End, her Majeſty's Servants were inſtructed and empowered to ſettle with this Miniſter ſuch Diſputes, as related to the reciprocal Intereſts of the two Nations, and to prevent, by this previous Concert, any Difference which might ariſe in the Courſe of the Treaty between the Queen and the States. They were further directed to *adjuſt, in Conference with him, ſuch a Plan for the general Peace, as it might be proper finally to inſiſt upon*; and in this Caſe her Majeſty would have been ready, jointly with the States, to have broken the Conferences, if theſe Terms had not been granted without Exception, and without Delay. But, *ſuch was the publick Misfortune* at that Time, that this Miniſter was only impowered to hear, and not to ſpeak, and could not take upon him ſo much as to conclude, or even ſign, *ſub ſpe rati*, a new *offenſive and defenſive* Alliance betwixt the Queen and the States, which in theſe Circumſtances of Affairs he judged, and her Majeſty's Servants concurred with him, to be extremely neceſſary. By the Conferences which were held with Monſieur *Buys* here, by the Accounts which came from abroad, and by the Repreſentations which ſome of the Allies made about the ſame Time to her Majeſty, it appeared undeniably evident, not only that the War was become on the preſent Foot abſolutely impracticable; but alſo that no Alteration could be attempted, either in the Method of carrying it on, or in the Views towards which it was directed, without diſſolving at once the Confederacy; and that the Diſpute was, in Fact, not whether a Peace, by which *Spain* and the *Indies* would be left to *Philip*, ſhould be made; but who ſhould have the making of it?

The real annual Expence of this Kingdom amounted to more than Seven Millions; whereas it is certain, that we were not in a Condition effectually to raiſe near Six Millions in the Courſe of a Year; from hence it follows, that if this Proportion had been continued, about nine Millions would have been the true Charge of a ſecond Year, and about eleven Millions that of a third.

This was the State of our Affairs, whilſt the Houſe of *Auſtria* contributed nothing but one Regiment to the War of *Spain*, little to that of *Italy*; had but few Forces, and thoſe entirely unactive on the *Rhine*; and ſent none in the *Netherlands*, except ſuch as thoſe harraſſed Provinces were obliged to maintain, and were therefore rendered unable to furniſh Troops, or make the neceſſary Proviſions for the Operations of the Army; both which they might otherwiſe have done, and both which they did in an eminent Degree, whilſt they were under the Government of the preſent King of *Spain*.

The States General bore a conſiderable Burden; but as they had from the Year 1708. ſent no Supplies of any kind either to *Portugal* or to *Catalonia*, and

and had drawn themſelves almoſt entirely out of the *Spaniſh* War; as they furniſhed in no Proportion their Quota for the Sea-Service; as they had reduced their joint Contributions with the Queen in all Payments, to one third of the whole; and as they were very backward in anſwering even this Share of Expence; ſo the Load of *Great-Britain* came upon their Account, as well as upon the Emperor's, to be vaſtly increaſed: As to the reſt of the Allies, all the Troops which they furniſhed, were maintained by the Queen, and the States, except a few, and thoſe almoſt wholly employed in covering their own Frontiers.

In this Situation of Affairs, her Majeſty declared to the *Imperialiſts*, and to the *Dutch*, that if they would not allow *France* to have given ſufficient Grounds for opening the Conferences; if they were deſirous to carry on the War, and determined to accept of *no Terms of Peace, inferior to thoſe which had been formerly demanded and refuſed*; ſhe was on her Part ready to concur with them: but that, in Juſtice to herſelf, and to them, ſhe thought herſelf bound to let them know, that ſhe could no longer bear ſo diſproportionate a Burden; that it was evident that the common Effort muſt be ſtill greater than it was, or that there would remain no Proſpect of arriving at the Ends which they propoſed; and that for theſe Reaſons, it would be incumbent upon them, if the War continued, to increaſe their Expences, whilſt the Queen reduced hers.

The Miniſters of the States-General were very candid and open upon this Head: Monſieur *Buys* aſſerted, that his Maſters had done their utmoſt already, and could be obliged to no more; many of the other had on ſeveral Occaſions declared their Country unable to ſupport the Charge they were at another Summer; and the Penſionary himſelf, in a Deputation of the States appointed to attend the Earl of *Strafford*, in *October*, 1711. declared, that it was impoſſible to think of continuing the War another Year; that what from the Emperor, and what from the Princes of the North, we ſhould be in the utmoſt Danger, ſhould we attempt to do it; and *finally, that they were Traitors to their Country, who were againſt the Peace.*

Many Inſtances might be produced, to ſhew that there was at leaſt, as little Reaſon to expect from the Houſe of *Auſtria*, as from the States-General, a greater Effort than they had hitherto made. The Peace of *Hungary* was concluded about the Month of *May*, 1711. and that conſtant Excuſe, which the Miniſters of *Vienna* uſed to make for all their Deficiencies, did by conſequence no longer ſubſiſt: Yet her Majeſty found it impoſſible, at the latter End of that Year, to obtain a Reinforcement of no more than eight Thouſand Men from thence, although her Miniſter was impowered to have offered forty Thouſand Pounds for the March of them; and although the preſent King of *Sicily*, then Duke of *Savoy*, undertook, if he might be aſſured of this Reinforcement, any time before the Cloſe of the Campaign, to eſtabliſh his Winter-Quarters on that Side of *France*, which would have been in that Point of Time the more deciſive; becauſe a Project was then formed, and would have been executed, could the States have been in time induced to have taken even leſs than their own Share upon them; her Majeſty ſupplying their Deficiency, as well as her own Proportion, to have kept a great Body of Horſe all the Winter, on the Frontiers of the *Low-Countries*; by which means *Picardy*, and the Iſle of *France*, would have

have been ravaged, no Magazines could have been erected, and the *French* muſt have gone in the Spring a great way back into their Country, to aſſemble their Army.

The Imperial Miniſters confeſſed very freely, that their Maſter expected the Queen ſhould furniſh all the Money, and that the utmoſt he could do, was to ſend Troops at her Expence; in the ſame Breath *avowing*, *the Emperor's Intention* to break the Negotiation of Peace, and to continue the War till *Spain* was conquered; the entire Monarchy whereof he expected: But if there had remained any Doubt of the little Aſſiſtance, which was to be hoped for from the Houſe of *Auſtria*, who aim'd at ſuch great Acquiſitions; this Matter would have been put entirely out of Diſpute, by the Propoſals which Prince *Eugene* himſelf made in *Holland* firſt, and afterwards to the Queen.

Theſe Propoſals, it muſt be thought, were carried at leaſt as high as his Imperial Majeſty judged himſelf able to make good; ſince it is notorious, that he would have ſtuck at nothing, which might have broke the Meaſures of Peace, and have encouraged the Reſolution of proſecuting the War: And yet, even by theſe Propoſals, his Imperial Majeſty did not pretend to act in the Field with two Thouſand Men more, than in the Year 1702. it was underſtood that the Emperor *Leopold* undertook to furniſh; although the Expence of a great Part of theſe Troops was not to fall upon him; and although he offered to contribute but a fourth of the Charge of the Army in *Spain*, ſo that the remaining three fourths, as well as the whole Tranſportation and Extraordinary of that War, would ſtill have been placed to the Queen's Account.

From what has been ſaid, it is manifeſt, that the Method, in which the War was propoſed to be carried on, could no longer be ſupported; and that there was not any Glimpſe of Hope left, that the Allies could be brought to make any conſiderable Augmentation of Force, to have proſecuted the War; therefore in this manner muſt have been the Ruin of *Britain*, to have inſiſted upon an Impoſſibility, as a Condition, without which the Queen would not proceed, muſt have diſunited the Alliance, and ſuſpended the Operations of the Armies in all Parts; in both theſe Caſes the Conſequences are too evident to be enlarged upon.

In the Beginning of the Year 1711. died the late Emperor *Joſeph*; and the Eyes not only of the Princes of all the Confederates, and of her Majeſty, in the firſt Place, were immediately fixed on his Brother. This Event occaſioned a great Alteration in the Councils of *Europe*, and gave a new turn to the Sentiments of many Princes.

There was Reaſon to believe, that the Miniſters of *Vienna* themſelves began to cool in the Project of recovering *Spain* and the *Indies*. They ſeemed to intend nothing more than to get the preſent Emperor into *Germany*, and to ſecure the Poſſeſſion of *Italy* to themſelves; and the former, as well as the late Inſtances they had made, for attempting the Reduction of *Sicily*; though at the Expence of diverting Part of that Force, which was applied to the War of *Spain*, pointed the ſame Way.

In *Holland*, a Partition of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy ſeemed almoſt the general Scheme; and the Conduct of that Republick, as well as the Confeſſion of its Miniſters,

Miniſters, ſhewed, that the Project of driving *Philip* out of *Spain* was looked upon there to be pure Chimera.

Soon after the Death of the Emperor *Joſeph*, her Majeſty had been acquainted, that ſome of *the Princes of the Empire* thought it a Point, which deſerved the moſt ſerious Reflection; whether they ſhould ſuffer the *Imperial* and *Spaniſh* Crowns to be united on the ſame Head; and whether it might not be proper, in the Capitulation of the Empire, to inſiſt on the ſeparating of them. Other Members of the grand Alliance, and thoſe the only two with whom her Majeſty had entered into any formal Engagement, for recovering the entire *Spaniſh* Monarchy, *repreſented upon the ſame* Occaſion, againſt placing this Crown on the Emperor's Head: It was urged by one of the moſt conſiderable Princes in the Alliance, that the Principle upon which he engaged in the War was now altered; and that inſtead of fighting to procure the *Spaniſh* Monarchy to the Houſe of *Auſtria*; his Intereſt, and even his Safety, required that he ſhould fight to prevent it.

The Caſe therefore ſtood thus: The preſent Emperor, even after his Brother's Death, and his own Election, would content himſelf with nothing leſs than the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy, and inſiſted that the War ſhould be proſecuted in this View. Of the other Allies, ſome looked on this Proſpect as chimerical, others as dangerous; from whence it follows, that to keep the grand Alliance united in this Principle, was impracticable; and it muſt be allowed, that to have altered this Principle, to have changed ſo many Treaties, to have reconciled ſo many different Intereſts, and to have formed a Syſtem entirely new, in the midſt of the War, was an Experiment too hazardous to be attempted.

In this Situation of Affairs, no time was to be loſt: The Queen knew very well, that Attempts to open a Treaty with *France*, ſeparately from her, were made by thoſe who clamoured the loudeſt againſt her Meaſures; and the preſent Emperor had thought fit, on Board one of her Majeſty's Ships, and by her own Miniſter, to ſend her a Meſſage of the ſame nature. She therefore inſiſted with the IMPERIALISTS, and with the DUTCH, that ſhe would be at ſome Certainty, and that they ſhould comply with her in the Meaſures either of War or of Peace.

How the War became unpracticable, has already appeared; what Obſtructions there were to the carrying on a Treaty of Peace comes next to be related.

The *principal, and indeed the only avowed, Diſpute between her Majeſty and the States at this time, concerned the Method of carrying a Negotiation forward.* The States pretended, that a fair Opportunity would be given to the Miniſters of *France*, to divide the Confederates, if they were ſuffered to meet together in a General Congreſs, before the Eſſential Articles of Peace were ſettled by Specifick Preliminaries; the Uſe which had been made of this Method, on a former Occaſion, to evade the concluding of any Peace; when, according to the Confeſſion of the *Dutch* Miniſters themſelves, *the Differences on which the Allies and* France *broke off, did not deſerve the Life of a ſingle Soldier*, gave no great Encouragement to purſue the ſame again; beſides which, *as the Queen would not take upon her to ſettle the Intereſts of others*, ſo neither would ſhe ſuffer others to determine thoſe of her own Kingdoms; and if all the Confederates were to aſſemble

assemble in order to adjust a Preliminary Treaty, the Objection made by the States returned upon them.

In December, 1711. *the States concurred with her Majesty in fixing the Place of the Treaty, appointing the Day on which the Congress should open, inviting the Allies to send their Ministers thither, and giving the necessary Passports to the Plenipotentiaries of* France. And if nothing had happened to revive the Spirits of those who were bent against the Peace, it is highly probable by the little time which it cost to conclude most of the Treaties, after the Conferences, that had been interrupted, were resumed at *Utrecht*, and the Allies proceeded in earnest to negotiate, that the Treaties of all the Confederates with *France*, might have been finished before the Season of opening the Campaign in 1712. But before Monsieur BUYS returned into *Holland*, or the Conferences could begin, the Efforts were renewed with the greatest Vigour to break off the Negotiation; the *Cry against a Peace by which* Spain *and the* Indies *should be left to any Branch of the House of* Bourbon, *became louder than ever*; and Letters and Memorials were not only delivered, but printed; and Appeal made against her Majesty's Proceedings to all *Europe*, and even to her own Subjects.

On these Encouragements the good Dispositions towards Peace received a Check, and some of those who had owned themselves against the Prosecution of the War to recover the whole *Spanish Monarchy* to the House of *Austria*, joined now, under this very Pretence, to break the Measures of Peace. *The Treatments which her Majesty met with at this time will appear in the clearest Light from this Circumstance.* The Minister of the States General proposed to her Majesty's Servants, that considering the Difficulties which the Queen lay under, how impossible it was to recover by War, or by Treaty, the *Spanish Monarchy* from King *Philip*, and how impossible he likewise apprehended it to be in the present Circumstances of Affairs, for her Majesty to carry on any Negotiation, by which this Monarchy should be left to *Philip*, he was ready to extricate her Majesty from this *Dilemma*, and to *skreen her Ministers in carrying on the Work which they had begun, in the Name of* his Masters, to present a Memorial, by which the Point of obtaining *Spain* and the *Indies*, should be given up; provided he might be assured, that the *Dutch* should have an equal Share with her Majesty's Subjects in the Assiento, which Contract he supposed it was stipulated should be made with *Great Britain*.

From the Causes, and by the Steps which have been here mentioned, was the Disunion among the Allies arrived to the highest Pitch, at the Opening of the Conferences in the Month of *January*, 1711-12. when the strictest Union amongst them was more than ever necessary, and when the whole Fruit of those Successes, wherewith God had blessed their Cause in the Course of the War, depended on it. They sent their several Plenipotentiaries to *Utrecht*, but it was very apparent, that most of them acted on that Maxim, which one of them professed, that giving into the Measures of Peace was the surest way to continue the War. They flattered themselves, that the Imperial Ministers, in *Conjunction with those of* Britain, *having* two Years before baffled the Designs of *Holland* to make Peace, it would be, at least, as easy for the Ministers of the Emperor, in Conjunction with those of the States General, to render fruitless, at this time, all her Majesty's Endeavours

Endeavours to the ſame End. After this it will not appear ſurprizing, if the utmoſt Dexterity was exerted to delay the entering on Buſineſs at *Utrecht*, and to wait for the Events of the Campaign.

On the 29th of *Jan.* 1711-12. the firſt general Conference was held between the Miniſters of the Allies and thoſe of *France*, and by the Beginning of *April* a Diſpute was ſet on foot concerning the Method of proceeding, which made all Treaty impracticable, and which was kept up, till a Quarrel happening between one of the Plenipotentiaries of *France*, and one of thoſe of the States, a new Obſtruction was created to take Place and to anſwer the Ends of the firſt.

The *French* had made their Overtures in Writing; the Allies had likewiſe given in their Demands in Writing; and the Queſtion aroſe, whether the *French* were obliged to give a ſpecifick Anſwer in Writing, or whether they ſhould now proceed in the Negotiation by debating with the ſeveral Allies, agreeably to the Method uſed in former Congreſſes? By the Minutes of the *Protocol*, to which the *French* Miniſters appealed, it appeared that they were under no ſuch Obligation, but between the 2d of *April*, and the 5th, Count *Sinzendorff* had been at the *Hague*, where the Reſolution was taken to carry Things to Extremity, that is, not to treat with the Miniſters of the Moſt Chriſtian King, unleſs they gave an Anſwer in Writing, and Orders were accordingly ſent by the States to their Plenipotentiaries. The Deſign was laid upon this to have broke off all further Treaty; but this Deſign was diſappointed by the Declaration which the *French* Miniſters made on the 6th, that their Inſtructions allowed them to go no farther than they had offered, but that they would write to the King their Maſter to know his Pleaſure; after which, during three Months Time, there was not ſo much as any Steps made on the Part of the Allies for an Anſwer from the *French*, though at the ſame Time the *Imperialiſts* were puſhing to get the Congreſs broke, or at leaſt her Majeſty's Miniſters excluded.

In *Auguſt* the ſecond Obſtruction took Place; and that, trifling as the Occaſion of it may ſeem, was ſo managed, that till the 30th of *January*, N. S. 1712-13, the Difficulty could not be overcome.

Ten Months having been loſt at *Utrecht*, and the Succeſs of the Campaign not having anſwered the Deſign of thoſe who projected the breaking of the Treaty by the Operations of the Army, the Miniſters of the Allies made no further Difficulty to proceed in the very Method, which her Majeſty's Plenipotentiaries had from the firſt adviſed. This Method ſucceeded ſo well, that in two Months after the Negociation was reſumed, all the Parties in the War made their Peace with *France*, except the Emperor and the Empire, and the Miniſters of thoſe Powers had likewiſe brought their Diſputes to ſo narrow a Compaſs, that on the 15th of *May*, 1713, the only Difference between them was concerning the Marquiſate of *Burgaw*, eſtimated at the yearly Value of about 12,000 Crowns.

In this State of Things Monſieur *Kirchner*, the laſt of the Imperial Miniſters who continued at *Utrecht*, left that Place, and the Emperor's Reſolution was declared of ſupporting that War ſingle, which, aſſiſted by the Queen and the States, he had not been able to carry on with any tolerable Vigour.

It was from this Time eaſy to foreſee, that the Emperor intended to treat no more at *Utrecht*, and that a ſeparate Negotiation between the Courts of *Vienna* and *France*, whenever it ſhould happen, would not prove very advantageous to

the Empire, or favourable to the *Proteſtant* Intereſt in *Germany*, of which her Majeſty had taken early, and, as ſhe hoped, effectual Care, by obliging *France* to conſent that all Things concerning the State of Religion in the Empire ſhould be ſettled conformably to the Tenor of the Treaties of *Weſtphalia*; in ſuch manner as to make it plainly appear, that the moſt *Chriſtian* King neither would make, nor would have had made, any Alteration in the ſaid Treaties. Thus one of the contracting Parties had already in effect yielded to the Abolition of that Clauſe in the 4th Article of the Treaty of *Ryſwick*, ſo fatal to the *Proteſtant* Religion. And if his Imperial Majeſty had concluded his Treaty at *Utrecht*, it is hardly to be believed, that in the midſt of ſo many Allies, whoſe Blood had been ſhed, and whoſe Treaſure had been exhauſted in his Cauſe, he would have refuſed to their joint Interceſſion, what *France* had complied with on the ſingle Inſtances of the Queen.

It has been already obſerved, that if the Allies, when the Congreſs at *Utrecht* was opened in the Beginning of the Year, had in good Earneſt gone about their ſeveral Treaties, the Peace might in all Probability have been made before the Armies could have taken the Field. It may be neceſſary here to obſerve the State of Affairs at another Period of Time, and another Opportunity loſt of treating with the greateſt Advantage on our Side, and with the greateſt Probability of Succeſs.

On the 6th of *June* 1712, her Majeſty communicated to both Houſes of Parliament, upon what Terms a general Peace might be made: Thoſe who were againſt any Treaty, and who entertained Hopes that the Senſe of the Nation would not go along with her Majeſty, and that Obſtructions would ariſe even in *Britain* to the Concluſion of the Peace, might have ſeen how vain thoſe Expectations were, by the Returns which the two Houſes made to this Inſtance of her Majeſty's Condeſcention, *by the Aſſurances they gave of their Confidence in her, and of their intire Reliance on her Wiſdom to finiſh this great and good Work, and by their humble Deſire that ſhe would pleaſe to proceed in the preſent Negotiations for obtaining a ſpeedy Peace.* Thoſe who pretended only to be againſt the Method of treating, and who were fond of ſpecifick Preliminaries, had now the very Thing which they deſired, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty having declared himſelf explicitly and particularly on the moſt important Points, that were to be ſettled in the Treaties of Peace. The Queen was even at that Time not under the leaſt Obligation, but at full Liberty to have proceeded in the Negociation, or to have broke it off, according as the *French* had behaved themſelves. But *France* was *under the ſtrongeſt Obligations to her Majeſty*, and by her Majeſty's Means to the Allies. The Conceſſions then made on the Part of *France*, were made without any Conceſſion whatever on the Part of the Confederates: If therefore, even then they could have been prevailed upon to unite with the Queen, and with one another, during a ſhort Ceſſation of Arms, the general Peace might have been ſecured, or if that had failed, we ſhould have got by the Ceſſation into our Hands, a Place of greater Importance than we could have expected by the moſt ſucceſsful Campaign to conquer. But inſtead of applying themſelves to improve this happy Conjuncture, the Miniſters, who met to treat of Peace, ſeemed attentive only to what paſſed in the Field, and *Utrecht* ſeemed the Scene of no other Buſineſs than unneceſſary Diſputes concerning the

Forms

Forms of Proceeding, and Negociations to accommodate Differences, which the Quarrels of Servants had begun.

From *theſe unhappy Meaſures were many evil Conſequences derived, and by them were all the ſubſequent Tranſactions affected*, particularly thoſe which related to the Intereſt of the *Catalans*.

This People had ſubmitted to the preſent King of *Spain*, on his Acceſſion to that Throne; had taken the Oaths of Fealty to him, and in the *Cortes* held at *Barcelona* in the Years 1701, and 1702, had received from him a new Eſtabliſhment of their Privileges: Notwithſtanding which they began in the Year 1704, to ſhew their Inclinations to a Revolt, and it appears that in the Beginning of the Year 1705, they made Overtures of this kind to the Queen, and that Numbers of them were already actually in Arms. In Compliance therefore with what they deſired, and encouraged by the Aſſurances received, that not only the *Catalans*, but other People of *Spain* were ready to declare for his preſent Imperial Majeſty, as ſoon as they ſhould ſee any Proſpect of being ſupported in their Revolt, the Queen thought fit to give Directions to the Earl of *Peterborough*, and to Sir *Cloudeſly Shovell*, Joint-Admirals of her Fleet, on the Firſt of *May* 1705, to do the beſt they could to induce the *Catalans* to co-operate with them for the Reduction of *Spain:* In order to which, they were impowered to promiſe in the Queen's Name, that ſhe would ſecure to them a Confirmation of their Rights and Liberties from the ſaid Prince, King *Charles* the Third. But it appears by the ſame Inſtructions, that inſtead of giving theſe Aſſurances, the Admirals were to take Meaſures for annoying the Towns on the Coaſt of *Spain*, and for reducing them by Force, unleſs ſuitable Returns from the *Catalans* and *Spaniards* were made to theſe kind Offers on her Majeſty's Part. This likewiſe appears to have been the Meaſure by which the Queen proceeded from the Commiſſion, Credentials, and Inſtructions given to Mr. *Crowe*, who was ſent to *Genoa* in *March* 1705; beſides which it is alſo to be obſerved, that after the Earl of *Peterborough* and Sir *Cloudeſly Shovell* were arrived with her Majeſty's Fleet at *Liſbon*, it ſtill remained, for ſome Time, uncertain what Deſign they ſhould proſecute, and this Uncertainty hindered them from preſſing the People of *Catalonia*, whilſt King *Charles* rather checked than incited them; ſo that when the Queen's Forces proceeded on this Service, the *Catalans* were looked upon to be the Principals, and we only Acceſſaries in the War: From all which it is evident, that the landing of the Earl of *Peterborough* in *Catalonia*, and her Majeſty's entering into that Part of the War, were in Conſequence of the Sollicitations of the *Catalans*, and other *Spaniards* affected to the Houſe of *Auſtria*; and that all the Engagements which ſhe gave to theſe People, went no further than the obtaining from King *Charles* the Third a Confirmation of their Rights and Privileges; and although her Majeſty offered at that Time to give a Guaranty for the ſame, and to enter into a Treaty with that People; yet it does not appear that ſuch a Guaranty was ever given, or that ſuch a Treaty was ever made. This being the State of the Queen's Engagements to the People of this Province, there could have been no Doubt of making them good in every Part, had the Events of the War, and the Circumſtances rendered the placing his preſent Imperial Majeſty on the Throne of *Spain* practicable; and there is as little Doubt, that beſides what has been obtained by her Majeſty for the *Catalans*, the Confir-

mation of all their Privileges would likewiſe have been procured from his *Catholick* Majeſty, had not the Conduct of the Emperor ſingly prevented it.

In the Year 1712, it has been already ſaid, that although the faireſt Proſpect of making a general Peace was opened, yet his Imperial Majeſty continued in his Reſolution not to make it: The Queen, on the other Hand was under a Neceſſity of purſuing the Meaſures ſhe had taken, and thereby not only of agreeing to a Ceſſation of Arms, but alſo of withdrawing her Troops out of the Province of *Catalonia*, the Supplies granted by Parliament for that Year having been ſo calculated, that the whole Eſtabliſhment was given only for the firſt Quarter, and one third of four Millions of Crowns for the other three Quarters, conditionally, that the Emperor and the States-General would take upon themſelves, the other two thirds, which in Fact neither of them did.

Under theſe Circumſtances it was plain, that the *Catalans* would be left without any Terms made in their Behalf, and that the Empreſs and Imperial Forces, who remained in that Province, would be expoſed to the greateſt Difficulties and Dangers. The Queen, therefore, took immediately all the care ſhe could to prevent theſe Misfortunes, and, at the ſame Time to ſecure and ſtrengthen his Imperial Majeſty, as far as lay in her Power, notwithſtanding the Treatment ſhe had received; and the juſt Provocation ſhe had to leave him to ſtruggle with the Conſequences of his own Meaſures.

At the latter End of this Year 1712, her Majeſty ſet a Treaty on Foot for the Evacuation of *Catalonia*, and for the Neutrality of *Italy*. Her Majeſty's Aim by the firſt Part of this Treaty was to ſecure the Return of the Empreſs and the Imperial Troops, and ſince ſhe could no longer ſupport the *Catalans* by her Arms, to provide for them by the Terms of Peace. Her Majeſty's Aim in the ſecond Part was to leave as little Room as poſſible, for *France* or *Spain* to attack his Imperial Majeſty, when the Treaties between her Majeſty and the States General, ſhould be concluded with the Moſt Chriſtian King. The Queen conſidered that theſe Treaties, and the Barrier of the States would ſecure the Ten Provinces of the *Netherlands* from any Invaſion, and by this Convention for a Neutrality in *Italy* the Emperor's Territories in that Country were likewiſe covered; ſo that by the Care which her Majeſty took, ſince he was determined to run the Riſk of continuing ſingle in the War, he would lie open in no Frontier but that of the *Rhine*, where, by the ſame means, he would be able conſiderably to encreaſe his Strength, as well with Draughts out of *Italy*, as with the *Germans* and other Forces which were to be tranſported from *Spain*.

It was no ſooner than the End of *January* 1712-13, that by the good Offices of her Majeſty's Miniſters at *Utrecht*, the Imperial and *French* Plenipotentiaries were brought to meet upon this Negotiation, and, in the mean Time, her Majeſty endeavoured, as well by her own Miniſters at *Madrid*, as by preſſing the *Spaniſh* Miniſter who was then here, to induce the *Catholick* King to facilitate this Matter as much as poſſible, and particularly on the Head of the Privileges of the *Catalans*, in which the Miniſter of *France* concurred with the greateſt Earneſtneſs. But it ſoon appeared, that his Catholick Majeſty, who ſaw the Advantage which the Conduct of the Imperial Court gave him, would hardly be prevailed upon to grant any Thing more than a general Act of Oblivion, and a Reſtitution of Honours and Eſtates.

On

On the 14th of *March*, N. S. 1713, the Convention for the Neutrality of *Italy*, and the Evacuation of *Catalonia* was executed by her Majeſty's Miniſters on Behalf of the Emperor, and by thoſe of *France*, on Behalf of the King of *Spain*, and the Article concerning the Privileges of the *Catalans* left undetermined, a Right being reſerved to her Majeſty to inſiſt, whenever the Emperor ſhould treat of Peace, that thoſe Privileges ſhould be preſerved to them; and the Moſt Chriſtian King declaring, that he would concur with the Queen to the ſame End.

In *May* 1713, the Treaty of Peace between her Majeſty and the Catholick King, was ſigned proviſionally here, and in *July*, definitively at *Utrecht*, whereby there is not only an abſolute Amneſty with a full Poſſeſſion of all their Eſtates and Honours, but alſo the Privileges of the *Caſtalians* granted to the *Catalans*, which Article is at leaſt in this reſpect conſiderable, that the People of *Catalonia* are thereby entitled to hold any Employments in the *Weſt-Indies*, or to trade directly thither, in as full and ample Manner as the People of *Caſtile*, from which they were formerly as much excluded as any Foreign Nation whatever.

The Preſervation of their antient Privileges is neither granted nor directly refuſed by this Article; ſo that the Queen, either when the Peace ſhall come to be treated between their Imperial and Catholick Majeſties, or on another favourable *Occaſion which may* offer itſelf, is at Liberty to renew her Applications upon this Head. In the mean time, it is certain, that the Refuſal of the People of this Principality, as well as the Iſland of *Majorca*, to ſubmit to the Catholick King, when in Purſuance of the Treaty of Neutrality, theſe Countries were evacuated by the Emperor's Forces; and their obſtinate Reſiſtance ſince that Time, muſt have rendered the obtaining of their Privileges ſtill more difficult, if that be poſſible, than it was.

If the antient Privileges of theſe People in their full Extent were not obtained, it *muſt be attributed* to thoſe who rendered it impracticable to treat effectually for them before the withdrawing of the Queen's Forces out of *Catalonia*; and if their Condition is become ſince more deſperate, thoſe are only to anſwer for it, who have encouraged them not to ſubmit a ſecond Time to their Prince, with the Hopes of Relief, which they who gave ſuch Hopes muſt have known themſelves in no Condition of making good.

From this State of the ſeveral Treaties between her Majeſty, her Allies, and *France* and *Spain*; by this Account of the general Negotiations of Peace, and of the particular Caſe of the *Catalans*, the Reaſonableneſs of all the Steps her Majeſty has taken, and thoſe Deſigns which have been purſued, at firſt to wreſt the Negotiation out of her Hands, and ſince to unravel all that had been done, and to throw us into Confuſion, will ſufficiently appear.

A REPORT from the Commiſſioners appointed to take, examine, and ſtate, the Publick Accounts of the Kingdom, and to determine the Debts due to the Army, &c. with a STATE of the Expence of the LATE WAR, 1714.

YOUR Commiſſioners have proceeded with their utmoſt Care in taking the Publick Accounts, and humbly preſent a State of the Receipts and Iſſues of her Majeſty's Exchequer from *Michaelmas*, 1703. to *Michaelmas*, 1704. (which immediately ſucceeds that laid before the Parliament by the laſt Commiſſion of Accounts) as alſo a State thereof from *Michaelmas*, 1712. to *Michaelmas*, 1713.

We have been obliged, in Obedience to an Order of the late Houſe of Commons, to ſpend ſome time in examining ſeveral Extraordinaries demanded from Parliament, together with the Facts contained in the Report of the Commiſſioners ſent into *Spain*. However, we have detected ſome Miſmanagements in the Clothings of the Army; and, having yet repreſented nothing on that Head, we here offer them to your Conſideration.

We do not take Notice, that there are great Sums paid by the Contractors to the Colonels on Clothing their reſpective Regiments, ſometimes (as we are informed on Oath) to the Value of One Thouſand Four Hundred Pounds on a ſingle Contract; becauſe the Practice is ſo notorious and univerſal, that it wants no Repreſentation. But the following Inſtances have, in our humble Opinion, ſomething more extraordinary in them, and not unworthy the Notice of Parliament.

There was a Contract made by Sir *Joſeph Tredenham* and *Arthur Moore*, Eſq; Comptrollers of the Accounts of the Army, in the Year 1706. for clothing Six *French* Regiments of Foot then raiſed. Your Commiſſioners, obſerving the Expence of this Clothing, which amounted to Seventeen Thouſand Sixty One Pounds, Eighteen Shillings, was anſwered, purſuant to a Direction of the Treaſury, by an immediate Payment from Mr. *Brydges*, and not by a regular Aſſignment of the Off-reckonings of thoſe Regiments, enquired into the Reaſons of this Proceeding.

We found by the Books of the Comptroller's Office, That one *Richard Hallam* was the Contractor; but on Examination could get no other Information from him, than that he was only a Nominee in this Affair: for he depoſed, "That though his Name was uſed in a Contract made the 27th of *April*, 1706. "by Sir *Joſeph Tredenham* and *Arthur Moor*, Eſq; then Comptrollers of the "Accounts of the Army, for clothing the Six *French* Regiments then to be "raiſed, under the Command of the Earl of *Liſſard*, Count *Paulin*, Count "*Fran. Naſſau D'Auverquerque*, Monſ. *Sibourg*, Monſ. *De la Barth*, Monſ. "*de Montargis*, he was not the real Contractor, but employed only as an Agent "for the ſaid Sir *Joſeph Tredenham* and *Arthur Moor*: That he received only

" a Gratuity from them for the Trouble they had given him in this Matter, " but could not recollect the Sum: That he had not ſeen the Accounts of this " Clothing for ſome Years, and therefore could not be more particular."

About ten Days after this Depoſition had been made, the Deponent brought the under-written Letter to your Commiſſioners.

" WHEN I was ſummoned before your Board I could not remember the Particulars about the Clothing the Six *French* Regiments, which was " almoſt Seven Years ſince, and I underſtand that the Contract and Buſineſs of " the Colonels are entered in the Comptroller's Books. I ſtill own that I was " but an Agent, and paid for what I did, and a Gratuity for my Trouble, " which I received of Mr. *Harnage*, who alſo furniſhed the whole Clothing; " for what I bought he gave me the Money to pay for the ſame, the Contract " made by the Comptrollers being by me aſſigned over to him. This upon " Recollection and Examination is the Truth of that Matter."

We perceiving this Letter to be a Contradiction to the Depoſition, apprehended the moſt probable Method of knowing the Truth would be to ſend for Mr. *Harnage*, who is here ſaid to be the Contractor. We accordingly ſummoned him, and the Effect of his Examination on Oath was in a great meaſure a Confirmation of the Fact, as it ſtands ſtated in the Letter. He depoſed, " That Sir *Joſeph Tredenham* and *Arthur Moor*, Eſq; Comptrollers of the " Accounts of the Army, being appointed to contract for the Government with " Perſons to cloth the Six *French* Regiments of Foot raiſed in 1706. under the " Command of the Earl of *Liſſard*, Count *Paulin*, Count *Francis Noſſau* " *D'Averquerque*, Monſieur *Sibourg*, Monſieur *De la Barth*, and Monſieur *De* " *Montargis*; that he propoſed in the Name of himſelf and Mr. *Churchill* to " undertake the ſame; but his Propoſals were refuſed, and one *Hallam* (a Perſon he did not know) was accepted as Contractor; that *Hallam* ſome " time after was recommended to him, to the beſt of his Remembrance, by " the Comptrollers of the Accounts of the Army; that he was prevailed upon " to furniſh the Clothing himſelf, and to employ *Hallam* in buying ſome of " the Cloths, though he was unwilling to do it, *Hallam* being a Man, as he " was told, in mean Circumſtances; that he received on this Contract only " Thirteen Thouſand Six Hundred and Eleven Pounds, Ten Shillings, beſides " One Hundred Pounds given to *Hallam* for his Trouble, though he believes " the Government paid ſeveral Thouſand Pounds more, but does not know to " whom; that he believes he had no Aſſignment of the Contract from *Hallam*, " and that there was not any Inſtrument or Contract but that entered in the " Comptrollers Books; that to the beſt of his Remembrance, he and Mr. " *Churchill* went to the Comptrollers Office, where the Comptrollors produced " Mr. *Hallam*'s Contract, out of which ſeveral Defalcations were made, and " the Comptrollers agreed with them to furniſh the Goods mentioned in the " Contract for the remaining Sum, which was Thirteen Thouſand Six Hundred Eleven Pounds, Ten Shillings; that he was aſſured at the Pay-Office " he ſhould receive the Money, it being known there that he provided the " Clothing."

Mr.

Mr. *Churchill* being named in this Depoſition, we examined him likewiſe: but he ſaid, " That on ſettling his Accounts about three Years before with " Mr. *Harnage*, with whom he had been concerned in clothing other Regi- " ments as well as theſe ſix, he had burnt all his Papers relating to theſe Ac- " counts; that therefore he could only tell us in general, that he was con- " cerned with Mr. *Harnage* in this Clothing; that one *Hallam*, a Man he never " ſaw, had firſt contracted for it with the Comptrollers of the Army, and that " they took the Contract from him."

The Caſe remained thus repreſented for ſome time, and your Commiſſioners had no Opportunity of getting any further Information concerning it, 'till on Inſpection into the Accounts of ſome Clothings, we had Occaſion to ſend (amongſt others) for Mr. *Moore* himſelf, who gives the following Account of this Contract.

" That about *March*, 1705. the Duke of *Marlborough* directed the Com- " ptrollers of the Accounts of the Army to contract for Clothing and Accou- " trements for ſix *French* Regiments of Foot, which her Majeſty had raiſed, " or reſolved to raiſe, and to lay the Propoſal before the Lord Treaſurer. " The Comptrollers thereupon received Propoſals from ſeveral Perſons, and " at the ſame time employed ſome others to enquire the loweſt Rates, at which " ſuch Goods might be furniſhed; and they particularly employed in this " Enquiry Mr. *Richard Hallam*, a Packer, who informed them, that the ſame " might be done for ready Money at One Thouſand Pounds a Regiment cheaper " than the uſual Contracts, and very conſiderably cheaper than any Propo- " ſals laid before the Comptrollers, although they offered to contract with the " Propoſers to be paid in one Month after the Delivery of the Goods. All " which the Comptrollers laid before the Lord Treaſurer, and had his Lord- " ſhip's Directions thereupon. The Comptrollers received Orders for the " Contractors to allow to each of the Colonels Three Hundred Pounds, in re- " gard ſo much more would be ſaved by this Way, than if they were them- " ſelves to contract as the other Colonels of the Army did. And in their Re- " port to the Lord Treaſurer they repreſented, that on the ſix Regiments there " was at leaſt Six Thouſand Pounds ſaved, beſides what was given to the Co- " lonels, the Rates being compared with what was given by other Regiments " at that time for the like Clothing and Accoutrements. The Comptrollers, " being deſirous to ſhew what Service might be done by that Office, prevailed " upon Mr. *Hallam* to execute the Contract, aſſuring him, at the ſame time, " that the Goods ſhould be furniſhed by ſome other Perſons, whom the Comp- " trollers ſhould appoint; and that they would take care, that whoever per- " formed the Contract ſhould employ him in his Way of Trade, and gratify " him for his Trouble. That after the Contract was ſigned, the Comptrollers " got Mr. *Harnage* and Mr. *Churchill* (who they knew had a very great " Stock of ſuch Goods on their Hands) to accept of the Contract; and they " informed Mr. *Hallam* thereof, and that the Contract was to be for Mr. *Har-* " *nage* and Mr. *Churchill*'s Uſe, and that they were to provide the Goods, " receive the Money from the Government, and reward him for his Trouble. " This, he ſays, upon inſpecting the Comptrollers Books, is what he can re-

" collect

" collect of this Matter, only that he is certain the Comptrollers always imagined they had done the Government a very eminent Piece of Service in this " Affair."

This Contract, we see, was at first undertaken by Order of the Duke of *Marlborough*, and afterwards concluded by the Direction of the Lord Treasurer *Godolphin*. But by what particular Warrant those noble Lords acted, does not appear to your Commissioners, and we cannot conceive them empowered by the general Authority of the great Posts they then enjoyed, thus to dispose of the Publick Money.

If we consider the Case in the View Mr. *Hallam*'s Deposition puts it, we must always be of Opinion, that though there is no Charge of Bribery or Corruption, yet it is an irregular Practice, for any Person employed to contract for the Government, to be himself secretly concerned in such Contract on any Pretence whatsoever; because, could we suppose a Contract so made beneficial to the Publick, there is an Appearance of Collusion, and a Ground to suspect what may not be true; which ought to be avoided by all Officers concerned in the Disposal of Publick Money.

If we take it as explained by Mr. *Harnage* and Mr. *Churchill*, then there remains no Imputation on the Comptrollers of the Accounts of the Army: For they say, that they performed the Contract; that they received thirteen thousand six hundred and eleven Pounds ten Shillings; that *Hallam* was their Agent.

If we allow Mr. *Moore*'s Representation, he removes the chief Difficulty, which naturally occurs in this Case, that it was extraordinary the Comptrollers should accept Proposals from one unable to perform so great a Contract, and reject those offered by sufficient and wealthy Persons. He is so far from apprehending any Thing in the Transaction blameable, that he thinks the Method taken in employing *Hallam*, was the very Occasion of reducing the Contract so low, and making it advantageous to the Government.

Besides the thirteen thousand six hundred and eleven Pounds ten Shillings, which Mr. *Harnage* is said to have received, we find there was paid by *Hallam*.

		l.	*s.*	*d.*
To each Colonel	For his own Use 300 *l.*	1,800	0	0
	For clothing his Servants, 208 *l.*	1,248	0	0
For eighteen Colours		120	0	0
For Package and incident Charges		182	8	0
		3,350	8	0

Which Sums, with the Gratuity of one hundred Pounds given to *Hallam*, make up the seventeen thousand sixty one Pounds and eighteen Shillings, charged by Mr. *Brydges* in this Account.

It is not pretended these remaining Sums were under the Direction of Mr. *Harnage*, and therefore we are at a Loss to know whose Agent *Hallam* was in the Distribution of them; or by what Authority he made a Deduction (as Colonel *La Barth* swears he did) of thirty four Pounds from each Colonel in Consideration of prompt Payment; nor do there appear any Reasons, why so much Count-

nance ſhould be ſhewn to the Gratuities, given by Contractors to other Colonels on clothing their Regiments, by allowing ſuch Sums to theſe Colonels in Lieu thereof; as if thoſe Gratuities were become legal and eſtabliſhed Perquiſites. Nor why the one hundred Pounds beſtowed on *Hallam*, who was but a private Agent, ſhould not rather have been paid out of the Profit of the Contract, whoever received it, than have been charged to the Publick.

There is a Circumſtance which ſeems very unintelligible, if we are to ſuppoſe, that Mr. *Harnage* executed the Contract, and that *Hallam* was only his Agent: It is, that *Hallam* aſſigned over the Money due on this Contract to *John Mead*, Goldſmith, in Conſideration of a competent Sum to him paid by the ſaid *Mead*, who afterwards, by Virtue of that Aſſignment, received the Whole from Mr. *Bridges*. Now Mr. *Harnage*, on a ſecond Examination, hath depoſed, 'That 'to the beſt of his Knowledge he never employed Mr. *John Mead*, Goldſmith, 'deceaſed, as Agent for him at the Pay-Office in receiving Money, on Account 'of any of the Clothings, he hath been concerned in: Nor ever knew of any 'Aſſignment made to him on that Account; but Mr. *Nathaniel Jackſon* was the 'Goldſmith he conſtantly employed.'

Mr. *Mead* being dead, we thought we had no other Way of explaining theſe Difficulties than by requiring his Widow and Executrix, to let us know whether it appeared by her Huſband's Books, for whoſe Uſe this Money was received. But ſhe deſired to be excuſed from giving us any Satisfaction of that kind, becauſe it might be a Prejudice to her Affairs; and ſhe thought herſelf only obliged to do it to thoſe who had Accounts depending with her Huſband. We cannot therefore draw any certain Inference from this State of the Fact, but muſt leave the whole to the Houſe, who will beſt judge of the nature of it, conſider the Diſagreement of the Evidence, and determine where the Proof lies.

But your Commiſſioners have a further Reaſon for relating this Matter at large, which is, that we find by Mr. *Brydges*'s Accounts, there hath been no more than Six Thouſand Five Hundred Eighteen Pounds, Nine Shillings and Seven Pence Farthing repaid by the Off-reckonings of theſe Regiments, and that conſequently there hath accrued a Loſs to the Publick of Ten Thouſand Seven Hundred and Forty-three Pounds, Eight Shillings and Four Pence Three Farthings.

There are two Contracts for clothing *Guiſcard*'s Regiment of Dragoons, wherein Mr. *Harnage* and *Churchill* were likewiſe concerned, and wherein there is an Appearance of a Breach of Truſt, and a great Expence brought upon the Government.

The firſt of theſe Contracts was made by the late Earl *Rivers*, in Behalf of her Majeſty, with Mr. *Harnage* and *Churchill* for Six Thouſand Seven Hundred Twenty-ſeven Pounds, which was to be advanced by the Publick. Mr. *Harnage* declares on Oath, "That in the Accounts of this Clothing betwixt him and Mr. "*Churchill*, there were One Thouſand Pounds or Guineas charged for a Gratuity, "which Mr. *Churchill* (who tranſacted the whole Affair) told him was given "to the late Earl *Rivers*, in Conſideration of their being admitted into that Con-"tract."

The o her was made in 1708, by Mr. *Le Baſs*, with the ſaid Mr. *Churchill* and *Harnage*: For which Mr. *Harnage* depoſes, "There were likewiſe One Thouſand

" Thouſand Pounds or Guineas charged in the Account thereof, as a Gratuity, " which Mr. *Churchill* informed him were given to the Marquiſs *Guiſcard*; and " alſo a farther Sum of One Hundred Pounds, or more, to Mr. *Le Baſs*.

What we have to ſay on the firſt Contract is, that this Regiment being raiſed in *June* 1706, and reduced in *July* 1708, the Off-reckonings did not amount to near the Sum contracted for. But notwithſtanding this apparent Loſs to the Publick, a Warrant was obtained from her Majeſty, counterſigned by the Secretary at War in *November* 1708, for Payment of Seven Hundred and Seven Pounds Six Shillings and Four Pence, allowed for Intereſt 'till the whole Sum could be raiſed out of the Off-reckonings, which by this Warrant were continued for ſome Months after the Reduction of the Regiment.

We make no Remarks on the Money given on this Occaſion, becauſe the noble Perſon who received it is ſince dead.

As to the ſecond Contract, it is thus repreſented to your Commiſſioners by Mr. *Le Baſs*, who hath depoſed, " That Mr. *Churchill* and *Harnage* ſollicited the " Secretary at War to have his Name put into a Warrant, empowering him to " contract for a full Clothing for *Guiſcard*'s Regiment of Dragoons, commonly " called *Laffabriques*, in the Year 1708, and to aſſign over the full two Years " neat Off-reckonings for the ſame; that ſoon after he contracted with the ſaid " Mr. *Churchill* and *Harnage* for furniſhing the ſaid Clothing; that he under- " ſtood they gave Monſieur *Guiſcard* Seven Hundred Pounds (which Mr. *Har-* " *nage* ſays was a Thouſand Pounds) in Conſideration of their being employed " in this Contract; that they gave this Deponent about an Hundred Pounds for " making uſe of his Name, and the Trouble he had on this Account."

Now it is ſubmitted, whether it is not extraordinary, that a ſecond Contract ſhould be entered into before the firſt was ſatisfied, in Favour of a Foreigner, who by his Religion was incapable of being admitted into her Majeſty's Service; and who, beſides the Profits of this Regiment, received the Pay of a Major-General, with other great Advantages from the Publick: or whether this Power ought to have been granted to Mr. *Le Baſs* on the Sollicitation of Mr. *Churchill* and *Harnage*, who were known to be the Perſons intending to contract under it; or whether the Secretary at War (who recommended the Warrant to her Majeſty, and counterſigned it) had not executed his Truſt with more Caution, at leaſt if he had for that Reaſon declined doing it, ſince it was, in Effect, empowering them to contract with themſelves?

Mr. *Le Baſs* further depoſeth, " That in the Year 1708, or 1709, he pro- " miſed Mr. *James Taylor*, chief Clerk to the then Secretary at War, that he " would give him a Preſent in caſe he was made Agent to the Regiment of Dra- " goons, whereof *Belthazer de Foiſſac* was Lieutenant-Colonel, and to the ſeve- " ral Regiments of Foot, whereof *Conſtantine de Magny*, *John Trepaud*, *Antho-* " *ny La Columbire*, were Lieutenant-Colonels; that afterwards he was appointed " Agent by the major Part of the Field-Officers and Captains, and had a War- " rant granted him, and counterſigned by the Secretary at War, for confirming " the ſame; that thereupon he, ſome Time after, made the ſaid Mr. *Taylor* a " Preſent of Two Hundred and Fifty Pounds; that in the Year 1709 he pro- " cured a Warrant, counterſigned alſo by the Secretary at War, for the Subſiſt- " ence of ſeveral Officers in *Guiſcard*'s Regiment of Dragoons after it was re-

" duced, and gave the ſaid Mr. *Taylor* a further Gratuity of twenty or thirty " Guineas, he does not remember whether."

Beſides thoſe already mentioned, Mr. *Harnage* and *Churchill* have been concerned in ſeveral Contracts made by Perſons employed by the Government, amounting to the Sum of One Hundred Ninety Thouſand Nine Hundred Fifty-five Pounds, Nineteen Shillings and Two-pence.

We paſs over their Agreements with Colonels for clothing their particular Regiments, being very numerous, and not within the Intention of our preſent Repreſentation.

We having Reaſon to believe, as well from the Prices allowed in theſe Contracts with the Publick, as from other Circumſtances, that there were as conſiderable Gratuities given for obtaining them, as for thoſe above ſtated; we examined Mr. *Harnage* on Oath, and propoſed the following Queſtions to him.

Whether any Money was given, and to whom, for procuring any of theſe Contracts?

Whether any Perſon or Perſons were concerned with him, except Mr. *Churchill* and Mr. *Craggs?*

Whether all the Money due on theſe Contracts were received?

Whether any Allowance was made for prompt Payment?

To which he declined making any immediate Reply, but deſired Time to have Recourſe to his Books, and ſome Days after brought the following Anſwer in Writing:

" *Richard Harnage* ſaith, That he having been concerned in great Variety of " Dealings, and with great Variety of Perſons, cannot affirm any Thing upon " Oath that doth not appear in his Books, or ſome authentick Papers of Tranſ- " actions, ſo long ago paſſed; and having no ſuch Papers, cannot take upon " him to charge any Perſon whatſoever to have had any Share of the Profit of " any ſuch Contract, except the Perſons who were concerned with him: That " does not remember any Sum or Sums given for the procuring any of thoſe " Contracts, or any Money brought to account for that Purpoſe. The ſaid *Ri-* " *chard Harnage* further ſaith, That he can ſay nothing poſitive concerning the " Receipt of the Money, it being received by ſeveral Hands, and that he never " kept Account of it, neither hath any Papers that give him any light into that " Affair. And he further ſaith, That he does not know of any Sum of Money " given to any Perſon for Prompt Payment; and that he cannot of his own " Knowledge ſay that any Perſon was Partner in the ſaid Contracts, but Mr. *James* " *Craggs*, Mr. *William Churchill*, and himſelf.

Richard Harnage.

This Anſwer ſeeming to be drawn up in general and uncertain Terms, particularly that Part where it is ſaid, *That he cannot take upon him to charge any Perſon whatſoever, to have any Share of the Profit of any ſuch Contract, except the Perſons who were concerned with him*, we preſſed him to explain that Sentence, and to declare whether any Perſons beſides thoſe he called Partners, were concerned with him, or had any Share of the Profit: But he refuſed giving any other Anſwer than what was contained in the Paper here recited. We are unwilling

willing to complain of any Diſregard ſhewn to the Power repoſed in us; but we think ourſelves obliged to take Notice, that if Perſons contracting with the Government, ſhall be permitted to refuſe anſwering Queſtions, whereby they diſcover the real Conſiderations on which their Contracts are made, there will be no Probability of detecting publick Miſmanagements for the future, and all Enquiries of this Nature will be rendered ineffectual.

We likewiſe ſummoned Mr. *Churchill*, but underſtood he had a little before left *England*, and not returning 'till after the Expiration of our Commiſſion for taking the publick Accompts, by Virtue whereof this Examination was begun, we have not proceeded further in it.

We have diſcovered *ſome Inſtances* (and have Ground to believe there are many more not yet proved to us) *of Clothings, which have been ſupplied out of her Majeſty's Magazines to Regiments abroad*, and for which no Account hath been rendered to the Publick.

The Inſtance that hath already come to our Knowledge, is of a Clothing delivered out of her Majeſty's Stores in the Year 1708, to Colonel *Bladen*'s Regiment in *Portugal*, by Order of the Earl of *Gallway*.

John Philip de Clapie, who hath been a Captain in this Regiment from the Raiſing to the Reduction of it, depoſes, "That the Regiment received a full "Clothing from Colonel *Bladen*, which was taken out of her Majeſty's Stores "in *Portugal* by the Earl of *Gallway*'s Order, though ſent over thither for ano-"ther Regiment which was then Priſoners."

We examined Mr. *Edmund Strudwick*, who (we were informed) was concerned in this Affair, and he depoſed, "That Colonel *Bladen*'s Father deſired "Leave to make uſe of his Name in an Aſſignment made by Colonel *Bladen*, "bearing Date the 10th of *March*, 1709-10, of the Off-reckonings of his Regi-"ment, 'till the Sum of Two Thouſand Eight Hundred Thirty-nine Pounds "Seventeen Shillings and Six-pence ſhould be paid, which he granted; but ne-"ver furniſhed any Clothing, or received any Money, or gave any Receipts on "Account of the ſaid Aſſignment; that he afterwards aſſigned over the ſaid Aſ-"ſignment, and thinks it was to Colonel *Bladen*'s Father."

We ſummoned the Colonel's Father, who confirmed the Truth of what *Strudwick* had ſworn, and declared on Oath, "That he knew no more of the Matter, "than that he ſollicited at the Pay-Office for the Money, and received Tallies, "all which he gave to his Son."

Thus it appears that an Aſſignment was made, and the Money actually paid by the Publick; but we cannot find that a Clothing was ever provided in Conſideration thereof. On the contrary, it further appears (beſides what is alledged in Capt. *Clopie*'s Depoſition) by the Accounts of Mr. *Medlycott*, Commiſſary of Stores in *Portugal*, that a great Quantity of all Species of Clothing, except Serjeants Coats and Waiſtcoats were delivered to Mr. *Traplien*, for the Uſe of Colonel *Bladen*'s Regiment, which, if there was no other Proof, would entitle her Majeſty to a Proportion, at leaſt, of the Off-reckonings aſſigned on this Account: For we have it on Oath from ſeveral Captains of this Regiment, that there was no more than one Clothing delivered during the Time of Colonel *Bladen*'s Command.

Nor

Nor does the Colonel himſelf give us any Satisfaction in this Matter: For in his firſt Repreſentation of it, he takes no Notice of what appears by the above-mentioned Account to have been delivered out of the publick Magazines: But he ſays, "He made an Aſſignment of the Off-reckonings for ſixteen Months, "amounting in Value to the Sum of Two Thouſand Eight Hundred Pounds, or "thereabouts, which ſaid Sum has ſince been diſcharged in Candle-Tallies and "*South-Sea* Stock; that in Conſideration of the ſaid Aſſignment, he did cauſe a "good and ſufficient Clothing to be delivered to the Regiment in *Portugal*; "and having hereby, as he humbly conceived, diſcharged his Duty to the Queen "and the Regiment, he did not keep any Papers by him, nor can he find any "upon diligent Search, relating to the Particulars of the ſaid Clothing; that "therefore he is entirely incapable of giving any Account of the Diſtinction be-"tween Species and Prices, becauſe the ſaid Clothing, though made of *Engliſh* "Manufactures, was almoſt all of it provided abroad.

On further Recollection, he ſays, "That he believes his Agent might receive "out of the Stores at *Liſbon* ſome remaining Part of a Clothing that belonged "to the Earl of *Gallway*'s *Spaniſh* Regiment of Foot, who were then Priſoners. "But that it is impoſſible for him to ſay what this Remainder conſiſted of, or "whether his Agent paid for the ſame, becauſe he is, ſince this Tranſaction, be-"come a Bankrupt, and retired into a Convent for Protection, with his Regimen-"tal Papers in his Hands; and though there are ſtill Accounts depending between "them, he hath not heard from him ſome Years. But he hath been informed, "and does believe, that the ſaid *Spaniſh* Regiment, when they were taken by "the Enemy at the Battle of *Caia*, were about Three Hundred and Fifty Men "under Arms, compleatly clothed, without accounting for thoſe that might "have deſerted before that Day. He hath alſo been informed, and doth believe, "that one of the Regiments of Dragoons, raiſed in *Portugal* after the Battle of "*Caia*, was likewiſe clothed out of the Remainder of the ſaid *Spaniſh* Cloth-"ing, before any Part thereof was delivered to his Agent. Therefore he does "preſume the Remainder, after theſe Deductions made, could not be very con-"ſiderable. But he is ready to pay for whatever his Agent may have received "in his Behalf from the Store-keeper, if the ſame be not already accounted for. "He further adds, in Proof of his providing a Clothing, that ſuch Part of it "as was provided in *England* was bought of one *Peter*."

He hath alſo produced to your Commiſſioners a general Certificate from ſome Captains of his Regiment to this Effect; "That he did, in the Year 1710, de-"liver to them, and to every Captain, a good and compleat Clothing for each "of their reſpective Companies; that whilſt they were under his Command, he "did upon all Occaſions do Juſtice to them, and to all the Officers and Soldiers "in the Regiment." This Certificate is ſigned amongſt others by Capt. *de Clapiè*: But it does not contradict the Aſſertion in his Depoſition, That the Clothing was taken out of her Majeſty's Stores in *Portugal*, by the Earl of *Gallway*'s Order: For it is agreed on all Hands, that a good and full Clothing was furniſhed to the Regiment. But, as is ſaid before, it does not appear that it was furniſhed at the Colonel's Expence, or conſequently, that he had a Right to all the Money he hath received on this Account; eſpecially when it is underſtood, that

that *Robert Peter* (who is the Perſon ſaid to have furniſhed that Part of the Clothing which was bought here in *England*) hath ſworn, that he never had any Dealings with the Colonel for more than the Value of Two Hundred Nineteen Pounds Nineteen Shillings; and that, in the Accompts thereof, we find ſeveral Articles no Ways relating to the Uſe of the Regiment. As to that Part which is ſaid to have been provided abroad, we can obſerve nothing, but that there is no Proof of it; and how ſatisfactory the Reaſons (given by the Colonel for his not being able to produce any Account) are, muſt be entirely left to the Determination of the Houſe.

We have had *another Irregularity in Clothing* under our Examination, *which relates to Major-General* Handaſyd's *Regiment.*

The Caſe is this; "Mr. *John Mac Colloch*, in the Year 1710-11, provided a "full Clothing for General *Handaſyd*'s Regiment, for which he received Three "Thouſand and Thirty Pounds. In the Year 1711-12 he contracted for half a "Clothing for the ſaid Regiment, and had an Aſſignment of the Off-reckonings, "amounting to Sixteen Hundred Pounds, which he paid to General *Handaſyd*'s "Son by Order of the General; but did not provide any Cloathing. In the "Year 1712-13, he contracted for another full Clothing for the ſaid Regiment, "and had an Aſſignment of the Off-reckonings amounting to Two Thouſand "Three Hundred Pounds, or thereabouts, which he received, and paid alſo to "the General's Son, though no Clothing was then provided. But the ſame was "altered, and he received Five Hundred and Fifty Pounds for the Alterations: "After which, Part of the Clothing was ſent to *Jamaica*. But there are Two "Hundred and Forty Suits now remaining in *England*, which, with One Hundred and Thirteen more, are to ſerve for the Clothing the ſaid Regiment for "the Year 1714."

Mr. *Mac Culloch* hath ſworn all theſe Particulars, and his Evidence is confirmed by the Oaths of Mr. *Boulter*, a Laceman, and of Mr. *John Oſheal*, who was employed in making and altering theſe Clothes.

It is further ſupported by Capt. *Robert Gardner*, who was empowered by a Letter of Attorney from Major-General *Handaſyd* in *February* 1703-4, to contract here for clothing his Regiment, and who gives this following Account on Oath, of his Tranſactions in this Affair; "That, purſuant to his Authority, he "made ſeveral Aſſignments of the Off-reckonings of this Regiment, to the Value "of Fourteen Thouſand Six Hundred Sixty-eight Pounds, the laſt of which was "made in *April* 1710, to Meſſieurs *Man* and *Mac Culloch* for Three Thouſand "and Thirty Pounds Twelve Shillings and Ten-pence; that he believes the "Clothing provided on this Aſſignment was not ſent over to *Jamaica*, but detained in *England*."

Theſe Facts are not contradicted by what the General ſays concerning the Clothing of the Regiment: for he alledges, 'That ſome time ſince a Clothing, 'which he expected from *England* for his Regiment in *Jamaica*, not coming 'thither, he bought a *French* Clothing, which was taken off of *Martinico* by 'a Privateer. That he can give no particular Account of the ſaid Clothing, but 'he remembers that it was very bad, and did coſt only Ten Shillings a Coat and 'Breeches; that there were ſeveral Shirts, Shoes, Stockings, and Cravats, the

'Number of which he does not remember; that ſoon after a Clothing arrived 'from *England* by the Packet-Boat, which he delivered to his Regiment.'

But he cannot ſwear to the Truth of theſe Circumſtances, becauſe he ſays, 'His Memory will not ſerve him to recollect whether the Clothes were deli-'vered in the Year 1710, or 1711; nor what the Quantity or Quality of them 'was, having had only a Sight of a Coat and Breeches, and they being deli-'vered out at *Port-Royal*, fifteen Miles diſtant from the Reſidence of the Go-'vernor of *Jamaica*; which, at the Regiments coming home, when required, 'will be made appear. But that he would rather refund the Money, than take 'any Oath concerning this Matter.'

From all theſe Accounts it appears, that there hath been only one Clothing (for the *French* Clothes bought in *Jamaica* are not pretended to be worth much) provided for this Regiment; though there have been Aſſignments made to the Value of Six Thouſand Nine Hundred and Thirty Pounds.

Another Inſtance of Miſmanagement in diſpoſing of the Off-reckonings of Regiments, is in that of Colonel *Watkins*. Mr. *Potter*, Agent to this Regiment, did, by Vertue of a Letter of Attorney from Colonel *Watkins*, make an Aſſignment, dated the 1ſt of *April*, 1706. of two Years Off-reckonings, (amounting to the Sum of Three Thouſand Nine Hundred Sixty Pounds, or thereabout) to Mr. *Robert Peter*, Clothier. The next Day Mr. *Peter* re-aſſigned the whole Aſſignment to Colonel *Watkins*. Some time after he furniſhed Clothes to the Value of Eight Hundred Twenty-three Pounds, and was paid for them by Mr. *Potter*. But he depoſes, that he never received any other Sum on Account of clothing this Regiment; nor does Mr. *Potter* know of any other Clothes furniſhed to it, during the time of Colonel *Watkins*'s Command.

The Colonel made another Aſſignment, dated *December* 31, 1709. to Mr. *Luke King* of the Off-reckonings of this Regiment, amounting to Eleven Hundred Seventy-eight Pounds, or there-about. But Mr. *King* declares on Oath, 'That he never knew that any Clothes were furniſhed to the Regiment; that his 'Name was only made uſe of in the Aſſignment; that by Colonel *Watkins*'s 'Order he transferred the Aſſignment to Mr. *Jackſon* a Goldſmith, and only 'received Six-pence *per* Pound. Nor can your Commiſſioners be informed that 'any Clothes were ſupplied on this ſecond Contract.'

Colonel *Watkins* alledges for himſelf, 'That his Regiment never com-'plained for want of Clothing; that to the beſt of his Remembrance he took 'care that every Man in his Regiment ſhould be furniſhed with Clothing, 'according to the Cuſtom of the Army: but that he can give no Account 'thereof, by reaſon of the Diſtance of Time.'

Since the Colonel pretends not to offer any Proof ſufficient to confront or weaken the Evidence above ſtated, we are left to ſuppoſe, that out of theſe two Contracts, he hath applied above Four Thouſand Pounds to his own private Uſe.

Theſe Particulars are only a few of the many Inſtances which might be given of the indirect Practices in Clothing the Army. But they are ſufficient to prove, that the good Huſbandry and Oeconomy, ſo much pretended to in carrying on the late War, hath been as defective in this Article, as in any of the other publick Expences.

This may be further demonſtrated to the Houſe by an Account of the Clothings furniſhed by the Publick, for the Uſe of her Majeſty's Forces, which is as followeth.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
For Clothing ſent to *Portugal*, and conſigned to Mr. *Alexander Stevenſon*	5,000	0	0
For Clothing for 4000 Foot and 1000 Dragoons, ſent to *Catalonia*, under the Care of Mr. *Thomas Caſtle*	24,571	19	6
For 20000 Sets of ſmall Clothing ſent to *Spain* under the Care of the ſaid Mr. *Caſtle*	12,490	0	0
For the Clothing of the ſix *French* Regiments ſent under the Care of Mr. *Edward Douglaſs*	17,061	18	0
For Clothing of 3000 Foot and 1000 Horſe of the Forces in *Spain*, ſent under the Care of Mr. *Henry Vincent*	23,625	0	0
For 40000 Sets of ſmall Clothing, ſent to *Spain* under the Care of the ſaid *Vincent*	24,980	0	0
For Clothing and Accoutrements of Horſe and Dragoons ſent to *Portugal*, and conſigned to Mr. *Vincent*	23,360	16	4
For 5000 Bayonets for the Expedition commanded by the Earl *Rivers*, ſent under the Care of Mr. *Edward Douglaſs*	880	0	0
For Clothing ſent to *Spain*, and conſigned to Mr. *Vincent*	12,870	8	1
	10,369	2	3
	8,424	2	5
For 4488 Pair of Shoes bought of Mr. *David*, and delivered to Mr. *Caſtle*	1,065	18	0
For 10,000 Sets of ſmall Clothing for the Forces in *Portugal*, conſigned to Mr. *Medlycott*	6,437	10	0
For an entire Clothing and half for Lord *Gallway*'s Dragoons, conſigned to Ditto	5,475	3	11
For an entire Clothing and half for Brigadier *Carle*'s late Regiment, conſigned to Ditto	4,142	12	1
For an entire firſt and ſecond Clothing for four Regiments of Foot in *Portugal*, conſigned to Ditto	16,434	19	2
For an entire Clothing, with Saddles and Accoutrements for a Regiment of Dragoons, conſigned to Ditto	5,627	7	4
For Arms and Accoutrements for ſix Regiments of Dragoons in *Portugal*, conſigned to Mr. *Medlycott*	7,782	16	6
For Accoutrements for the ſaid Regiments, conſigned to Ditto	5,663	0	0
For Arms, *&c.* ſent under the Care of Mr. *Netmaker* for the Forces to the late Expedition to *Canada*	28,036	5	0
Total of the ſeveral Payments afore-mentioned	234,298	18	7

By this Account the Government hath disburſed the Sum of two Hundred forty-four Thouſand two Hundred ninety-eight Pounds, eighteen Shillings, and ſeven Pence. And your Commiſſioners have, notwithſtanding what hath been ſaid as to ſome particular Caſes, Reaſon to believe, that the Contracts in general, purſuant to which it was paid, were not always made with the greateſt Caution. But beſides any Loſs, which may have accrued by that means, we find in the Accounts we have required for our Information in this Matter, that there yet remain above fifty Thouſand Pounds unanſwered to the Publick, even allowing the Sum of Six Thouſand Nine Hundred and Ninety Pounds, Four Shillings and Two-pence, chargeable to the King of *Spain*'s Account, to go in Part of Repayment; which perhaps may be thought a Conceſſion without a Reaſon, when it is known, that there was no Treaty betwixt her Majeſty and the preſent Emperor; and that the Sum annually granted by Parliament, for carrying on his Succeſſes in *Spain*, cannot be conſidered as a Subſidy due to that Prince, but as Money voluntarily advanced; and which therefore was, or ought to have been under the ſame Management with the other publick Money given for that Service. There is not above the Sum of Eighty-ſeven Thouſand Six Hundred Eighty-nine Pounds, Fourteen Shillings and Nine-pence Halfpenny, pretended to be accounted for by the Commiſſary of Stores.

As this is a conſiderable Loſs to the Publick, ſo it muſt have ariſen from Miſmanagement ſomewhere. For if, on advancing theſe Sums, there was not a Proſpect of repaying the Publick, then it will be difficult to account why the Advances ſhould ever be made, or why the Directions were given for making proper Deductions from the Regiments to whom they were delivered. If the Money was advanced on juſt Grounds and good Computations, then it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, had due Care been taken, that the Government could not have ſuffered ſo egregiouſly.

This Method of clothing at the Publick Charge was one of the many exorbitant Expences, which attended the *Spaniſh* and *Portugal* War; and the Contracts for Corn, tranſported from *Genoa*, and other Places for that Service, have been likewiſe an exceſſive Burden to the Publick. But theſe later-Contracts have not yet been ſo diſtinctly laid before us, as to enable us to ſtate any Account thereof.

We are ſenſible it may be expected we ſhould here offer ſome Obſervations on the Accounts of the Pay-Maſter-General; and we take leave to acquaint the Houſe, that we have examined, with the beſt Care we could, thoſe which are already laid before us. But, when it is underſtood that he hath not yet exhibited his final Account, nor Vouchers for any of his Payments further than the Year 1707, we humbly conceive, it will be allowed, that few Remarks can be made, but ſuch as may poſſibly admit of a full Anſwer, when this final Account, and all his Vouchers are produced, and ſuch therefore as ought not to be offered to the Houſe.

Mr. *Bridges* hath been frequently preſſed for this final Account, and ſo lately as the 27th of *February* laſt, he gave the following Reaſons why it cannot yet be made up, and laid before us.

'The final Account and Vouchers of ſome of the Deputy-Pay-Maſters abroad, 'being but very lately tranſmitted over, and ſome not yet arrived, and thoſe 'Accounts returned not being yet fully examined, are the Reaſons why my final 'Account for the eight Months, ending the 24th of *Auguſt*, 1713. cannot yet 'be made up, and laid before the Honourable Commiſſioners of Publick Ac-'counts in the ſame particular Method, as my Accounts ending at *Chriſtmas*, '1712. have been delivered in to them; ſo that what can be done at preſent is 'to lay before the Commiſſioners my Caſh-Accounts, to the laſt Day of *Feb.* '1713. which will be ready in a few Days, in the ſame Method with thoſe al-'ready delivered to them, to the 14th Day of *September*, 1713.'

J. Brydges.

Feb. 27, 1713-14.

Nor can we receive better Satisfaction from the Accounts of the Deputy-Pay-Maſters. For Mr. *Morice* being dead, we cannot take any perſonal Examination relating to his Accounts, which were but lately laid before us, and in ſo very general a manner that little can be collected from them.

Mr. *Mead* (through whoſe Hands moſt of the Money remitted for the *Spaniſh* Service paſſed) hath exhibited his Accounts to us, without mentioning the Dates and Species of his Payments, which he declares on Oath, he cannot do, becauſe ſeveral of them were made by Perſons at a Diſtance from him, who returned him no ſuch Diſtinction. He further declares, he found no Neceſſity for keeping any ſuch Account, not having any Inſtruction for that Purpoſe from Mr. *Brydges*. To ſupply this Defect we deſired a Sight of his Caſh-Book, but he refuſed to ſubmit it to our Examination, becauſe, he ſays, it contains his own private Affairs, as well as the Publick Accounts.

However, though for theſe Reaſons it is impoſſible for us to give a particular State of the Accounts of the Army, yet we conceive a general Computation of the annual Expence on this Head, as well as on that of the Navy, for twelve Years laſt paſt, may not be unacceptable to the Houſe, in that it will give a View how heavy the Maintenance of the War was become to *England*, and how inſupportable the Continuance of it would have proved.

A STATE of the EXPENCE of the late WAR.

Payments made by the Earl of Ranelagh, *from the 1ſt of* June, 1701, *to the 24th of* December, 1702.

Year.	*The ſeveral Services.*	*Particular Totals.* l.	s.	d.	*Annual Totals.* l.	s.	d.
1701	For twelve Battalions ſent to the Aſſiſtance of the States				102185	17	3
1702	Guards and Garriſons, from 25 *December* 1701, to 24 *December*, 1702.	275546	12	2¼			
	Forces in *Flanders* from and to *ditto* Time	985660	13	11¼			
	Deſcent under the Duke of *Ormond*	89766	3	5			
					1350973	9	7

Payments made by Charles Fox, *Eſq*; *from the 25th of* December 1702, *to the 23d of* June, 1705.

1703	To 40000 Men in *Flanders*, from 25 *December*, 1702, to 24 *Ditto*, 1703	l. 881352	s. 14	d. 1			
	To 100000 Men, Troops of Augmentation, *Ditto* Time	156704	2	4½			
	To the Circle of *Suabia*	23255	16	3¼			
					1061312	12	8½
	To Forces in *Portugal*, from 16 *Auguſt* to 24 *December*, 1703				169387	8	5
					1230700	1	1¾
1704	To 40000 Men in *Flanders*	1031727	10	3¾			
	To 10000 Men, Troops of Augmentation	161206	15	9			
					1192934	6	0¾
	To the Duke of *Savoy* purſuant to Treaty				203355	19	7½
	To Extraordinaries relating to the War				44978	4	10
	To Bounty Money				64473	0	0
	To Forces in *Portugal*				355599	13	8½
					1861341	4	2¾
	Carried over				4545200	12	2½

Year.	The several Services.	l.	s.	d.	Particular Totals. l.	s.	d.	Annual Totals. l.	s.	d.
	Brought over							4545200	12	2½
1705	To 40000 Men in *Flanders*, from 24 *December*, 1704, to 23 *June*, 1705	474317	3	1¼						
	To 10000 Men *ditto* Time	84111	8	2½						
					558428	11	3¾			
	To the Duke of *Savoy* pursuant to Treaty *ditto* Time				89800	7	6½			
	To Subsidy to the King of *Prussia*				23255	16	4			
	To Forces, *&c.* in *Portugal*				186883	13	2¼			
	To Forces in *Flanders*, from 24 *June* to 24 *December*, 1705.				759278	7	0¾			
	To Forces in *Spain* and *Portugal ditto* Time				213374	14	4½			
								1831021	9	9¾
	Payments made by James Bridges, *Esq*; *from the* 24*th of* June, 1705, *to the* 24*th of* August, 1713, &c.									
1706	To Forces in *Flanders*, from 25 *December*, 1705, to 24 *December*, 1706				1566285	18	8			
	To Forces in *Spain* and *Portugal ditto* Time				835801	8	4			
								2402087	7	0
1707	To Forces in *Flanders*				1498552	6	1½			
	To Forces in *Spain* and *Portugal*				967551	16	10			
								2466104	2	11½
1708	To Forces in *Flanders*				1649209	14	6			
	To Forces in *Spain* and *Portugal*				1127675	6	9¾			
								2776885	1	3¼
1709	To Forces in *Flanders*				1761631	7	5¼			
	To Forces in *Spain* and *Portugal*				1436943	2	3			
								3198574	9	8¼
	Carried over							17219873	2	11¾

Years.	The several Services.	Particular Totals. l.	s.	d.	Annual Totals. l.	s.	d.
	Brought over				17219873	2	11¾
1710	To Forces in *Flanders*	2025957	6	2¾			
	To Forces in *Spain* and *Portugal*	1389199	12	1			
					3415156	18	5¾
1711	To Forces in *Flanders*	1868872	6	5¼			
	To Forces in *Spain* and *Portugal*	1424326	4	7			
					3293198	11	0¼
1712	To Forces in *Flanders*	1294754	12	5¼			
	To Forces in *Spain* and *Portugal*	490772	2	4½			
					1785526	14	9¾
1713	To Forces in *Flanders*, from 22 *December*, 1712, to 24 *Auguſt*, 1713	329923	15	2			
	To Forces in *Spain* and *Portugal ditto* Time	137260	16	10¼			
					467184	12	0¼
	Payments made by Thomas Moore, *Eſq*;						
1713	To Forces from 23 *September* 1713, to 13 *February* following				175663	10	0¼
	Arrears due by Eſtimation				1461909	13	7¼
	Carried over				27818513	2	9¼

Payments made by John Howe, *Esq; from the* 24*th of* December, 1702, *to the* 23*d of* February, 1713-14.

Year.	*From and to what Time.*	*Paym. on Account for Forces employed in the War abroad.*			*Paym. on Account for Guards and Garrisons.*			*Annual Totals.*		
		l.	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
	Brought over							27818513	2	$9\frac{1}{4}$
1703	From 24 *Dec.* 1702, To 23 *Dec.* 1703	46669	7	8	257416	9	$4\frac{1}{2}$	304085	17	$0\frac{1}{2}$
1704	To 23 *Dec.* 1704	31965	11	2	311172	10	$1\frac{3}{4}$	343138	1	$3\frac{3}{4}$
1705	To 23 *Dec.* 1705	70629	6	$1\frac{1}{4}$	337271	0	7	407900	6	$8\frac{1}{4}$
1706	To 23 *Dec.* 1706	86950	12	$4\frac{1}{4}$	288495	18	$1\frac{1}{2}$	375446	10	$5\frac{3}{4}$
1707	To 23 *Dec.* 1707	42023	14	6	302586	15	$5\frac{1}{4}$	344610	9	$11\frac{1}{4}$
1708	From 24 *Dec.* 1707, To 22 *Dec.* 1708	35184	3	10	509576	16	$8\frac{1}{4}$	544761	0	$6\frac{1}{4}$
1709	From 23 *Dec.* 1708, To 22 *Dec.* 1709	57537	9	5	505151	5	$8\frac{3}{4}$	562688	15	$1\frac{3}{4}$
1710	To 22 *Dec.* 1710	83058	18	10	513089	13	$7\frac{1}{4}$	596148	12	$5\frac{1}{4}$
1711	To 22 *Dec.* 1711	53979	7	1	473270	2	$7\frac{3}{4}$	527249	9	$8\frac{3}{4}$
1712	From 23 *Dec.* 1711, To 21 *Dec.* 1712	90578	18	5	419328	1	$10\frac{1}{4}$	509907	0	$3\frac{1}{4}$
1713	To several Payments for the Service of the Year 1713	43499	10	6	319023	5	$1\frac{1}{2}$	362522	15	$7\frac{1}{2}$
	By the Royal Hospital for the like Sum received at the *Exchequer* on Account for the Service of the Years 1711 and 1712							44963	16	$3\frac{1}{4}$
	By *Ditto* on the same Account for the Service of the Years 1712 and 1713							56490	0	0
	Carried over							32798425	18	$2\frac{1}{4}$

Ordnance from 1702, to the 30th of June, 1713.

What Year.	*Land Service.*			*Sea Service.*			*Total.*			*Grand Total.*		
	l.	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
Brought over										32798425	18	2¾
1702	101892	11	7¾	81023	3	9	182915	15	4¾			
1703	80695	4	3¼	91735	2	9¾	172439	7	1			
1704	72863	10	9½	51913	11	3¼	124777	2	0¾			
1705	97386	11	3¾	94445	9	11¼	191842	1	3			
1706	119484	1	3¼	101978	14	6½	221462	15	9¾			
1707	97178	1	7¼	88827	6	8	186005	8	3¼			
1708	143884	2	8	145388	14	3½	289272	16	11½			
1709	125913	13	2¼	112737	3	7	238650	16	9½			
1710	163090	19	9	64409	8	6½	232500	8	3½			
1711	124955	18	3½	56135	1	10½	181092	0	2			
1712	140551	8	0½	111867	13	4¾						
	106746	14	3½	84256	19	4½	443422	15	1¼			
1713	96537	6	6¼	56596	4	11¼	153133	11	5½			
	1471180	3	8	1146325	14	11¾	2617505	18	7¾			
Stores exhausted amounting to							48672	9	6			
										2666178	8	1¾
Carried over										35464604	6	4

Transports from the 2d March, 1701-2, *to the* 2d *of* March, 1713-14.

Years.	Holland Service.			Spain and the W. Indies.			Portugal & Spain.			Total.			Grand Total.		
	l.	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*d.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
Brought over													35464604	6	4
1702	14311	9	8½	77313	18	2				91630	7	10½			
1703	7140	11	6	31671	7	8	56290	5	7	95102	4	9			
1704	7243	15	4				103596	17	9	110840	13	1			
1705	5439	11	3				103253	14	4	109393	5	7			
1706	8095	2	0	1292	2	9	143077	11	1	152464	15	10			
1707	7864	11	1	891	5	3	140812	11	10	149568	8	2			
1708	29141	10	8	1951	12	8	179574	18	2¾	210668	1	6¾			
1709	6654	6	11	824	10	3	243046	19	5	250525	16	7			
1710	5812	12	9	947	14	11	210751	1	5	217511	9	1¼			
1711	8024	5	3	2234	7	10	96966	2	10½						
Canada				57806	12	0				165031	7	11½			
1712	6706	1	3	1108	0	0	77424	14	8	85238	15	11			
1713	21078	10	8	1076	19	0	58196	8	4	80351	18	0			
	127512	8	4½	177123	10	6	1413691	5	6½	. . . . .			1718327	4	5

Navy, Victualling Sick and Wounded, and Marine Regiments; and Treasurer of the S. Sea *Company.*

Expence of the Navy, Victualling, Sick and Wounded, and Marine Regiments, between the 1st of *October* 1701, and the 30th of *September* 1713 — — — 27843906 10 9½

1712 To the Treasurer of the *South Sea* Company for Interest, and Charge of Management thereof — — — 270681 17 0½

1713 *Ditto* — — — — — — 556279 10 0 — 826961 7 0½

Total of the Expence — — — 65853799 8 7½

It is obvious, that the Commencement of ſome of theſe Accounts preceeds the actual Declaration of the War: but the Grand Alliance being then ſettled, we apprehend they muſt be allowed as Part of the Expence.

Some of them are carried beyond the time of the Determination of the War: but thoſe Charges have been Conſequences of it. The Troops in *Flanders* were continued there purſuant to an Addreſs of this Houſe. The Ships in the *Mediterranean* have been employed in Services relating to the War. Many Payments made ſince have been in conſideration of what was performed during the War.

Beſides the Arrears here-mentioned to be due by Eſtimation, conſiderable Demands are every Day brought into the Pay-Office, and more are here expected.

In this Account is comprehended the whole Money iſſued to the Fleet and Army. But there ought to be a Deduction of the neceſſary Expence on thoſe Heads in time of Peace; and if it be computed for twelve Years laſt paſt, according to the Eſtabliſhments made ſince the War, it will amount to Twelve Millions, Nine Hundred and Thirty Thouſand, Four Hundred and Sixty-one Pounds, Seventeen Shillings, and Four Pence.

Your Commiſſioners take leave juſt to mention a Proceeding in relation to the Buying and Selling Commiſſions in the Army, dated *May* 1, 1711. directing, that on the Sale of any Commiſſion, Twelve-Pence in the Pound ſhould be paid both by the Buyer and Seller, which Money was to be applied to increaſe the Fund for Maintenance of *Chelſea* College.

This Money not being brought to the Account of the Hoſpital, we examined Mr. *Francis Lynn* (who was appointed Receiver of it); and he depoſed, 'That 'he received Four Hundred Twenty-five Pounds, Seven Shillings and Three 'Pence on this Account, which he kept ſome time in his Hands, but that ſince 'our Enquiry he had paid it to Mr. *Merrill* for the Uſe of the Hoſpital:' He further ſaid, 'He acquainted Mr. *Merrill* a Year ſince, that he had this Money 'in his Hands, which Mr. *Merrill* owns he did.'

Your Commiſſioners think it extraordinary that this Practice of buying and ſelling Commiſſions, ſhould receive ſo great Countenance as to have a publick Office erected for the tranſacting it. They further obſerve, that eighteen Colonels, who were all that appeared to have bought or ſold Regiments during the time this Regulation ſubſiſted (which was from *May* 1, 1711, to *April* 1, 1712, were excuſed the Payment of this Twelve Pence in the Pound by particular Warrants, and the Burden fell on the inferior Officers only.

There have been general Directions given by the Treaſury, that the Receivers of Taxes, and other Publick Officers, ſhould tranſact their Affairs with the *Bank* of *England*.

By which means the ancient Method of paying Money in Specie into the *Exchequer* hath been much laid aſide, and a great Part of the Revenue of the Kingdom received in *Bank* Notes.

How far this new Practice may prove fatal to the Publick, if the *Bank* ſhall ever be obliged, on any Exigency of the Government, to ſtop their Payments we know not: but we are of Opinion, that it is worthy your Conſideration.

Your Commiſſioners were informed, that the Sufferers in the Iſlands of *Nevis* and *St. Chriſtophers*, had agreed to give conſiderable *Premiums* for obtaining Relief from the Publick for their Loſſes; and on Enquiry into the Matter, We find, That in the Year 1709, Mr. *James Campbell* was employed by Mr. *Stephen Duport*, Agent for thoſe Iſlands, to ſollicit this Affair; That he was to have Two and an half *per Cent.* for all the Money the Sufferers ſhould receive from the Publick; and ſome time after an Act paſſed for giving them One hundred and three thouſand and three Pounds eleven Shillings and Fourpence; That on the 3d of *July* 1712, the greateſt Part of the Agents for Sufferers agreed to give him One *per Cent.* more; That in *October* 1712, they came to another Agreement, which was to give him Five *per Cent.* more for all the Money received from the Publick on this Account: If the Debentures ſhould at any Time before the Firſt of *July* 1713, be ſold for more than 76 *per Cent.* By which Increaſe the whole *Premium* was advanced to Eight and an half *per Cent.*

Whether Negociations of this Kind are allowable, where Money is given by the Publick, though for private Uſes, we are not to determine; But this Matter being now under your Examination, we thought it not improper to mention this Circumſtance.

There is a Tranſaction relating to the Cuſtoms in *Scotland*, whereby her Majeſty hath been conſiderably defrauded, and ſo much as we have been able to diſcover thereof, we here lay before the Houſe.

In the latter End of *May* 1707, the three following Ships, *viz.* the *Neptune* of *Glaſcow*, the *Eagle-Galley*, and the *May-Flower* of *Glaſcow*, arrived in the Road of *Greenock* loaded with Brandy from *France*, and the Ship called the *Recovery* of *Dowart*, arrived likewiſe about the ſame time on the Weſt Coaſt of *Scotland*; but no Entry was made, or Cuſtoms paid, for any Goods on Board the ſaid Ships, though it appears that the ſame Goods were landed in *Scotland*.

But the Fact will be moſt fairly ſtated, and beſt underſtood by reciting the Subſtance of ſome of the Depoſitions taken on this Occaſion.

Archibald Maclean, Tide-Waiter at Port *Glaſcow*, depoſed 'That he and another Waiter were ſent by *John Kaltſoe*, Surveyor of the ſaid Port, on Board the *Eagle*, which he ſaw loaded with Brandy; That he went likewiſe on Board the *Neptune* and *May-Flower*, which were then unladed, but was told by the Waiters on Board that they had likewiſe been loaded with Brandy; that the ſaid Deponent was ordered by *Kaltſoe*, a Surveyor, to continue on Board the *Eagle* till ſhe arrived at the *Iſle of Man*, or ſome Part of *Ireland*; that as ſoon as this Ship was under Sail, ſhe begun to unlade into ſeveral Lighters, which came to her Side for that Purpoſe; and that the Deponent and the other Waiter were ſhut up, and kept in the Cabin during the Time of their unlading.'

William Semple and *James Roland* depoſed; 'That being Waiters at Port *Glaſcow*, they were ſent on Board the *Neptune* by *John Kaltſoe* Surveyor, and were told by the Sailors that ſhe was loaded with Brandy from *France*; that they were threatened and commanded by the Maſter, and Ship's Crew, to betake themſelves to the Cabin, where they were ſhut up and kept during

'the Time the Goods were unloaded.' *Semple* further depoſed, 'That whilſt 'he was on Board the *Neptune*, he ſaw ſeveral ſmall Boats about the *May-Flower* 'and *Eagle-Galley*.'

Thomas Kennedy, Land Waiter at Port *Glaſcow*, depoſed; 'That he ſaw 'ſeveral of the Lighters which tranſported the Brandy from the *Eagle*, *Nep-* 'tune, and *May-Flower*, in their Courſe from the ſaid Ships, and coming into 'the *Key* of Port *Glaſcow*; that *James Thompſon*, Maſter of one of thoſe 'Lighters, which carried the Goods from the ſaid Ships to Port *Glaſcow*, 'told this Deponent, that he was loaded with Brandy from one of the ſaid Ships, 'and produced to this Deponent a Permit for the ſame, ſigned by *Daniel* 'Campbell, then Collector at Port *Glaſcow*; That he was told by *Robert Ro-* 'bertſon, that he, and others who were concerned in the Goods of the ſaid 'Ships, had agreed to pay ten Pounds *per* Ton for the ſaid Brandy, and that 'he the ſaid *Robertſon*, had actually paid to the ſaid *Campbell* above Five hun- 'dred Pounds in Money and Brandy, for the Duties of the ſaid *Robertſon*'s 'Share of the ſaid Cargoes.

The ſaid *Semple* and *Ronald* likewiſe depoſed, 'That while they were abroad, 'they ſaw in the Cabin of the *Neptune* ſeveral Blank Permits, ſigned by *Daniel* 'Campbell, Collector at Port *Glaſcow*.' And the ſaid two Deponents, as alſo the aforeſaid *Maclean*, declared; That after they returned aſhore from the ſaid 'Ships, their ſuperior Officer demanded no Accompt of them, nor did they 'pretend to make any, believing that their Superior Officers at that Port were 'in the Knowledge of, and [illegible] with reſpect to 'the unlading the *Neptune* and *Eagle Galley*. But that the ſaid three Depo- 'nents, and another Waiter, having been turned out of their Offices on that 'Account, applied to the ſaid *Daniel Campbell* for ſome Acknowledgement of 'their Services, that the ſaid *Campbell* referred them to *Richard Murray*, his 'Clerk, for an Anſwer, who gave to each of the ſaid four, ten Pounds over 'and above their Salaries, which Sum was never demanded of them till the 'morning on which the ſaid Deponents made this Depoſition; That the ſaid '*Murray* then told them they muſt repay it to him.

Robert Noble, Tideſman at Port *Glaſcow*, depoſed; That he knew the 'greateſt Part of the Ship *Neptune*, and all her Cargoe, did belong to the ſaid 'Daniel Campbell and his Partners; That he had the Management and Di- 'rection of the ſame; That he believes the ſaid *Campbell* ſigned Permits for 'unloading the Cargoes of the aforeſaid four Ships; That he had ſeen one of 'the ſaid Permits.'

William Gilbagie, Merchant in *Glaſcow*, depoſed; 'That *Daniel Campbell* 'was Proprietor of the *Neptune*; That he, the Deponent, had a Share of the 'Cargoe with *Thomas Smith*, Merchant in *Glaſcow*, and others; That he 'knew of no Money that was paid for Cuſtoms; but that *Thomas Smith* and '*Thomas Clark*, as Managers of the *Neptune*'s Cargo detained from thoſe 'concerned, a large Quantity of Brandy, which he believes was for the moſt 'Part for *Daniel Campbell*'s Uſe.' This Deponent, *Arthur Park*, and *John Hill*, Merchants, further depoſed; 'That they had ſeen ſeveral Tranſires 'ſigned by *Daniel Campbell*, for the Brandy of the ſaid Ships.'

William

William Miller, Collector at Fort *William*, depoſed, 'That he heard *Thomas* 'Clark, Merchant in *Glaſcow*, ſay in a publick Company, that fifty Pieces of 'Brandy of the *Neptune*'s Cargo were ſet a-part for a particular Perſon's Uſe; 'and as a Fund for the common Charges in getting the Brandy landed; that 'he heard the ſaid *Clark* acknowledge, that he had ſold a Parcel of Brandy to 'a conſiderable Value, and taken Bills and other Security for the Money, pay-'able to *Daniel Campbell*, Collector at Port *Glaſcow*, or to the ſaid *Clark* for '*Campbell*'s Uſe.' The aforeſaid *Kennedy* further depoſed, 'That he heard 'ſome of the Merchants concerned in the Cargoes of the ſaid Ships, exclaim 'againſt the ſaid *Daniel Campbell* for having exacted the Duties, and not ac-'compted for the ſame to her Majeſty; That they threatened to ſue him for 'Recovery thereof; That when Sir *Robert Dixon*, one of the Commiſſioners 'of the Cuſtoms, came to Port *Glaſcow* to enquire about unlading the Ships, '(which made a great Noiſe in the Country) this Deponent was informed, 'that the ſaid *Daniel Campbell* ſent two Waiters in all haſte to the Iſle of '*Bute*, (where the Ships had ſailed after unlading) to give Notice thereof to 'the Maſters of the ſaid Ships, and to adviſe them in all haſte to ſail out of 'the Kingdom, leſt their Ships ſhould be arreſted.' The ſaid *Semple* and *Ronald* depoſed, 'That whilſt they were at Anchor at the Iſle of *Bute*, one '*Duncart Macklarty* came on Board the *Neptune* with a Letter to *Dugall* '*Campbell*, the Maſter, and immediately on the Receipt of this Letter, the '*Neptune*, *Eagle*, and *May-Flower*, weighed Anchor and ſailed, and the De-'ponents and other Cuſtom-Houſe Officers were diſmiſſed and ſent aſhore.' That the ſaid *Ronald* further depoſed, 'That the ſaid *Dugall Campbell*, Maſter 'of the *Neptune*, told him, that this Letter was from *Daniel Campbell*, Col-'lector at Port *Glaſcow*, and gave Occaſion to their immediate ſailing.'

By other Depoſitions (which, with thoſe above abſtracted, your Commiſſioners are ready to produce to the Houſe) it appearing that the ſaid Ships were laden with Brandy, which was landed in *Scotland*, without paying any Duties; That *Thomas Smith*, Merchant in *Glaſcow*, was with others concerned in the ſaid Brandy on Board the ſaid Ship *Neptune*; that he was employed in overſeeing the unlading the Brandy in the *Neptune* and *Eagle*, and hiring Lighters for tranſporting the ſame; We examined him on Oath, Whether the Ship *Neptune* arrived at the Time aforeſaid, and brought any Brandy into *Scotland?* What Duty was paid, and to whom, for the Goods in the ſaid Ship? Whether any Part of the ſaid Goods were ſent from *Scotland* to *London?* Whether any Tranſires were granted, importing the Payment of the Duties, and what thoſe were? He refuſed to give us any Satisfaction, and ſaid he did not apprehend himſelf obliged to anſwer ſuch Queſtions.

We likewiſe examined Mr. *Daniel Campbell*, Collector at Port *Glaſcow*; and in Anſwer to a general Queſtion about the Arrival of thoſe Ships, he ſwore, That he knew nothing of any Goods which were landed out of them in any Port, either in *North Britain* or *South Britain*.

But being further interrogated, Whether he knew of any Brandy or other Goods landed out of thoſe Ships, or brought into the Port of *Glaſcow* by any Lighter or other Veſſel from on board them, between the Firſt of *May* 1707, and the Firſt of *Auguſt* following, he declined anſwering ſo particular a Queſtion,

It

It is humbly ſubmitted whether theſe Depoſitions are ſufficient to prove, That the Brandy on Board the Ships was landed without paying any Duties? And whether they do not charge Mr. *Campbell* with an high Breach of Truſt in agreeing for ten Pounds *per* Ton, and detaining the ſame for his own, and his Partner's Uſe.

We preſume not to offer any other Remarks on this Fact than, That if we ſuppoſe the Ships to be fully loaden, as is moſt probable they were, the Quantity of Brandy would amount to about Three hundred and forty Ton.

That had it been ſeized, the Duties (as *French* Brandy) would have amounted to Twenty-eight thouſand one hundred eighty-ſix Pounds or thereabouts.

Your Commiſſioners have been intirely diſabled from ſtating the Debts due to the Army, and have only employed themſelves in ſome previous Examinations, which would have been uſeful to them, could Mr. *Brydges* have ſworn to the Accounts of the ſeveral Regiments under his Care of Payment. But, being required to do it, he ſtill inſiſts on the Reaſons given us the laſt Year, and declares on Oath, 'That for want of Muſter-Rolls and Eſtabliſhments, he 'cannot yet atteſt the Credits of any one Regiment.'

We repreſented theſe Difficulties to Parliament in a former Report, and a Clauſe was brought into a Bill, in order to remove them, by directing the Payment of the Arrears, according to ſuch Eſtabliſhments or Warrants, as had been or might be made by her Majeſty, and ſuch Muſter-Rolls as could be obtained, and where Muſter-Rolls were wanting according to the Liſts of Effectives, to be atteſted on Oath. But this Clauſe not paſſing, the Inconveniencies ſtill remain, and it is again ſubmitted to the Houſe, in what Manner they are to be removed.

Your Commiſſioners can only ſay, that in the preſent Circumſtances, the Accounts of the Army can never be regularly made up; nor could your Commiſſioners, appointed for that Purpoſe, proceed to any Determinations with Certainty or Juſtice, as will be evident to thoſe, who will be pleaſed to conſider the Nature of their Commiſſion.

H. B.
G. L.
S. W.
12 *April*, 1714. F. A.
T. L.
W. S.
H. C.

An

An INDEX to the REPORT of the SECRET COMMITTEE: By which, in a ſhort View, the *Reader* is preſented with the Subſtance of it. *In a Letter to a Friend.*

SIR,

SINCE you are pleaſed to deſire from me an Account of the Committee of Secrecy's Report about the late Peace, *&c.* I think the beſt way of ſatisfying you, is to give you a ſummary Index of the moſt remarkable Paſſages, that you may readily know where to turn to them in the Report itſelf, which is of ſuch Importance, that no true *Britain* ought to be without it; and I am ſatisfied, that every honeſt Man will think it ought to be conveyed to Poſterity, as one of the moſt valuable Legacies that can be left them.

To begin then.——You will find, (*pag.* 1.) that the late Miniſtry being ſenſible their own Papers would expoſe them, have taken care to deſtroy or carry off ſeveral Books, Letters, and Papers referred to in others that have been found, which occaſions our being left in the dark as to ſome of their very material Correſpondencies, and by conſequence interrupts the Thread of their black Hiſtory during their four laſt Years; yet Providence has been ſo kind to us, as to preſerve enough to prove that they betrayed the Queen, their Country, and our Allies in the baſeſt Manner that ever was heard of.

It appears by a Paper, called, *The firſt Propoſitions of* France, ſigned by Monſieur *De Torcy*, *April* 22, 1711. N. S. marked Number 1. in the Appendix, that *France* deſigned from the beginning to retain *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*, to create Jealouſies among the Allies, and to make a ſeparate Peace.

It likewiſe appears, that theſe *French* Propoſitions were tranſmitted by Mr. *St. John*, *April* 27, O. S. to the Lord *Raby*, (now Earl of *Strafford*) the Queen's Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, that they might be communicated to the States Penſionary, with Aſſurances from her Majeſty, *That in Peace and War ſhe would act in perfect Concert with the States.*

It appears, *pag.* 2. That notwithſtanding theſe Aſſurances, the States had no notice from our Miniſtry of the Negotiations that were carrying on for above five Months together betwixt *England* and *France*, till after the ſpecial Preliminaries were ſigned by our Miniſters, and the ſeven General Preliminaries were alſo concluded by them, and ſent to the States.

That Mr. *St. John* ordered the Lord *Raby*, in the Queen's Name, to haſten home, becauſe our Miniſtry expected very ſoon to have many Intrigues upon the *Tapis* to confer with him about; adding, that *Britain* had gone ſo much too far in weaving her Intereſt into that of the Continent, that it would prove no eaſy Task to diſentangle our Affairs, without tearing or rending.

Lord

Lord *Raby* declares, he will venture and undertake any thing to ſerve the Queen, that he may be boldly truſted with the real Intentions, and would never grudge any Danger and Pains to ſerve her. And, *pag.* 3. he deſires this frank Declaration might be communicated to the Duke of *Shrewſbury* and Mr. *Harley*.

It does not appear upon what Pretence ſuch ſolemn Aſſurances to the *Dutch* were diſpenſed with, as ſoon as made; for all Tranſactions betwixt *England* and *France*, during this time, are entirely ſuppreſſed, except two or three Papers; only in the Lord *Strafford*'s Inſtructions, *Octob.* 1, 1711, theſe Tranſactions are ſaid to have been carried on by Papers ſent backward and forward, and much time ſpent in it. The firſt Paper found, is of *July* 1, called private Propoſitions ſent by Mr. *Prior* from *England*, which is Numb. 2. in the Appendix; and *it is propoſed that the Secret ſhould be inviolably kept, till divulged by mutual Conſent.*

The next Paper is called Mr. *Prior*'s Authority, ſigned at Top *Ann R.* and at Bottom *A. R.* not counterſigned, without a Date, and the Contents are, Mr. *Prior* is fully inſtructed and authorized to communicate to *France* our Preliminary Demands, and bring back an Anſwer; he had alſo Orders to ſee if *France* had full Powers from *Spain*.

In all things that concerned the Allies, the *Engliſh* Propoſals are as dark and general as thoſe of *France*; and the *Engliſh* Miniſters ſaid in a Conference with *Meſnager*, 'That the Principle upon which they treated all along, was, that *France* 'ſhould conſent to *adjuſt the Intereſts* of Great Britain *in the firſt Place*, that the 'Queen could never depart from it, and that it was abſolutely neceſſary to *remit* '*the Diſcuſſion of the particular Intereſts of the Allies to General Conferences.*'

By this it appears, that the Miniſter of *France* was inſtructed to treat of the Intereſts of the Allies, which the *Engliſh* Miniſtry would by no means conſent to, but were determined *to carry on a ſeparate Negotiation with* France, contrary to the Eighth Article of the Grand Alliance; and thereby put the Negotiation into a Method more advantageous for *France*, than ſhe had propoſed, or could hope for.

Pag. 4. It appears in the very Infancy of the Negociation, *That the Trade of the Weſt, and the entire* Spaniſh *Monarchy are given up by the* Engliſh *Miniſtry, contrary to the repeated Addreſſes of Parliaments, and the declared Senſe of the Queen, for mere verbal Aſſurances, that the Crown of* France *and* Spain *ſhould never be united.*

Mr. *Meſnager*, upon his Arrival here, had frequent Conferences with our Miniſters, and full Powers, dated *Auguſt* 3, 1711, to treat and conclude with them, or the Miniſters of any of the Allies then in War with *France*, that ſhould have Authority to do it.

The Lord Treaſurer, Lord Chamberlain, Lord *Dartmouth*, and Mr. *St. John*, met *Meſnager*, *Sept.* 1711, in the Evening at Mr. *Prior*'s Houſe, by Order of a Committee of Council, where *Meſnager* delivered the *French* King's Anſwer ſigned, to the Demands ſent from *England*; which Demands and Anſwers were ſigned as the ſecret Preliminaries betwixt *Britain* and *France*, *Sept.* 27. 1711, by *Meſnager* for *France*, Lord *Dartmouth* and Mr. *St. John* for *Britain*.

Mr. *St. John*, in his Letter to the Queen that ſame Night, ſent a Warrant and full Powers to be ſigned by her, in order to paſs the Great Seal next Day; by which the Earl of *Oxford*, Duke of *Bucks*, the Biſhop of *Briſtol*, the Duke of *Shrewſbury*, Earl *Powlet*, Earl of *Dartmouth*, *Henry St. John*, and *Mat. Prior*, Eſqs; were to be conſtituted Plenipotentiaries to treat with *Meſnager*.

The

The Queen ſigned a Warrant under the Signet, directing the Lord Keeper to put the Great Seal to an Inſtrument, commiſſioning himſelf, and others therein named, to treat with *Meſnager*. This Warrant is dated the 17th of *September*, tho' it is manifeſt by Mr. *St. John*'s Letter, it was not thought of 'till the 20th. This ante-dating ſeems deſigned to juſtify the Miniſters in meeting, and concurring with the Queen's Enemies, previous to the Warrant.

Page 5. But what is more ſtrange is, that after Mr. *St. John* had repreſented it to the Queen as the unanimous Opinion of her Miniſters, that full Powers muſt immediately paſs the Great Seal, to authorize them to treat with *Meſnager*, theſe Powers ſhould be laid aſide, and the Preliminaries be ſigned by Lord *Dartmouth* and Mr. *St. John*, by virtue of a Warrant directed to them two only, ſigned by the Queen at top and bottom, and counterſigned by no-body.

Thoſe Miniſters, included in the Powers which were not paſſed, ſeemed conſcious to themſelves of the Danger in privately meeting with the Miniſters of *France*, 'till this ſeparate Negotiation was brought to Maturity, and avoided to become Parties, when the Treaty was to be ſigned and executed.

This great Care for their own Perſons, and little Regard for the Honour and Intereſt of their Queen and Country, appears thro' this whole ſeparate Negotiation; there being not one Paper of Powers or Inſtructions counterſigned by any Miniſter, but the Queen's Name expoſed to cover all.

It appears by the judicious Reflections of the Committee in this and the next Page, that theſe ſpecial Preliminaries ſacrificed the general Intereſt of *Europe*, and that the Demands in them made for *Great-Britain* were inconſiderable in themſelves, and ſince rendered ineffectual: That nothing poſſibly could be ſaid leſs with regard to the Succeſſion; the Queen is not to be owned 'till the Concluſion of the Peace, not a Word of removing the Pretender, nor any Engagement not to ſupport him in any Attempt upon the Nation. The Article of Commerce ſo doubtfully worded, that *France* only could make Advantage of it; that of *Dunkirk* ſo worded, as muſt needs bring great Prejudice to our Allies, and little Advantage to us: That the Aſſiento-Contract was calculated only for private Advantage; that the Allowance of 15 *per Cent.* upon our Manufactures ſent to *Spain*, was given up by our Miniſtry, who confeſſed themſelves to be impoſed upon: Yet Love to Peace induced them to take ſuch Things for real Securities, which they owned to be none.

Pag. 6. They gave the *French* what they deſired as to *Hudſon's-Bay* and *Newfoundland*; and, contrary to the eighth Article of the Grand Alliance, gave the Trade of the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies* to *France*, and accepted of Articles by Powers from King *Philip*: Yet afterwards they publickly diſowned their Intentions of leaving him any Part of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy. And tho' they pretended that the Queen would never depart from ſettling the Intereſt of *Great-Britain* in the firſt Place, they declared by theſe Preliminaries, that the King of *France* ſhould not be obliged to make them good, 'till a General Peace was ſigned. Theſe were the Terms upon which our Allies were to be forced to accept of ſuch a Peace, as *France* thought fit to impoſe upon them, and that our Miniſters might be enabled to engage the Queen to make the Concluſion of the General Peace eaſy to *France*.

Thus our Miniſtry brought the Queen to this fatal Dilemma, that ſhe muſt either go on in the Meaſures of *France*, or the *French* had it in their Power, by expoſing ſuch a notorious Breach of National Faith, to diveſt the Queen of all her Confederates.

Pag. 7. The *French* attempted to improve it for that End; for three Months before theſe Articles were ſigned, M. *Torcy* had writ to *Holland*, that the *French* had begun a Negotiation in *England*.

That ſame Day the ſpecial Preliminaries betwixt us and *France* were ſigned, another Set of General Preliminaries on the Part of *France*, which are N°. 7. in the *Appendix*, were ſigned by *Meſnager* only, to be ſent into *Holland*, as the Foundation of a General Peace, after the Lord Treaſurer had licked them over to make them more palatable abroad.

N. B. Theſe were the Preliminaries which Count *Gallas* was forbid our Court for finding Fault with, and getting publiſhed.

That ſame Day, a ſeparate Article was ſigned in favour of the Duke of *Savoy* by *Meſnager*. Lord *Strafford*'s Inſtructions for returning to *Holland*, were dated *Oct.* 1. O. S. 1711. and tho' a ſeparate Treaty had been thus ſigned by us, he was to urge the Confederates to hold faſt together; and if the *Dutch* Miniſters ſhould expreſs their Apprehenſions of any ſuch private Agreement, he is ordered by evaſive Anſwers to avoid giving them Satisfaction concerning it, and at the ſame Time to deliver them the Preliminaries ſigned by *Meſnager*, as the Foundation of a General Peace. This alarmed the *Dutch*, who declared them not ſufficient; and they ſent M. *Buys* to entreat her Majeſty to alter her Reſolutions. But, *Pag.* 8. Mr. *St. John*, in his Letter to Lord *Strafford*, *Oct.* 9. ſhewed it was to no Purpoſe; 'For certain it is, ſays he, that her Majeſty has ſo far de-'termined upon her Meaſures, that thoſe will deceive themſelves, who imagine, 'by Delay or other Artifices to break them.'

Mr. *St. John*, at the ſame Time, gave Intelligence of all the Queen's Counſels to *France*, particularly of my Lord *Strafford*'s Inſtructions: and tho' the States gave in a Paper, which is Numb. 9. in the *Appendix*, that would have moved any Set of Men not already determined; yet Mr. *St. John*, in his Letter to the Abbot *Gaultier*, *Oct.* 29, Numb. 10. in the *Appendix*, and in one to M. *Torcy* of the ſame Date, *Numb.* 71. in the *Appendix*, aſſures them, That the Queen continued firm to have the Conferences opened on the Articles ſigned by *Meſnager*; ſaid it was abſolutely neceſſary the *French* King ſhould give her Majeſty ſuch Explications of his Intentions in reſpect to the particular Intereſts of the Allies, as he ſhall think proper, to engage them to come more eaſily into the general Negotiation; and that he might aſſure himſelf, the Queen would make no other Uſe of that Truſt, but to advance the Negotiation.

Mr. *St. John* adds, I aſſure you, if the *King offer a Plan of Specifick Preliminaries, the Queen will never communicate it to her Allies*; and that if *Gaultier* returned with theſe Marks of Confidence, our Parliament would be as much inclinable to Peace as ever it was to War. Here our Miniſtry, after ſeven Months treating with *France*, beg that they may have ſome Intimations at leaſt of what *France* deſigned for the Allies.

The *French* King's Return is dated *Nov.* 18. 1711. Numb. 11. in the *Appendix*, accompanied with a Letter from M. *Torcy* to Mr. *St. John*, telling him, his Majeſty

Majesty wholly depends upon the Secrecy and good Use you will make of the entire Confidence he testifies to the Queen; and the King of *France* extols her Firmness, and his great Pleasure in the new Marks of her Resolution.

Pag. 9. The *French* King, not satisfied with having *Spain* and the *West-Indies* for his Grandson, proposes to strip the Emperor of his Dominions in *Italy*. Nothing had at this Time been demanded by our Ministry of *France* concerning the *Netherlands*; and if the *Dutch* would not accept of this Scheme, they were to be punished with the Loss of their Trade. Mr. *St. John*, in his Letter of *Nov.* 25, thanks M. *Torcy* for communicating this Scheme, promises to keep it secret; that the utmost Efforts should be used in *England* to fix the Pretensions of the Allies, and that they would endeavour to finish the Treaty so soon, as not to be exposed to another Campaign.

In the general Instructions to our Plenipo's, they are ordered to insist upon it, that the reasonable Satisfaction expected by the Allies, and which the *French* King promised, cannot be obtained, if *Spain* and the *West-Indies* be allotted to any Branch of the House of *Bourbon*; tho' by the sixth and seventh Articles of the special Preliminaries, *Append.* N°. 4. *Philip* is owned as King of *Spain*, and is to grant us the Assiento-Trade for thirty Years.

Our Ministers, in their general Instructions, were ordered to concert Measures with those of the Allies, and did so at first. Upon which, M. *Torcy* complained in his Letter to Mr. *St. John*, and desired they might have precise Instructions to concert with the *French* Plenipotentiaries, as the King had ordered his to establish a strict Intimacy with the Queen's.

At the first general Conference, Lord *Strafford* declared, that the Queen had received the general Propositions as a Foundation for a Treaty, but they were binding to *France* only; to which the *French* Ministers readily assented: But the Allies were kept ignorant of the special Preliminaries agreed on between us and *France*, which on all Occasions had been publickly disowned.

Pag. 10. The 11th of *February* 1711-12, the *French* delivered a specifick Explanation of the general Preliminaries signed by *Mesnager*, Numb. 13. in the *Appendix*; wherein he makes his first Offers in the Name and by virtue of Powers from his Grandson as King of *Spain*. This was received by the Allies with the greatest Indignation, and made our Plenipo's so uneasy, that they sent for farther Instructions.

Mr. *St. John* comforts them, told them Mr. *Harley* would set out in a few Days, fully instructed in all the Queen's Views and Desires; but he was too useful to be spared, 'till the House of Commons was perfectly secured to the Queen's Interest and the Peace, which he thought they were absolutely now. Mr. *St. John* acquainted M. *Torcy* with the same, and that Mr. *Harley* was to be sent with the Queen's final Instructions to her Plenipotentiaries. He referred M. *Torcy* to M. *Gaultier* for a more large Explanation of Mr. *Harley*'s Commission, and what the Queen hoped the *French* King would do, to co-operate with her. All Matters relating to the Pretender were referred to *Gaultier*; and *Torcy* commends the Conduct of our Court in managing the Commons, and particularly their making them know that the Nation was abused by its Allies; and the *French* King assured himself, that those who managed the Queen's Affairs with so much Capacity, knew how to curb the Passion of the turbulent Party in the Upper House.

Pag. 11. The Allies drew up their reſpective Demands at *Utrecht*, to communicate them to each other, and agreed to inſert a Clauſe for a juſt and reaſonable Satisfaction to all the reſt. C. *Sinzendorf* inſiſted, that the Reſtitution of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy ſhould be expreſsly mentioned, which the *Dutch* agreed to. This puzzled our Plenipo's, who were the only Miniſters that did not mention *Spain* and the *Indies*, but only inſiſted on a juſt and reaſonable Satisfaction for the Queen's Allies.

The *French* refuſed to give in their Anſwers in Writing, and were ſupported in it by our Miniſters; though, to cheat the Allies, they joined in the like Demand. The States refuſed to treat on any other Terms; which Lord *Strafford* tells Mr. *St. John*, *was the laſt convulſive Pang of an expiring Faction*; and that the *French* would give in no Anſwer in Writing, till they ſaw all things agreed betwixt their Court and ours: well knowing their Buſineſs was not to be done at *Utrecht*, but by a Negotiation directly betwixt *London* and *Verſailles*.

About the Beginning of *April*, the *French* Plenipotentiaries communicated to ours a Plan for a General Peace, with marginal Notes in a diſtinct Column, of what they were told would be abſolutely neceſſary, but under the higheſt Obligation of Secrecy to diſcover nothing of it to the reſt of the Allies. This they took as a great Mark of Confidence, engaged the Allies ſhould know nothing of it, and ſent it with the ſame Caution to Mr. *St. John*; though no doubt it was concerted here, and ſent by Mr. *Harley* to *Utrecht*, and by *Gaultier* to *France*.

P. 12. Mr. *St. John* ordered the Plenipo's to tell the *Dutch*, that the Queen would allow them *Dendermond* and *Ghent*, quit her Pretenſions to *Oſtend*, and ſettle their Trade to *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* as at the Death of the late King of *Spain*, except the Aſſiento; and to tell them in plain Terms, that her Majeſty will take her Meaſures according to their Anſwer.

The Summary of the whole Proceeding at *Utrecht* appears to be this: A Congreſs was neceſſary to be opened, that the Allies might in appearance have the Opportunity of treating and adjuſting their ſeveral Pretenſions. Our Miniſters were by Inſtructions to act in concert with the Allies, but really acted in concert with the *French*. The Allies could not be hindered to give in their Specifick Demands, but the *French* were to gain time by unneceſſary Delays, while the Negotiations were carried on directly betwixt *England* and *France*; or rather all the Terms preſcribed by *France*, and all Particulars relating to the Intereſt of the Allies, were tranſacted betwixt the Miniſters of *England* and *France*; under the higheſt Obligations of Secrecy. The *Dutch* are preſſed to come into the Queen's Meaſures, without being acquainted what they were; and becauſe they would not conſent to they knew not what, Orders are ſent to the D. of *Ormond* to engage neither in Siege or Battle: and the great Projects being ready to be executed on the other Side of the Water, the Queen declares herſelf, from their Conduct, to be under no Obligation whatſoever to the States-General. And thus the Alliance betwixt *Great Britain* and her principal Ally is declared to be diſſolved, before any thing was finally agreed on betwixt us and *France*, or we had the leaſt Security for our own Trade, or any other Advantages that were to accrue to us.

P. 13. We have an Account of the Debates betwixt our Court and that of *France* about the Renunciation; which firſt came from *England*, and was made an

Article

Article in the private Propoſitions ſent over by Mr. *Prior*; but hitherto the Senſe of *France* and *Spain* upon that Article was not ſo much as aſked. So that it is ſurprizing the Miniſtry had gone ſuch Lengths in promoting the Meaſures of *France*, without the leaſt Precaution concerning the Monarchy of *Spain*, wherein they confeſſed the Intereſt of *Great Britain* was more immediately concerned, than in all the other Articles of the Peace together.

But though our Miniſtry valued this Renunciation ſo much, M. *Torcy* honeſtly told them, as appears by the Letters in the *Appendix* between him and Mr. *St. John*, from *Numb.* 15. to 22. That the ſaid Renunciation would be null by the Fundamental Laws of *France*, according to which the moſt near Prince to the Crown is of Neceſſity the Heir thereto; that this Law is looked upon as the Work of him who hath eſtabliſhed all Monarchies, and we are perſuaded in *France* that God only can aboliſh it. No Renunciation therefore can deſtroy it; and if the King of *Spain* ſhould renounce for the ſake of Peace, and in Obedience to the King his Grandfather, they would deceive themſelves that received it as a ſufficient Expedient to prevent the Miſchief we propoſe to avoid.

But notwitſtanding what M. *Torcy* had ſo ſtrongly urged about the Nullity of the Renunciation, Mr. *St. John* replied, that we are perſuaded in *Great Britain* a Prince may depart from his Right by a voluntary Ceſſion, and that he in favour of whom that Renunciation is made, may be juſtly ſupported in his Pretenſions by the Powers that become Guarantees of the Treaty; and that the Queen commands me to tell you, that this Article is of ſo great Conſequence, as well for herſelf as for the reſt of *Europe*, for this preſent Age as for Poſterity, that ſhe will never agree to continue the Negotiations, unleſs this Expedient ſhe has propoſed be accepted, or ſome other equally ſolid. The reſt of the Debate is in *p.* 14.

P. 15. This Correſpondence between the two Secretaries for preventing the Union of *France* and *Spain*, was carried on from about the middle of *March* to the 18th of *May*, 1712. and ended at laſt juſt as it began; K. *Philip* making the Renunciation, which the *French* Miniſter ſo truly told us was null of itſelf. It is alſo obſervable, that no Care was taken to render effectual the two only Expedients that were ever propoſed, for adding any Degree of real Security to the Renunciation; which were, to have it ſolemnly accepted by the States of *France*, and to have it confirmed by a general Guaranty of all the Powers of *Europe* engaged in the preſent War. The firſt was aſked indeed, but upon the Refuſal of *France* entirely given up by our Miniſtry: the ſecond was made impracticable by our Method of Negotiating, and our Treatment of the Allies. For a few Days after this Anſwer from M. *Torcy*, Mr. *St. John* ordered our Plenipo's to declare to the States-General, that the Queen was now under no farther Obligations whatſoever to them, who with the reſt of the Allies were to be Guarantees of this Treaty.

Though our Plenipo's propoſed to Mr. *St. John*, that K. *Philip* ſhould renounce the Regency as well as the Crown of *France*, for himſelf and his Poſterity, no Endeavours were uſed to obtain it.

The Lord Treaſurer ſeems to have been concerned in all this Negotiation, and kept a Correſpondence with M. *Torcy*; who, in a Letter to Mr. *St. John*, expreſſes his Concern for my Lord Treaſurer's Indiſpoſition, and ſaid it was very im-

important that thoſe, who like Mr. *St. John* and him had the principl Share in the Work of Peace, ſhould have the Glory of finiſhing it.

On the *French* King's Promiſe, that he would oblige his Grandſon to accept the Alternative of the two Kingdoms, communicated by M. *Torcy*; Mr. *St. John* the next Day ſent Orders to the Duke of *Ormond* to avoid either Siege or Battle. He alſo acquainted M. *Torcy* with it by M. *Gaultier*; and in a Letter to Mr. *Prior*, ſays, the Moment that he read the Queen that Letter from M. *Torcy*, with the *French* King's ſaid Promiſe, thoſe her Orders were diſpatched to the Duke, and ſhe prevented the *French* from even making the Demand. *I will not ſay* (adds Mr. *St. John*) *that this Order ſaved their Army from being beat, but I think in my Conſcience that it did.*

He acquaints M. *Torcy*, *May* 12, 1712, that though they had no Anſwer from *Madrid* about the Renunciation, it was neceſſary the Queen ſhould communicate to the Parliament the Terms on which a Peace might be made. He tells what Steps the Queen was reſolved to take, provided the *French* King would make them practicable for her. Here he tells him the chief Heads of the Speech the Queen made to the Parliament the ſixth of *June* following.

Page 16. That ſhe had agreed on a Suſpenſion of Arms, to prevent any Obſtruction to the Treaty by the Events of the Campaign.

Though we were daily told, that the Advantages we had obtained for Trade was the Inducement that engaged us in thoſe Meaſures with *France*, and that the Queen had laid it down as a Principle, which ſhe would not depart from, that the Intereſt of *Great Britain* ſhould in the firſt Place be adjuſted; yet no Mention was now made of our Trade with *Spain*; and the poſtponing of the Settlement of our general Trade by Commiſſaries on both Sides at *London*, was not demanded by *France*, but voluntarily offered by Mr. *St. John*.

M. *Torcy* acquaints Mr. *St. John*, that King *Philip* had renounced the Succeſſion of *France*, that the King of *France* expects the Queen will make the Declarations ſhe had promiſed, and ſettle a Suſpenſion of Arms; which if not immediately done, ſince the Allies talk of inveſting *Queſnoy*, we may find ourſelves indiſpenſably drawn into ſome great Event, which he hopes will be prevented by the Secretary's Care and Prudence. And though in the Anſwer to the Queen's Demands nothing material was granted for our Trade in *North America*, that the evacuating of *Dunkirk*, and admitting an *Engliſh* Garriſon is not agreed to; and the receiving of a *Dutch* Garriſon into *Cambray* was abſolutely refuſed, which was propoſed as a Condition of the Ceſſation of Arms; *Torcy* hopes, that as this Negotiation had been carried on *bona fide* and a mutual Confidence, of which they had ſeen the good Effects, the Queen would repoſe an intire Confidence in his Majeſty, without inſiſting on Demands, which may ſerve only to create Jealouſies.

Mr. *St. John* anſwers, on the 6th of *June*, that tho' the King of *France* had not anſwered the Queen's Demands, according to Expectation, which were the Conditions on which ſhe was to make ſuch deciſive Declarations, yet ſhe would not defer going that Day to Parliament, and make all the Declarations that were neceſſary to render the Nation unanimouſly inclined to the Peace: That ſhe had not indeed mentioned to them the Suſpenſion of Arms, but commands him to acquaint M. *Torcy* with the Reſolutions ſhe had taken about it, and inſiſted upon the

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Renunciation as the capital Point of the Negotiation, for which her Majesty would rather depart from almost all the Points agreed upon, than to leave that to any Uncertainty; therefore if the King consented to that, and the Surrender of *Dunkirk*, you have only to sign and send to the Duke of *Ormond*, who at the same Time will declare to the Allies, that he has Orders to act no further against *France*. At the same Time he acquaints him, that Lord *Strafford* was going back to *Utrecht*, with such Instructions, according to your Desire, as will put the Queen's Plenipo's in a Condition to keep no longer those Measures, to which they have hitherto been obliged to submit; but from henceforth they may openly join with those of *France*, and give Law to those who will not submit to just and reasonable Conditions.

Pag. 17. There is a Letter from Lord *Strafford* of *April* 30, 1712, to Mr. *St. John*, advising to a Cessation of Arms, and that the Queen should be resolute in it. He is pleased that the *French* are better posted and stronger than we, that our Armies marching to *Paris* this Summer is stopped; complains of the Temper of the *Dutch*, and is afraid that those who delight in War should make some desperate Attempt.

The Articles of Suspension were signed by Mr. *St. John* the same Day the Queen made her Speech to the Parliament.

Next Day he wrote to M. *Torcy*, expressing his Confidence in the *French* King's good Faith, presses the hastening of the Peace, and says, it will frighten the *Dutch* to be told the Queen will act no longer against *France*; and if they do not hasten to agree, it will lay a Burden on their Backs, which they are not able to bear.

The Orders from Mr. *St. John* of the 7th of *May* to the Duke of *Ormond* follow next, which being at large in his Grace's Conduct, it is needless to mention them here.

Pag. 18. It is observed, that his Instructions, signed by her Majesty, ought to have been his Grace's Rule, till countermanded by equal Authority, he having no general Direction to follow such Orders as he should receive from a Secretary of State. The Duke had assured the Pensionary, that he would carry on the War with Vigour, and act in Confidence with the Allies, especially the *Dutch*; which Assurances were received with the greatest Professions of Duty and Respect to her Majesty, and the *Dutch* had given the like Orders to their Generals.

Mr. *St. John*, on *April* 25, O. S. before it was known whether *France* had proposed the Alternative of the two Monarchies to the King of *Spain*, hinted what Part the Duke was to act; and *May* 10, ordered him not to engage in any Siege or Battle.

The 25th of *May* the Duke wrote first a private Letter to Mr. *St. John* with his own Hand, promised to obey and to keep the Secret; but in his publick Letter, takes no Notice of his Orders to avoid Action, but commends his Troops, and said, if there were Opportunity of a Battle, he should not decline it.

Pag. 19. He gives an Account of what he did to avoid being suspected by the Allies of his Correspondence with M. *Villars*, and acquainting him with the Confederate Designs; that M. *Villars* answered, he had the King's Orders, and the Queen's Consent to write to him; and whatever Glory was to be acquired a-

gainſt a General of ſuch known Valour, he never received more agreeable News, than that they were to be no longer Enemies.

It is obſerved, that there cannot be a better Repreſentation of the favourable Opportunity loſt to the Allies, and of the Deliverance ſecured to the *French*, than the Letter of the *Dutch* Deputies to the Duke of *Ormond*, *June* 4, Numb. 26. in the *Appendix*.

Pag. 20. It is obſerved, that though the *French* refuſed to comply with the Demands ſent from *England*, as the Condition of the Suſpenſion of Arms, which ſaved their Army, and delivered their King from the Apprehenſions for the Events of the Campaign; our Miniſtry lowered the Terms, by accepting what could be of no Advantage to *England*, but was of the higheſt Importance to *France*.

That it was a very extraordinary Order, and our Miniſters ſeemed to be in extraordinary Haſte, to deliver up all into the Hands of *France*, when they ordered our General to act by the Advice of the *French* Court, and the Orders of their General, whoſe Duty it was, by Force or Stratagem, to gain any Advantage he could over the Allies.

Pag. 21. Gives the ſame Account of the Duke's Correſpondence with M. *Torcy* and *Villars*, that he gives in his Conduct. It is obſerved, that the unexpected Reſolutions of the Foreigners in the Queen's Pay, not to abandon their Allies to the Mercy of *France*, diſconcerted the Meaſures of our Court for a ſhort Time, and gave the Queen a ſenſible Diſpleaſure; but Mr. *St. John* wrote to M. *Torcy*, that ſhe was unalterably reſolved not to yield to any Difficulties, and that unleſs they obeyed the Duke's Orders, ſhe would take it as a Declaration againſt her, and pay them no more.

Page 22. That if *Dunkirk* were ſurrendered, ſhe would immediately conclude a ſeparate Peace with *France*, and leave the Allies a Time to ſubmit to ſuch Conditions, as ſhould be agreed on betwixt her and the King of *France*.

Mr. *St. John* ſent this Letter incloſed to the Duke, and ſaid, it was not fit to be ſeen by any but himſelf and M. *Torcy*; and ordered him, as ſoon as he had Notice of Orders being ſent for the Surrender of *Dunkirk*, to declare a Suſpenſion of Arms with *France*.

This was agreed to by the *French* King, on Condition the Queen ſhould immediately make a ſeparate Peace, keep no Meaſures with her Allies, but leave them Time to ſubmit as above; and he conſented to a General Ceſſation, as had been propoſed by *England*, till the Treaties could be finiſhed.

Page 23. The Duke refuſed to march with Prince *Eugene*, told him he would march off with the Queen's Troops; and receives a Letter from M. *Villars*, requiring an Account of the Motion and Strength of the Confederates, that he might loſe no Time to fight them. The Duke complied with this next Day, told him that he had ſeparated the Queen's Troops, with ſuch of the Foreigners as would obey him, and had ſtopped the Pay of thoſe that would not; which had brought ſuch a Burden on the Emperor and *Holland*, as they would not be long able to ſupport. That ſame Day M. *Villars* invited the Duke to encamp on the King's Territories as his Ally, and next Day the Duke proclaimed the Ceſſation.

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Pag. 24. It is obſerved, that had all the Foreigners in the Queen's Pay abandoned the Allies, they muſt have been expoſed to be cut off, or taken Priſoners at Diſcretion by the *French*, and the Queen's Troops might have had the Privilege of being laſt deſtroyed; but thoſe who had more Honour and Conſcience than thus to abandon the Allies, were puniſhed with the Loſs of their Pay and Subſidies, which was all our Miniſtry could do againſt them, for thus diſappointing the Meaſures of *France*.

Lord *Strafford* put this Turn upon Prince *Eugene*'s March, that it had obliged the Queen's Troops, for their own Safety, to declare a Ceſſation. He ſays, it was better that the *Hanoverians* ſeparated from us than otherwiſe, for by this time he may ſee the wrong Advice he has followed, ſince all muſt lay the blame of the Separation upon him. And in an Account of a Converſation with the Elector of *Hanover*'s General, *July* 16, 1712, his Lordſhip declared, the Queen had neither made Peace nor Truce, though this was near a Month after the Articles of Suſpenſion were ſigned. His Lordſhip at the ſame time alledged to the ſaid General, that the Queen's Troops were expoſed by Prince *Eugene*'s March; and that General anſwering, that if they had been attacked, they were ſure of the Protection and Aſſiſtance of the *Hanover* Troops, Lord *Strafford* replied with Contempt, It would be a very odd thing when an Elector of the Empire ſhould be a ſufficient Protection to *Great Britain*. His Lordſhip, in his Letter to Mr. *St. John*, *Dec.* 4, 1712, endeavours to ridicule the Elector, as the greateſt Hero for the War.

The Ceſſation of Arms being of infinite Advantage, and abſolutely neceſſary to *France*, our Miniſtry gave early into it, if they were not the firſt Adviſers of it; and as all their Meaſures tended to advance the Intereſt of the Queen's Enemies, they could not fail to be zealous for the Suſpenſion, which contributed more to theſe Views, than any Occurrence during the whole Negociation; but as they all along wanted Appearances, and conſulted them more than any real Advantages to the Kingdom, they thought it neceſſary to annex ſome Conditions to this important Article, that might paſs upon the deluded People as a Juſtification of this unprecedented Treachery.

Pag. 25. The Demolition of *Dunkirk* was always ſo popular, that nothing could ſtrike the Imaginations of the People more. This they thought, well improved, would recommend the Peace, or at leaſt juſtify the Ceſſation; and as the Nation had nothing more at Heart than the Diſpoſition of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, the Renunciation was induſtriouſly cried up, and the Queen declared from the Throne, that *France* and *Spain* were thereby more effectually divided than ever. Theſe two Articles were made the Conditions of the Ceſſation. The latter *France* eaſily agreed to, becauſe they knew it was void by their fundamental Laws: For the firſt, they came very unwillingly into it, but our Miniſtry reſolved to purchaſe it at any rate, as what would moſt eaſily amuſe the Nation; therefore to obtain it, they not only granted a Ceſſation, but a ſeparate Peace. But if we conſider what *England* gained by this Ceſſation, we ſhall find *Dunkirk* ſupplied by a new Canal more beautiful to *France*, and formidable to us, than *Dunkirk* ever was; and for the Renunciation, they fairly told us, that we ſhould deceive ourſelves, if we thought it would prevent the Union of the two Monarchies.

The *Dutch* having ſurprized Fort *Knock*, they formed the like Deſign on *Newport* or *Furnes*. The Duke of *Ormond* knowing this, writes to Lord *Bolingbroke*, *Octob.* 21, 1712, that the Marſhal *de Villars* ought to be informed of it, in requital of ſome Informations which he had given the Duke; and his Grace deſired, the thing might be managed with the greateſt Secrecy.

The Ceſſation being made, M. *Torcy* calls on Mr. *St. John*, by his Letter of *July* 19, for concluding the Peace in a few Weeks, ſince the Conditions with *England* were agreed on, and the Intentions of the King for the Confederates known and approved by her *Britannick* Majeſty. Then he propoſed the adjuſting of the Suſpenſion by Sea, that no Troops, Ammunition, or Proviſions ſhall be imported into *Catalonia*, *Portugal*, or any other Place where the War continues; and that the Suſpenſion of Arms might alſo be publiſhed there, without waiting till it be ſettled at *Utrecht*.

Pag. 26. All this is agreed to; and Mr. *St. John*, in his Letter of *July* 12, is for the Queen's not loſing a Moment. He propoſes the Kingdom of *Sicily* for the Duke of *Savoy*, whoſe Intereſt the Queen had more at heart than any of the Allies; and hopes the *French* King will act in Concert with the Queen in this Matter, to bring the Duke of *Savoy* into all our Meaſures.

The *French* had actually offered *Sicily* to the Emperor, ſays the Biſhop of *Briſtol*, in a Letter to Mr. *St. John*, *April* 26, 1712, and the Duke of *Savoy* did not reliſh the Propoſal of being King of *Sicily*, but wondered that the *French* King, who had been beaten ten Years together, ſhould carry of the Prize, which the Parliament had ſo often declared to be the juſt and unavoidable Cauſe of the War, ſays Lord *Peterborough* in his Letter to Mr. *St. John*, *Sept.* 24, 1712. And in another of *Nov.* 16, he ſaid, Nothing could expreſs the Duke's Uneaſineſs after this Offer; but to calm and fix his Royal Highneſs in the Meaſures of our Miniſtry, the Earl was ordered to preſent a Memorial, telling him, that by refuſing the Offer, he muſt fall out with the Queen and her Miniſtry; and if he accepts, *England* and *France* would protect him by their Fleets againſt all Inſults. This not only robbed the Emperor of another conſiderable Ally, but might have engaged us in a War with him: And thus our Miniſters made us Guarantees for Conditions advantageous only to *France*, but never endeavoured a Guaranty for the Proteſtant Succeſſion, tho' it had been addreſſed for by both Houſes of Parliament.

Pag. 27. The Defeat of Lord *Albemarle* at *Denain*, *July* 24, was one of the fatal Conſequences of the Ceſſation. M. *Torcy* ſends immediately an Account, *July* 26, of this agreeable News to Mr. *St. John*, and ſays, the King of *France* is perſuaded that the Advantage which his Troops have obtained, will give the Queen ſo much the more Pleaſure, as it may be a new Motive to overcome the Obſtinacy of the Allies; and hopes the Queen will effectually bring them to Reaſon, in agreeing immediately with the King, the laſt Meaſures to be taken for finiſhing this Work. She has the Means in her own Hands, if ſhe will make uſe of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, which her Troops poſſeſs, and eſpecially of *Ghent*; for it depends upon whoſoever is Maſter of that Place, to make all the Deſigns of the Enemy's General miſcarry, and to give Law to the *Dutch*.

M. *Villars* did alſo give the Duke of *Ormond* an Account of the News, aſcribes the Victory to the Separation of the brave *Engliſh*, inſults the Allies as common Enemies, and deſires his Grace to tranſmit this Account to the *French* Plenipotentiaries

tentiaries at *Utrecht*, and to make a thouſand Compliments from him to Lord *Strafford*.

M. *Torcy* farther propoſes, that the Queen ſhould put a ſtop to Count *Staremberg*'s Projects in *Catalonia*, that her Troops in *Terragona* ſhould not let the *Germans* into that Place; and that Orders might be ſent from *France*, as the ſhorteſt Way, to our Men of War in the *Mediterranean*, to ſuffer the *French* Ships, then returning from the *Levant*, to paſs unmoleſted; which was complied with.

Lord *Strafford*, in a Letter to Mr. *St. John*, *July* 17, 1712, adviſed, That the Duke of *Ormond* ſhould ſend a Party to march through ſome of the *Dutch* Towns, to ſee whether they would refuſe them Paſſage; if they did, that might authorize us to do a thing very agreeable to the Queen's Troops; adding, that the Duke was very hearty in every thing, but really under Difficulties by thoſe about him. And in one of *July* 21, he ſays, what he mentioned in the former, was the Duke's marching to *Ghent*, that he was now within two Days march of it. The *Engliſh* were entire Maſters of the Citadel, and the Gates of the Town; and had Orders to be upon their Guard, not to be ſurpriſed by the *Dutch* Troops in the Town, or any ſent from other Places. This, ſays he, is a *Coup de Parti* for the States, who did not expect it, elſe they would not have behaved themſelves with the *Hauteur* as they lately did. The thing was ſo ſecretly managed, that till we had marched a Day's March on this Side the *Scarpe*, the *Dutch* and our Friends did not perceive our Deſign; which as ſoon as they did, their Surprize and Uneaſineſs were equally great.

The Duke of *Ormond* having given an Account of this March to Lord *Bolingbroke*, his Lordſhip commended his Conduct in a Letter, *July* 18, and ſaid, that it anſwered in every Point what they would have wiſhed; and that the News of *Dunkirk* could not have been followed by any thing more agreeable, than that of his March to *Ghent*.

Pag. 28. Lord *Bolingbroke*, in a Letter of the 22d, ſays, 'That taking Poſ-'ſeſion of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, had improved her Majeſty's Views, and he doubt-'ed not but it would have a good Effect upon the Conduct of the Allies.' *Bolingbroke*, in a Letter of *July* 17 to *Torcy*, repeats what he had demanded for the Duke of *Savoy*; ſaid, 'It would be important to have his Concurrence 'both in the Suſpenſion and Treaty between *Britain*, *France*, and *Spain*, which 'probably would be made without the other Allies: That *Savoy*'s declaring for 'us will be a deciſive Stroke, and the more neceſſary, becauſe the King of '*Pruſſia* had not anſwered the Queen's Expectations.' *July* 18, He tells M. *Torcy*, with great Satisfaction, 'That the Duke of *Ormond* has ſince ſeized '*Ghent* and *Bruges*, and that the Queen, embracing every Opportunity to do the 'King of *France* a Pleaſure, had ordered Admiral *Jennings* to ſuffer the *French* 'Ships from the *Levant* to paſs freely.' Thus our Miniſtry gave up the Honour of the Queen, and the Intereſt of their Country, to the Dictates of *France*, in an open Manner. Though a Suſpenſion of Arms in *Flanders* is the only thing yet declared, *Ghent* and *Bruges* are taken from the Allies; and though a general Ceſſation by Sea and Land was not ſigned till the 12th of *Auguſt*, N. S. Lord *Bolingbroke*, on *July* 18, O. S. ſent poſitive Orders to our Admiral not to intercept the *French* Ships.

M. *Torcy*, in a Letter of *July* 18, preſſes the Concluſion of the ſeparate Peace, deſires the Duke of *Ormond*'s Troops might continue in *Flanders*, to make a good Uſe of the Towns he was in: and, as the *French* King could not conſent to the Duke of *Savoy*'s having *Sicily*, except the Elector of *Bavaria* had the *Netherlands*, beſides his Electorate, that the Army under the Duke of *Ormond* might render this very practicable; and as the Queen had done a great deal for her ungrateful Allies, it would be her Glory to do this for a Prince of the Elector's Merit.

This our Miniſters could not conſent to, becauſe the Allies had yet an Army in *Flanders*, able to defend their Conqueſts: Lord *Bolingbroke* hopes this would not be inſiſted on, becauſe it might be the Source of Quarrels betwixt *England* and *France*, whoſe ſtrict Union and indiſſolvable Friendſhip had been the View of all our Meaſures ſo long: Therefore the Queen's Miniſters think, when the King of *France* has made all reaſonable Efforts for his Allies, he muſt do ſomething for the Love of Peace, and a particular Intereſt ſhould yield to the general. *You cannot*, ſays Lord *Bolingbroke*, *but feel the Force* of this Argument, becauſe you know that this Negotiation was begun and carried on upon a Suppoſition, that the Queen muſt deſiſt from many Conditions, which in Rigour ſhe was obliged to procure for her Allies.

Pag. 29. He urged the immediate Concluſion of the Peace between *England*, *France*, and *Spain*, and inſiſted upon *Sicily* for the Duke of *Savoy*.

The *French* King agreed to this, upon an ample Proviſo for Satisfaction to the Elector; and that a Peace be concluded between *England*, *France*, *Spain* and *Savoy*. This iſſued in a Deſign of ſending Lord *Bolingbroke* to *France*, where he ſays, in his Letter to M. *Torcy*, he hoped, under the Auſpices of the Abbot *Gaultier*, to ſalute him at *Fontainbleau* in a Week's time.

The Report turns back from theſe great Negotiations directly betwixt *France* and *England*, to thoſe kept up for Form at *Utrecht*. The States, alarmed at the Duke of *Ormond*'s Orders to engage neither in Siege nor Battle, deſired Satisfaction from the *Britiſh* Plenipo's concerning a Matter, wherein they thought Religion, Liberty, and all that was valuable concerned: and were anſwered by the Biſhop of *Briſtol*, *June* 3. N. S. according to Orders from the Queen, that ſhe thought herſelf under no Obligation whatſoever to the States. This Declaration was grounded upon their Behaviour: But 'tis obſervable, that this Order to the Biſhop is dated a very few Days after the Duke's Orders not to engage in Siege or Battle. And in the ſame Letter the Biſhop gives an Account, that M. *Conſbruck*, the Emperor's Miniſter, deſired to know of him the Particulars wherein the Care of the Emperor's Intereſts did conſiſt; but he was not able to inform him. The *Dutch* ſent an Expreſs to their Miniſter at *London*, with a long and moſt moving Letter to the Queen againſt this Proceeding, which is Numb. 36. in the *Appendix*; but obtained no Anſwer. Mr. *St. John*, in his Letter of *June* 30, O. S. thought the Plan of Peace, which the Queen was to lay before her Parliament in three Days after, and the Proceedings of the Houſes upon it, would be a more ſeaſonable and deciſive Anſwer to the States, than any he could return. He directs the Biſhop, in his Letter of *June* 11, to diſcourſe the Confederate Miniſters upon that Plan; but firſt with thoſe of *France*, to know whether they were willing to give this Communication to the Allies, and in what Man-

Manner. The Biſhop, in his Letter of *June* 28. N. S. ſays, the *French* Miniſters declared they had no ſuch Orders, and refuſed to declare that the Particulars in the Queen's Speech were their Maſter's Offers to the Allies, even after the *Dutch* had conſented, *July* 12, to accept the Contents of her Majeſty's Speech *pro Materia Tractandi*, if the *French* would at the ſame Time acknowledge them to be their Maſter's Offers. But inſtead of this, the *French* demanded of our Miniſters to know the Queen's Mind upon ſeveral Parts of the general Plan brought over by *Gaultier*, Numb. 11. in the *Appendix*, which are not explained in the Queen's Speech; that their King expected it, and that he was not to be excluded from making ſome Demands for the Elector of *Bavaria*, and that *Liſle* was alſo to be reſtored to him.

Pag. 30. When Mr. *St. John* communicated the Queen's Speech to the Biſhop, which was *June* 11. N. S. he ordered him to tell the *Dutch* Miniſters, that the Queen thought a Suſpenſion of Arms, in the *Netherlands* at leaſt, to be abſolutely neceſſary; tho' that very Day the Ceſſation was ſigned by M. *Torcy*, and had been ſigned by *Bolingbroke* five Days before.

The Biſhop, in ſeveral following Letters, gave an Account of the general Diſſatisfaction and inexpreſſible Conſternation of all the Allies; that they repreſented our Proceedings as the unavoidable Ruin of *Europe*, Religion, Liberty, and the Faith of Treaties. He knew not what he might expect from the unmeaſurable Rage of the People: The *Dutch* were uneaſy to know what was to be their Lot, but he told them with the greateſt Truth he knew it not. Mr. *St. John*, in his Anſwer of *June* 20, ſays, We are not ſurprized at the Clamours and Rage of the *Dutch*, which we foreſaw, and were prepared for; that the Biſhop was in no Danger, his Character being ſacred in a double Manner. They kick and flounce like wild Beaſts caught in a Toil, the Cords are too ſtrong for them to break: They will ſoon tire with ſtruggling, and grow tame. Lord *Strafford*, in his Letter of *July* 9, ſays, he is glad the Pay of the Foreigners is ſtopt; it will make them humble; ſharp Handling does better with theſe People than the beſt Words.

June 24. Mr. *St. John* writes to the Biſhop, bids him lay the Blame of all upon the *Dutch*, and tell them, that her Majeſty was ready, for the common Intereſt, to forget what was paſt, and to join with them in the ſtricteſt Terms of Amity and Confidence; tho' four Days before, he had aſſured M. *Torcy* in the Queen's Name of a ſeparate Peace. And tho' this was a Thing ſettled on both Sides betwixt him and M. *Torcy*, yet he orders our Miniſters at *Utrecht*, in a Letter of *July* 16, to proceed on another foot, and to loſe no Time for ſettling a Suſpenſion betwixt *Britain* and *France* by Sea and Land, and then to call upon the Allies to treat on the Foot of the Queen's Speech.

Pag. 31. They are ordered to preſs the Allies for categorical Anſwers; ſo that if they complied, the Scandal of a ſeparate Peace would be avoided; and if they did not, the Blame was to be charged on their Obſtinacy.

We return to Lord *Bolingbroke*'s Journey to *France*. His Inſtructions ſigned by the Queen *July* 31, are in the *Appendix*, Numb. 35. to treat the Suſpenſion and Peace; to inſiſt that the Duke of *Savoy* may have his Barrier and the Kingdom of *Sicily*; to ſettle the Renunciation; to make the Elector of *Bavaria* King of *Sardinia*, and to get his Dominions in the Empire reſtored, except the *Upper*

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Palatinate. When satisfied in those Points, he was to treat of the Articles relating to *Great-Britain*, to know the real Ultimatum of *France* upon the several Parts of the general Plan: And when the Peace between *England* and *France* was signed, a Time for the Allies to come in must be fixed, with Liberty to obtain better Terms for themselves. He was not restrained from concluding, if his Endeavours proved ineffectual for *Britain*; but was positively forbid to conclude, if he did not obtain the Terms demanded for the Duke of *Savoy*.

When Lord *Bolingbroke* arrived in *France*, he signed with M. *Torcy* a general Suspension of Arms for four Months, the 29th of *August*, 1712. N.S. as he says in his Letter, but dated the 19th, according to the Treaty, which is Numb. 29. in the *Appendix*.

Pag. 32. We return again to *Utrecht*. On the 30th of *August*, our Plenipotentiaries acquaint Lord *Bolingbroke*, in their Letter of *Sept.* 2. N.S. that they had told the Ministers of the Allies, that if the Terms for them fell short of the Plan in her Majesty's Speech, 'twas their own Fault, who had rendered Things difficult and uncertain; that they obtained the Consent of the Allies to confer with the Ministers of *France* about renewing the Treaty, but parted without coming to a Conclusion, because the *French* insisted on *Lisle* as an Equivalent for *Dunkirk*. They also demanded *Tournay*, and would not part with *Maubeuge* and *Conde*. Our Ministers alledged, this was contrary to the Queen's Speech, by which the *Dutch* were to have the entire Barrier as demanded in 1709, except two or three Places; and they acquainted Mr. *St. John*, that those of the *Dutch* who were most for a Peace, resolved to have *Tournay* and *Conde*; and if that were refused, they would either come to any Terms that *France* offered, or continue the War at all Hazards. Lord *Bolingbroke* in his Answer approves their laying the Blame upon the *Dutch* and the other Allies, and says, *France* would have yielded *Tournay*, tho' much against the Grain, but if she refused it now, the Fault was entirely their own.

P. 33. He adds, that he could not give them positive Instructions in this Matter, till it were considered by the Lords of the Council; but recommends to them the keeping the *Dutch* in hopes of her Majesty's good Offices, which will prevent their taking any desperate Resolution; and told them, that since the *French* insisted to have Count *Rechteren* disavowed for the Affront to *Mesnager*, before any farther Treaty, it would for some Time put off the Decision of that great Point.

Lord *Strafford*, by Letters of *Sept.* 13, and 16, says, the States are mightily sunk with their Misfortunes, and knew not well what to do; but insisted upon *Tournay* as so essential to their Barrier, that they had none without it; therefore he wishes they might have it in Exchange for *Ypres*; since if he could assure them of it, he believed they would submit to the Plan of the Queen's Speech. And in a Letter to Mr. *Prior* of *Octob.* 4, 1712, he says, If we had a Mind to have *Nick Frog* sign with us, we might, he is ready to do it for *Tournay*; which, if we sign together, we cannot well refuse him; but I expect you will cut that Matter short, and I long to hear from you.

P. 34, and 35. The Dispute concerning *Tournay* arose from the *French* Ministers being express in demanding the Restitution of it. The *British* Plenipo's conceiving this to be inconsistent with what the Queen had declared, refused to

open

open the Conferences till they had further Orders. This occaſioned great Warmth in the Cabinet Council, ſays Lord *Bolingbroke*, but inſtead of endeavouring to preſerve this Town as part of the Barrier, which he confeſſes was ſo intended in the Queen's Speech, he propoſes an Expedient how *France* may have the Town, without the Queen's being a Party in what would contradict her Plan; *viz.* That the *French* King ſhould ſay he did conſent to the ſaid Plan, but ſince the *Dutch* refuſed it, had rejected the Suſpenſion of Arms, it was but juſt he ſhould be recompenſed for the Charge of the Campaign by the Reſtoration of *Tournay*. In this Expedient Lord *Bolingbroke* was not ſingle, but ſeconded by the Lord Treaſurer; and *France* made Uſe of it accordingly; but however the States were ſo firm and reſolute, that they retained *Tournay*, though they purchaſed it by coming into the Peace without any further Demands.

There being ſomething relating to our Commerce and *North America* to be adjuſted, Lord *Bolingbroke* adviſed our Plenipo's to revive the Differences betwixt Count *Rechteren* and *Meſnager*, that they might gain Time, and keep the *Dutch* in Suſpence as to their Tariff.

P. 36. Lord *Bolingbroke* writes to Mr. *Prior*, *Sept.* 19, in *France*, to this Effect; That *Caſſart*'s Invaſion upon our *Leeward* Iſlands gave a Theme to the Whigs, and ſerved to awaken Paſſions, that were almoſt lulled aſleep; that we never expected they would attack our Colonies, when we were knitting the Bands of Friendſhip. Had this been ſuſpected, our Fleet ſhould have kept him in Awe. Compare this Conduct with the Queen's, which ſaved their Army from being beat. We depended ſo much upon the good Underſtanding, that we avoided to fortify our Squadron, and forbore to execute Deſigns, which perhaps would have annoyed the *French* and *Spaniards* more than any thing that has fallen out during the War.

Sept. 29. Lord *Bolingbroke* gives a further Account to Mr. *Prior* of his Services to *France*, in Subſtance thus: 'I have got the Affair of the *Griffin* compounded 'for 35000 *l.* to the Captors, tho' ſhe was plain Prize; and I could have proved 'that the Paſs ſent over hither was one of thoſe I delivered at *Fontainbleau*, four 'Days after the *Griffin* was in Sir *Tho. Hardy*'s Power, tho' Abbot *Gaultier* was 'ready to ſwear he received it ſome Months before.' From whence it appears, tho' this Paſs was none of them, that Paſſes had been granted ſome Months before the Suſpenſion was concluded.

The latter End of *October*, Mr. *Prior* was ſent by the *French* King to *England*; and, by what appears, without leave from the Queen. He was thought fit to be intruſted with the great Secret, of prevailing with the Queen to obtain by her Credit what the *French* King demanded for the Elector of *Bavaria*; and brought a Credential Letter to the Queen, with very endearing Expreſſions, *Append.* N°. 38.

He was ſent back about the middle of *November*, with new Inſtructions to propoſe a Neutrality in *Italy*, &c. and a Copy of the Queen's laſt Inſtructions to her Miniſters at *Utrecht* about the Peace, that he might act conformably; and carried a Letter from the Queen to the *French* King, *Append.* N°. 39. 'Tis dated *November* 14, 1712. 'As your conſummate Wiſdom (ſays ſhe to 'the *French* King) hath taken the *Reſolution that is moſt proper to fix the Term* '*of Peace*, I will not loſe a Moment to haſten the Concluſion of it. I aſſure you,

'the great Facility that you are willing to lend towards it out of a Regard to me, 'ſhall be made no other Uſe of, than to be employed without any delay to re-'eſtabliſh the public Tranquillity, according to the Wiſhes of us both. By 'the Orders that I give to my Miniſters at *Utrecht*, it will appear I do all that's 'in my Power in Favour of a Prince whoſe Intereſt is ſupported by your Gene-'roſity. The Conſideration of your Friendſhip will be a very prevailing Mo-'tive to engage me a-new in his Intereſt, and in that of his Family, as Occa-'ſion ſhall offer for the future. I ſend back Mr. *Prior*, who, in continuing 'to conduct himſelf in the manner that ſhall be entirely agreeable to you, 'does no more than execute to a Tittle the Orders which I have given him; 'and among all the Proofs of his Duty and Zeal for my Service, I expect in 'a very particular manner that he ſhould take all poſſible Occaſions to repeat to 'you the Eſteem and perfect Regard that I have for you, and my earneſt De-'ſire to live with you in a ſincere and perpetual Friendſhip.'

Notwithſtanding all this Kindneſs to *France*, and that the Treaty was ready to be concluded; yet, contrary to Agreement, as Lord *Bolingbroke* owned, they diſputed with us about the Fiſhery of *Newfoundland*, and the Ceſſion of Cape *Breton*. The Queen, in her Inſtructions to the Duke of *Shrewſbury*, gave up Cape *Breton*, on Condition the *French* King would quit the Right of fiſhing and drying on *Newfoundland*, reſerved to his Subjects by the Articles ſigned at *London*, 27 *Sept.* 1711. O. S. *Append. Numb.* 4.

P. 37. The *French* notwithſtanding obtained what they demanded in *Newfoundland*, and Cape *Breton* was quitted to them, tho' her Majeſty, in her Inſtructions to the Duke, claimed Cape *Breton*, as Part of *Nova Scotia*, which by this Treaty was to be reſtored to her.

It was agreed, *May* 29, 1712. That *Britain* and *France* ſhould treat one another as *Gens amiciſſima*. Upon this Foot, the Tariff of 1664 granted to *Holland*, except the four Species, was alſo to be granted to us, and it was ſo ſettled by the 8th and 10th Articles of the Project of Commerce; but *France*, pretending now that this would be too advantageous for us, refuſed it, 'till we ſhould reduce our Duties as low here as theirs in *France*.

Lord *Bolingbroke* complained of this as an open Violation of Faith, and the removing of a Corner-Stone, when the *French* pleaded that our Commerce was to be treated by Commiſſioners after ſigning the Peace; but forgot that he himſelf had propoſed it the 24th of *May*. Being thus caught, he offers an Expedient, that the *French* ſhould ſtrike out of the Project of Commerce the 9th and 10th Articles, and inſtead thereof, to inſert one that he drew, which *is the 9th in the Treaty*. This was ſo advantageous to the *French*, that they readily agreed to it; but it was ſo juſtly and univerſally condemned here, *that our Parliament rejected it*: yet this was *the Price* for which our Miniſtry ſold Cape *Breton* and the Fiſhery of *Newfoundland*.

P. 38. *France*, having reaped the Benefit of the *Suſpenſion* of Arms, refuſed to allow us that of *Gens Amiciſſima*; and our Miniſtry being thus circumſtanced, were obliged to court *France* that the *Queen might* be able to *tell the Parliament, that her own Intereſts were abſolutely determined*: for they dreaded the Diſcovery of the contrary. Lord *Bolingbroke* inſtructed the Duke of *Shrewſbury* to tell the *French* Court, that, as they deſired the Queen *to precipitate her*

Peace,

Peace, and leave the Confederates to their Mercy, ſhe muſt be enabled to declare her own Intereſts ſettled; then her Plenipo's ſhould publickly declare that they are ready to ſign: the reſt of the Allies *muſt be engaged to conclude, or ſhe will ſign without them.*

P. 39. The Diſtraction our Miniſtry was in, appears further by Lord *Bolingbroke*'s Letters to Mr. *Prior*; wherein that Lord ſays, *We ſtand indeed on the Brink of a Precipice, but the* French *ſtand there too.* Pray tell M. *Torcy* from me, he may *get* Robin *and* Henry *hanged*, but Affairs will ſoon run back into ſo much Confuſion, *that he will wiſh us alive again.* Let *France* ſatisfy the Queen, and let her immediately declare to her Parliament, and at the Congreſs, that ſhe is ready to ſign. Then he enumerates the Offers he would have the *French* make to the ſeveral Allies, which, tho' *he owns to be inſufficient*, if they be not inſtantly accepted, *our Separate Peace would, ſitting the Parliament, be addreſſed for, made, and approved, and the Cauſe of* France *for once become popular in* Britain.

If theſe Overtures were accepted by the Allies, let M. *Torcy* ſit down and conſider what a Bargain would be made for *France*, and *compare the Plans of* 1709, *and* 1712. By that of 1709, was meant the Preliminaries agreed on at the *Hague* betwixt the Duke of *Marlborough* and Lord *Townſhend*, &c. and M. *de Torcy*, who promiſed to get them ratified; but the *French* Court did afterwards treacherouſly refuſe it.

Lord *Bolinbroke*, in another Letter to Mr. *Prior*, ſays, 'M. *de Torcy* has a 'Confidence in you, make uſe of it once for all upon this Occaſion, and convince 'him thoroughly that we muſt *give a different Turn to our Parliament and* 'People, according to their Reſolution at this Criſis. We are now at the true 'Criſis of our Diſeaſe: *We die at once, or recover at once.* Let *France* depart 'from that ſhameful Expedient, by which they thought to *bubble us* out of the 'Advantages which they had *ſolemnly yielded*, and all is well; otherwiſe *by God* 'they and we are undone. Send *Barton* back as ſoon as poſſible; the *Queen can* 'neither delay the Meeting of the Parliament longer than the 3d, nor ſpeak to the 'Houſes till we hear from you. My Compliments to M. *Torcy*, let him know 'that if they do not agree with the Queen, I may perhaps be a *Refugee*; if I 'am, I promiſe before-hand, to behave myſelf *better in* France, than *the* French 'Refugees do here. Make the *French* aſhamed of their *ſneaking Chicane*; by 'Heaven they treat like *Pedlars*, or, which is worſe, like *Attornies*.'

The Lord Treaſurer was in all this Secret, and principally depended upon, as appears by Mr. *Prior*'s Letters to him; who did not think the Queen's Orders ſufficient, without knowing Lord Treaſurer's particular Pleaſure.

P. 40. Mr. *Prior* was more free with Lord Treaſurer than with Lord *Bolingbroke* about the Affair of *Newfoundland*, &c. Mr. *Prior*, as well as the *French* Miniſters, thought ſome Points inſiſted on by our Plenipo's at *Utrecht* to be unreaſonable: he doubted not but he had adjuſted the Affair of *Newfoundland* to Lord Treaſurer's Satisfaction, though he mitigated it a little to Lord *Bolingbroke*. He hoped the Queen would *ſend ſuch an Anſwer to her Plenipo's, as would cut off all Delays*; but deſired this might not *be canvaſſed in Council*: and ſays; he had *promiſed the King* ſuch an Anſwer from the Queen *as he deſires*.

Mr. *Prior* says to the Lord Treasurer, *your Friend* M. *Torcy* is in the last Concern, to find the Duke of *Shrewsbury*'s Instructions *so strict in a Point that* France *cannot give up*; begs Lord Treasurer's positive and distinct Orders about it. Says, the Duke of *Shrewsbury* also desired his Orders to finish, and that if the Points of *Newfoundland*, and the Tariff of 1664, were settled, the Peace may be sent next Day, *viz. Jan.* 24, 1712-13. N. S. to be signed at *Utrecht*. He begs he may be able to say, he has the immediate Commands of the Lord Treasurer, which does all Business here. And in his Letter, *Feb.* 4. promises to follow that Lord's private Instructions. This was very extraordinary, that a Minister, having the Queen's Instructions, should desire to be released from them, by private ones from the Lord Treasurer; so that to him it seems we owe the giving up of the *Newfoundland* Fishery, and being treated as the *Gens Amicissima*, for the 9th Article of the Treaty of Commerce, which our Parliament condemned.

Pag. 41. The Business of *North America* and Commerce being thus determined, *France* pressed a separate Peace with us, and our Ministry here agreed to it, while our Plenipo's in *Holland* were in the utmost *Perplexity and Consternation*, because the *French* refused many things which the *Dutch took to be agreed on, both by her Majesty's Speech, and Lord* Strafford's *Declaration*. Our Plenipo's complained of this to Lord *Bolinbroke*, who answered them with great Joy, *Feb.* 28. that the *French* had complied with what the Queen had demanded, and therefore she *positively commanded them* to execute the *Treaties of Peace and Commerce between* Britain *and* France; for the Queen would on *Tuesday tell the Parliament*, she had *made Peace with* France. He repeated those Orders the 7th and 20th of *March*, O. S. that the Peace should be concluded with *that Precipitation* which her Majesty ordered.

Though the Demands of no other Prince or Potentate were at this time regarded, yet the Demand of *a Principality in the* Spanish Netherlands *of* 30000 *Crowns* per Ann. *Revenue, was insisted on for the Princess* Ursini, *as a Condition*, sine qua non, *of the General Peace*. While *the Queen*, says Lord *Bolinbroke*, *did not look upon the Degradation of* Hanover *as a Matter of any Importance*.

Pag. 42. Our Plenipo's were still averse to sign, made new Complaints of the Proceedings of the *French*, who pushed them to sign separately, when so many of the Allies were ready to join; they likewise alledged, they had not sufficient Power to do it, and were apprehensive of the Consequences of doing it alone.

Lord *Bolingbroke* ridiculed their Objection, sent them new Powers, and Lord Treasurer put the last hand to it, by a Letter to Lord *Strafford*, *March* 31. N. S. to this Purpose: 'I felicitate your Excellency on the Success of your Zeal, true 'Love to your Queen and Country, and the Repose of all *Europe*. The 'Danger now is, lest we be shipwrecked in Sight of the Port. The Nation is 'five Hundred to one for Peace, the Warriors are drove from their Outworks, 'their last Retrenchment is Delay; which operates so much, that the Ferment 'begins to work, and it will be impossible to answer for the Turn the House of 'Commons will take, if further provoked by Delays; they feel how many 'Hundred Thousand Pounds this needless Protraction costs them for the Army 'and Navy. Merchants lie off, and will not come into Port. The Faction 'encourages their Friends to hold out, and wait for some unhappy Accident, that

'may unravel all: the Members will grow ill-humoured to be kept idle so long 'in Town; all that has been unsettled for many Days, is not worth one Day's 'Charge. *France* has acquitted herself, the only Step is now at *Utrecht*.'

Upon this our Plenipo's signed, *April* 1—11. several of the Allies dropped in one after another; and the *Dutch*, when in vain to hold out longer, signed about Midnight: so that the Emperor and Empire were left alone, because they would not submit to such a dishonourable Peace, as *England* and *France* had carved out for them.

Pag. 43. Our Ministers, in the Negotiation still to be carried on with *Spain*, allowed them, in the 15th Article of Peace with that Nation, a Right to fish in *Newfoundland*, though contrary to our Treaty with that Crown in 1670. and to the Advice of the Board of Trade, *Jan.* 13, 1712-13. and to the Act of the 10th and 11th of King *William*. This seems to be owing to Lord Treasurer, who intrusted Mr. *Gillingham*, an *Irish* Papist, in the Management of the Trade with *Spain*, and to correspond with him about it.

Pag. 44. Our Ministers admitted also an essential Alteration in the Treaty of Commerce signed with *Spain*, by three explanatory Articles; by which our Merchants are to pay 29 *per Cent.* instead of less than 10 they paid in the Reign of King *Charles* II. of *Spain*; yet the Great Seal is affixed to these Articles.

The Queen employed Mr. *Crow* to treat with the *Catalans* to submit to King *Charles* III. on Promise that she would support them, and get the Privileges they enjoyed under the House of *Austria* restored to them. *Appendix*, Numb. 46, 47.

Pag. 45. Lord *Peterborough* and Sir *Cloudesly Shovel* had the like Commission; and Mr. *Harley*, when Secretary, drew their Instructions for a Declaration, adding Threats if the *Catalans* did not accept on these Promises: *Appendix*, Numb. 49. No want of Fidelity or Zeal was ever charged on those People; but on the contrary, they had the Applauses of the Allies, and the like, with renewed Assurances from every *British* General and Minister: but when the separate Peace was made, Lord *Lexington* had very defective Instructions about the poor *Catalans*, of which, though he was also defective in the Execution, the King of *Spain* refused to comply with them.

Pag. 46. Lord *Lexington* writes to Lord *Dartmouth*, that he had finished his Negotiation about the *Catalans*, he hoped to her Majesty's Satisfaction. Our Court shewed no Dissatisfaction either with this way of negotiating, or the Fruitlessness of it, but order another defective Memorial about it; and all the King of *Spain* would do, was to promise them Pardon upon Submission; said, they deserved little from him, and that his and the *French* Army were marching to reduce them. Count *Sinzendorf* urged also, when he was to evacuate *Catalonia*, that the People might have their Privileges, but was refused. Lord *Dartmouth* wrote about, and Lord *Lexington* presented a Memorial about it in a more pressing manner, saying, the Queen's Honour and Conscience were concerned in it, and she would adhere to it; but the King of *Spain* positively refused it. Lord *Lexington* writes, that things were not upon the same foot in *Spain* as before the Suspension, and that the King of *Spain* told him, we know that Peace is as necessary for you as for us, and you will not break it off for a Trifle.

The firſt fatal Step to the Ruin of the *Catalans*, was, that Lord *Lexington*, contrary to his firſt Inſtructions, was ordered to own *Philip* as King of *Spain*, before one Article of Peace or Commerce was agreed on with them. This enabled him to refuſe what he thought fit.

Pag. 47. That Point of owning King *Philip* was given up at the Deſire of the *French* Court, and Mr. *Prior* and Lord *Bolingbroke* urged it ſhould be ſo. Lord *Bolingbroke* charged the Refuſal of it on Lord *Dartmouth*'s miſtaking the Queen's Meaning, and bid Mr. *Prior* repreſent it to the *French* Court, ſaying, it was abſurd to do otherwiſe; and for God's ſake, dear *Mat.* hide the Nakedneſs of thy Country, and give the beſt Turn thy fertile Brain will furniſh to the Blunders of thy Countrymen, who are not much better Politicians than the *French* are Poets. Lord *Dartmouth* acquieſced, and ſent Lord *Lexington* Orders accordingly.

Lord *Bolingbroke* writes to our Plenipo's at *Utrecht*, that it was not the *Intereſt of* England *to preſerve* Catalan *Liberties*, *which was the Power of the Purſe and the Sword*; the King of *Spain* would give them *beneficial Employments*, and a *Trade to the* Weſt-Indies, which are infinitely of greater Value *to thoſe who intend to live in a due Submiſſion to Authority.* Lord *Lexington* treated them as Rebels, and urged it as an Argument for Peace with *Portugal*, that the *Spaniards* might uſe their Troops to end the Rebellion of the *Catalans*; *Appendix*, Numb. 53.

When the Evacuation of *Catalonia* was forced on the Emperor, his Miniſters inſiſted on preſerving the Liberties of the *Catalans*, *Majorcans*, and *Yvicans*; the Queen promiſed her good Offices for it in the moſt effectual manner, and the *French* King promiſed to join with her, in which thoſe Miniſters acquieſced. When our Treaty with *Spain* was ripe, by which the *Catalan* Liberties were to be abandoned, Lord *Lexington* ſinged it, with a Proteſt againſt that Article at the ſame time he ſigned it, as he wrote before he intended to do, that the Queen might be at liberty to reject it.

Lord *Lexington* was again ordered to preſent another Memorial for the *Catalan* Liberties in very ſtrong Terms as before, but he had ſigned the Treaty beforehand, and ſaid to the Marquis *De Bedmar*, he was ſorry he muſt do what he knew to be againſt the King's Sentiments, but muſt obey Orders, and gave in the Memorial.

Pag. 48. The Marquis anſwered, that this Matter having been debated, and the Treaty ſigned, the King did not ſee that any thing further was to be done in the Matter. This Treaty was negotiated by *Bolingbroke*, and ratified by the Queen. The King of *Spain*, finding our Miniſters ſo much in his Intereſt, that the Queen's Honour and Conſcience muſt be ſacrificed to his Deſires, propoſes that the Queen ſhould aſſiſt him againſt the *Catalans*; *Appendix*, Numb. 56. Lord *Lexington* ſaid, he believed the Queen would be unwilling to do that; yet the Night before he left *Madrid*, at the Deſire of the *French* Ambaſſador and Princeſs *Urſini*, he wrote a deceitful Letter to the *Catalans*, adviſing them to ſubmit: and this Letter was privately to be ſent by the *Spaniſh* General, as if it were without his Knowledge, by one who pretended to be a Deſerter. *Appendix*, Numb. 58.

Lord

Lord *Lexington*'s Secretary says, This Letter was writ, that if the *Catalans* complied, the Queen might have the Mediation; and if not, the Court of *Spain* would see how ready she was to serve them: *Appendix*, Numb. 59. The *Catalans* refusing, Sir *Patrick Lawless*, in *Sept.* 1713, presented a Memorial to our Court about it, *Appendix*, Numb. 60. and desires a Squadron to force them.

Pag. 49. Sir *James Wishart* is sent with a Fleet accordingly, as appears by his Instructions, *Appendix*, Numb. 61, and 62.

It is observed, that though the Queen promised to obtain the *Catalans* their Liberties, yet Mr. *Prior* acquainted Mr. *Torcy*, she was assured they would submit, without mentioning their antient Privileges, *Appendix*, Numb. 63. M. *Torcy* eluded the *French* King's Promise, by saying, he had little Interest with the Court of *Spain:* It is also observed, That *Britain* was engaged to support the Privileges of *Majorca*, when Sir *J. Wishart* had Orders to attack them.

When these Designs were forming against the *Catalans*, Lord *Bolingbroke* writes to Mr. *Prior* in *France*, that by their Agent the Marquis *Dalmasses*, who was not taken Notice of here as a publick Man, it appeared a reasonable Accommodation might be made with those turbulent People; he called them so, because they told the *Spanish* General, they would rather die than be Slaves; but if their Liberties were confirmed, they would open their Gates, and receive him with Gladness. *Appendix*, Numb. 64.

The Lords addressed, *April* 3, 1714, the Queen to interpose for the *Catalan* Liberties; she answered, she resolved, when she made Peace with *Spain*, to interpose, and to prevent, if possible, the Misfortunes they were exposed to, by the Conduct of *those more nearly concerned to help them.*

To allay the Indignation of the People against the Ministry, a Demand for the *Catalan* Privileges was put down in the Lord *Bingley*'s Instructions; but he was never sent, and Lord *Bolingbroke* wrote to Sir *James Wishart* not to appear before *Barcelona* till further Orders; and to M. *Grimaldo* he sends a kind and friendly Complaint, as he calls it, that the *Catalan* Privileges had not yet been granted.

Pag. 50. Sir *James Wishart* complained that his Orders were ambiguous about attacking *Barcelona*, supposes the *Catalans* may refuse advantageous Conditions, if they find he is not to act by Force; therefore he desires his Orders may be clear, and promises punctual Obedience. When Sir *James* arrived at *Cadiz*, a List of his Ships were sent to *Madrid*; but the *Spanish* Court hoping to bring the *Catalans* to their Terms, by Mr. *Orry* a *Frenchman*, took no Notice of Sir *James*, because they would rather owe the Submission of the *Catalans* to *France*. *Orry* having no Success, the *Spanish* Court were a little more civil to Sir *James*, and exempted his Fleet from paying any Duty for Provisions. He pleaded that the Duties so exempted might be allowed to himself, but finding it did not amount to much, he forbore demanding it, and hoped Lord *Bingley* would procure him some Marks of Favour from the Court of *Spain*, since this Expedition was so much intended for their Service, and that his Pay from Home did not bear half his Charges. The *Catalans* refusing to submit, without being granted their Privileges, the *French* King, contrary to his Promise, sent the Duke of *Berwick* with his Troops against them; and Sir *James* sent Capt. *Gordon*, and two Men of War, with threatning Letters, in the Queen's Name, on Pretence that the *Ca-*

talans disturbed the Commerce of her Subjects, took and plundered their Ships, and used the Men barbarously, for which he demanded Satisfaction on Pain of what might follow.

Pag. 51. The Deputies answered, that only one of the Ships mentioned, laden with Salt, was brought into *Barcelona*, which, being besieged, they might do by the Law of Nations; that they gave the Captain the full Price, had paid other *English* Ships that came into their Port with Provisions, more than they could have got any where else, and had forbid the molesting of any *English* Ship on Pain of Death, even though carrying Provisions to the Enemy; adding, that they had the utmost Deference for the Queen, desired to live in good Correspondence with his Noble and Generous Nation, and would obey his Excellency's Orders with all Affection and Respect. *Append. Numb.* 68.

The Government of *Barcelona* wrote also to him, that he knew they received *Charles* III. on Promise of Protection from the Allies, and particularly from *England*; that for seven Years together they had served the *English* as much as possible, by furnishing Troops and considerable Sums without Interest; that though they had pleased themselves with Thoughts of being always subject to King *Charles* III. yet by the ordinary Vicissitude of human Affairs, the *French* and the Duke of *Anjou*'s Troops were Masters of all the Principality except *Barcelona* and *Cardona*; where they committed the most execrable Hostilities, without sparing Age or Sex: That *Barcelona* had been blocked up for a Year, that 14000 Bombs had ruined most of their Houses; that in twenty-four Hours they expected to be battered in Breach, and could not express their Affliction to see the Inhabitants in Danger of becoming Victims to the Enemy's Cruelty. Therefore they fly to the Queen of *Great-Britain*'s Protection, by the inclosed Letter to their Envoy at *London*; and, in the mean Time, beseech his Excellency from their Souls to mediate for a Suspension of Arms, since the Congress at *Baden* for a general Peace may still determine this Affair. They doubt not his Mediation would procure them Relief, since his Squadron is superior to that of the Enemy: which they hope his Excellency will not refuse them. If *Catalonia* has merited any thing by its Services and Conjunction with the *English* Nation, this was the Time to receive the Fruits of it: That it is worthy of his Excellency to comfort the Afflicted, and not to deny them this Favour in their great Necessity.

How Sir *James* was affected with this moving Letter, appears by his sending, without the Queen's Orders, a Part of his Ships, at the *Spanish* Secretary's Desire, to protect the *Spanish* Flota then coming home, because the *Spanish* Men of War were employed before *Barcelona*. *Append. Numb.* 70.

The *Catalans* thus abandoned contrary to Faith and Honour, appealed to Heaven, hung up at the High Altar the Queen's solemn Declaration to protect them, underwent the utmost Miseries of a Siege, where Multitudes perished by Famine and Sword; and how many have since been executed, and how many Persons of Figure are still kept in Dungeons, is too well known.

Thus was our Nation abused with repeated Assurances by our Ministry, that every Thing was doing for the Preservation of that unfortunate People, while at the same Time they were betraying them.

P. 52. It is observed that Abbot *Gaultier* is frequently mentioned, who without a Character was in *England* during most Part of the Negotiation, and often

sent

ſent backward and forward. He had not only a Share of the public Buſineſs, but of what required more than ordinary Privacy, and was tranſacted verbally; ſo that the *French* and *Engliſh* Miniſters mutually refer to him. As nothing was more dangerous, and required greater Secrecy than the Pretender's Affairs, all this paſſed through his Hands, and was conveyed by *French* Couriers, who were continually going and coming.

Mr. *St. John*, in a Letter to M. *Torcy*, *March* 4, 1711-12, refers that Abbot to explain the Subject of Mr. *Harley*'s Commiſſion beyond Sea; and what the Queen hopes the *French* King would do, to co-operate with her.

Several Letters and Papers are wanting, which, by Circumſtances of Time and Matters, appear to be of Moment and Conſequence, and it is not to be expected that thoſe who have been ſo careful to ſuppreſs Matters of leſs Importance, would leave any Thing behind them that was openly and directly for the Pretender; yet there are ſeveral Things which are a plain Indication of the Tenderneſs and Regard there was had to his Perſon and Cauſe: as follows.

There is a Paper found in Lord *Bolingbroke*'s Cloſet, dated at *Verſailles*, *Sept.* 24, 1711, endorſed as other Office-Papers uſually are, ſignifying that the Pope's Nuncio, in an Audience from the *French* King, made this Declaration; 'That 'the Court of *Rome* being *fully informed* that *France* was endeavouring a Peace 'on the moſt advantageous Terms poſſible, and being perſuaded that if Peace 'were made, *England* would not ſuffer the *French* King to *keep the Prince of* 'Wales *in his Realms*, the Court of *Rome* offered him an *Aſylum at* Rome, *or* '*any other Part of the Eccleſiaſtical Dominions.* To which the *French* King 'anſwered, That *an Aſylum for the Prince of* Wales *would be no Obſtacle to the* '*Peace*; for in this Caſe an *Article for the Prince of* Wales *would be inſerted in* '*the Treaty.*'

June 7, 1712. The Biſhop of *Briſtol* writes to Lord *Bolingbroke*, 'That M. '*Consbruck*, one of the Emperor's Plenipo's, told him, he took it for granted, '*that one great End of all this Management on our Part, was to bring in the* '*Pretender:* and the *Apprehenſion of this*, one of the *Dutch* Miniſters owned 'in private Diſcourſe, to have *been the fundamental Reaſon of all their Conduct* '*of late.*'

All the Nation expected the Removal of the Pretender out of the Dominions of *France*, and the Queen declared this was taken care of, as an additional Security to the Proteſtant Succeſſion; yet he was permitted to reſide in *Lorain*, to the great Surprize of the Nation; upon which the Parliament addreſſed the Queen, that ſhe would inſiſt upon his Removal from *Lorain*, his Reſidence there being equally, or more dangerous to *Great-Britain*, than his Abode in *France*. Her Majeſty's Anſwer, that ſhe would repeat her Inſtances, occaſioned in the Houſe a becoming Reſentment, that the Duke of *Lorain* ſhould preſume to entertain him, in Defiance to her Majeſty's Application.

Yet it appears, that the Manner of the Pretender's Removal from *France*, and his ſettling in *Lorain*, was not only with the Approbation, but by the Direction and Appointment of the *Engliſh* Miniſtry: For Mr. *St. John*, in his Letter to M. *Torcy*, *May* 24, 1712. *O. S.* ſays, He hopes, that with the general Repoſe, we ſhall ſee revived, in a few Weeks, a good Underſtanding betwixt the *two Nations*, which may become to each other the *moſt uſeful Friends*, *for the ſame*

Reaſons

Reasons they have been *the most formidable Enemies*. The Queen commands me to tell you, that she hopes, when you send an Answer, we shall have an Account that the Chevalier had begun his Journey.

P. 53. M. *Torcy* replies, *June* 10. 'You may assure the Queen, the Chevalier 'is ready to depart at a Moment's Warning, did he but know where he was to go, 'and might be in Safety. I know no Prince who is willing to receive him, for 'Fear of displeasing the Queen, or other Powers. It will be absolutely necessary, 'that there should be some Explanation upon this Subject, which I desire you to 'make me by Abbot *Gaultier*, if you don't judge proper to do it yourself.'

June 7, 1712. Mr. *St. John*, in a private Letter to M. *Torcy*, says, 'The Ab-'bot *Gaultier will write to you about the Chevalier.*' But in the Copy of the same Letter to Lord *Strafford*, there is no mention of the Chevalier.

June 22, 1712. M. *Torcy* writes two Letters to Lord *Bolingbroke*; in the publick Letter, there is nothing of the Pretender; but the private Letter concludes thus: 'I have the Honour to send you a Letter under the King's Hand for her '*Britannick* Majesty, and *I refer you to what Abbot* Gaultier *shall say about the* 'Departure of the Chevalier.'

August 21. Lord *Bolingbroke* being then in *France*, to finish what of Consequence was undetermined, writes to Lord *Dartmouth*, 'That the Chevalier has 'fixed his Departure for the first of the next Month, *N. S.* he is to retire to *Bar*, 'and the Duke of *Lorain* is to ask of the Emperor, and other Princes, Security 'for his Person, while there.'

Yet it appears, that the Chevalier was still in *France*, *December* 28, 1712. *N. S.* for Mr. *Prior* writes then to Lord *Bolingbroke* thus; 'Another Point, on which 'the *French* Court is very sollicitous, is, that the *Chevalier's being* in *France*, ob-'structs the Peace, *yet he cannot go to* Lorain, till the Emperor's *Passports secure* 'him there. Your Lordship, by the Perusal of the Papers, *will see the State of* 'that Case. The Court of *France* say, it is impossible on their Side, to do more 'than they have done; and hope we shall have Interest enough with the Empe-'ror, to *obtain such Passports as may secure the Chevalier, and the Duke of* Lo-'rain *who is to receive him.*'

Mr. *Prior*, on the 29th, writes to my Lord Treasurer on this Head, and says, 'The Monarch is much troubled, lest the young Man should fall into the Hands 'of *Hussars* or *Barbarians*; and M. *D'Aumont*, I presume, has Orders to speak 'to our Ministry upon it.' As to the Dowry, adds he, '*I shall not only be* 'dunned to Death, *but hanged*; for the Dowager sends Messengers to me, which 'you in *England* do not think extremely lawful to receive; but if it is to be paid, 'pray let it be done in an handsome Manner, that may shew the Charity of the 'Queen, and the Generosity of her Lord Treasurer.'

The Papers referred to in Mr. *Prior*'s Letter, shew what the Duke of *Lorain* had done, at the Desire of the *French* King, to obtain Safe-guards from the Allies for the Chevalier: He says, 'The Queen already granted her Protection to 'him, and he believed, they had no more to do, but to apply to the Emperor 'and the States-General.'

Thus it is evident, *Gaultier* was to manage the Pretender's Affairs verbally with our Ministry, who did not think fit to commit it to writing, and that the Place where he might reside in Safety was to be prescribed by *England*; that this

was

was not to be fixed till Lord *Bolingbroke* went to *France*; and his Lordſhip writes from thence, that the Chevalier was to go to *Bar*; and this is agreed to by our Court.

P. 54. *Nov.* 6, 1713. Lord *Bolingbroke* writes to *Prior*, 'The Queen having 'repeated to the Duke of *Lorain* the Inſtances ſo often made to the *French* King 'to remove the Pretender out of his Dominions; I am directed to acquaint you 'with it, that you may ſpeak to the Miniſter of *Lorain* and others, and let them 'know, that it is inconſiſtent with the Amity betwixt the Queen and their Ma-'ſters, to receive, or protect in their Dominions, a Perſon who diſputes her Ma-'jeſty's Title: And that you may ſee this is the collective Senſe of the whole 'Nation, as well as the Queen's Command, I ſend you the Addreſſes of both 'Houſes.'

This was but a bare Compliance with the Addreſſes; for in four Days after, Lord *Bolingbroke* writes to Mr. *Prior* by the Baron *de Forſtner*, who he ſays had been twice at our Court, as Envoy from the Duke of *Lorain*, was extremely well with Mr. *Prior*'s Friends on this Side, and doubted not he would be a welcome Acquaintance to him. Lord *Bolingbroke* recommends the Intereſt of the Duke of *Lorain* to Mr. *Prior*'s Care, about the *Montferrat*, &c. ſince Mr. *Prior* was enough apprized of the Duke's Expectations, and of her Majeſty's earneſt Deſire, by any Means ſhe can, to contribute to the Advantage of a Prince who deſerves much better Uſage than he has on many Occaſions met with.

It is obſerved, that the firſt Letter by Lord *Bolingbroke* for removing the Pretender from *Lorain*,, was the 6th of *November*, and that the Parliament addreſſed for it in *July* 1713, which was four Months; and that there was little Effect to be expected from ſuch Repreſentations, which were known to be contrary to the Senſe of our Court.

M. *Torcy* delivered a Memorial to Lord *Bolingbroke* at *Paris*, in *Auguſt* 1712, about *Dunkirk*; wherein he ſays, 'It may perhaps come to paſs, for Reaſons 'eaſy to be foreſeen, that *England* ſhall repent having demanded the Demolition 'of a Place, and the Deſtruction of an Harbour, which might be of great Uſe in 'Conjunctures, which perhaps are not very remote.'

The Senſe of this may be gueſſed at, if we obſerve, that immediately upon the Death of the late Queen, the Pretender publiſhed a Declaration, *pag.* 55, which the Duke of *Lorain* acknowledged in his Letter of *December* 6, 1714, he received from the Pretender himſelf, wherein is this remarkable Paſſage; 'Yet, contrary 'to our Expectations, upon the Death of the Princeſs our Siſter (of whoſe good 'Intentions towards us, we could not for ſome Time paſt well doubt; and this 'was the Reaſon we then ſat ſtill, expecting the good Effects thereof, which 'were unfortunately prevented by her deplorable Death) we found that our Peo-'ple, inſtead of taking this favourable Opportunity, had immediately proclaimed 'for their King a foreign Prince, to our Prejudice, contrary to the fundamental 'and inconteſtable Law of Hereditary Right, which their pretended Acts of Set-'tlement can never abrogate.'

Next comes the Earl of *Oxford*'s Letter, writ by his own Hand to the Queen, *June* 9, 1714, with a brief Account of Publick Affairs from *Auguſt* 8, 1710, to *June* 8, 1714. He ſays, this Account was given by the Queen's Command; and begins with his own Advancement to be Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, *Aug.* 8, 1710. He alledges, 'There was then no Money in the Treaſury, the Bank

'refuſed to lend Lord *Godolphin* 100000 *l.* on very good Security; that there was 'eleven Millions owing to the Navy, and other Branches of Service; the Civil 'Liſt was in Debt about 600000 *l.* and the yearly Income too little for the Ex-'pence 124495 *l.* 2 *s.* 4 *d.* at leaſt.'

Pag. 56. 'That in a few Days the greateſt Remittance was made to the Army 'that had ever been known, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of thoſe in Office, 'that were Enemies to the Change of the Miniſtry; ſo that nothing but great 'Patience could have overcome thoſe Difficulties.

'As ſoon as poſſible (and notwithſtanding the Clamours then raiſed, it was 'the only proper Time) a new Parliament is called, which met firſt, *Nov.* 27, '1710. And he had prepared the Funds before the Parliament met (as he did 'always after) not only for the Service of the Year, but to eaſe the Nation of 'above nine Millions of Debt. This gave great Reputation abroad, and enabled 'to treat advantageouſly of a Peace, but drew Rage and Envy upon him; and 'ſome of his Fellow-Servants told him, if he would not get Money himſelf, he 'ought to have let his Friends ſhare 100000 *l.* which would not have been found 'out in nine or ten Millions.

'To this Principle was owing the unhappy Expedition to *Canada*, which he 'oppoſed, but too late. *February* 1710-11, there began a Diviſion among the 'Tories in the Houſe, and Mr. Secretary *St. John* liſted a ſeparate Party for 'himſelf: But in a Meeting at Mr. *St. John*'s, with the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, 'Earl *Powlet*, and *Robert Harley*, Lord *Rocheſter* took Pains to calm the Spirit 'of Diviſion and Ambition.

'*Robert Harley* had then a violent Fever, and at his firſt coming abroad *May* '8, met with a Misfortune which confined him many Weeks; during which, the 'Tranſactions are too publick and black for *Robert Harley* to mention.

'The cloſe of *May* 1711, the Queen was pleaſed to confer undeſerved Ho-'nours on *Harley*, and the 29th put the Treaſurer's Staff into his Hands. The '4th of *June*, after he was ſworn Treaſurer, 28036 *l.* 5 *s.* was demanded of him 'for Arms and Goods to be ſent to *Canada*: He ſcrupled it; but Mr. *St. John* 'and *Moor* came to him in a Paſſion about it; and in a Fortnight after Mr. *St.* '*John* ſignified the Queen's poſitive Pleaſure to have that Money paid: And pro-'ducing a Warrant ſigned by her Majeſty, it was paid. *Robert Harley* diſco-'vered the Secret after the Return from that Expedition, *viz.* that the Publick 'was cheated above 20000 *l.* This was never to be forgiven the Treaſurer; and 'Lord Chancellor told him, they ſaid, No Government was worth ſerving, that 'would not let them make thoſe Advantages, and get ſuch Jobbs. The Trea-'ſurer was forced to uſe all his Skill to keep the Houſe of Commons from exa-'mining this Affair.

Page 57. *June* 12, 1712, 'The firſt Seſſion of laſt Parliament ended. From 'this Time to the Beginning of next Seſſion, *the Treaſurer was taken up in ne-'gotiating the Peace in all Courts abroad*, and calming Quarrels Mr. *St. John* 'had againſt Lord *Dartmouth*, Lady *Maſham*, and the Treaſurer himſelf.

'The ſecond Seſſion of laſt Parliament began *December* 7, 1711, attended with 'great Difficulties and Dangers, by the Practices of the Diſcontented here, and the 'Deſigns carried on by Mr. *Buys*, Prince *Eugene* and *Bothmar*; in which concurred 'the Emperor, and other Princes and States who gained by the War.

N. B. This was the Time when the Baron *de Bothmar* delivered his Memorial.

'This

'This, says Lord Treasurer, put her Majesty under a Necessity to preserve the 'whole, and to take a Method which had been used before, to *create some new* 'Peers. So many having been taken out of the House of Commons, who used 'to manage Publick Affairs, Mr. *St. John* was desired to stay in the House that 'Sessions, and the Queen would create him a Peer, and take care he should not 'lose his Rank.

'The second Session ended *June* 21, 1712. and notwithstanding *Bothmar*'s 'Memorial, and all other Attacks from abroad and at home, every Thing was 'put upon a good Foot, and the Malecontents began to despair, as appeared by 'the Duke of *Marlborough*'s retiring abroad, and other Particulars.

'The Session ended, the Queen made Mr. *St. John* a Viscount, as she had pro- 'mised; which put him in the utmost Rage against the Treasurer and Lady *Ma-* 'sham, without sparing the Greatest, though he was told how much he had got 'Place; for had he been created with the other Lords, he must have come after 'Lord *Trevor*. The Treasurer bore all the Storm with great Patience; Lady 'Masham was often Witness of *Bolingbroke*'s outrageous Speeches; and *Moor* told 'the Treasurer, that Lord *Bolingbroke* owed him a Revenge on that Head. Lord 'Bolingbroke was sent to *France*, though there was not much Occasion for it, to 'put him in good Humour; which it did till *Octob.* 1712. that new Knights of 'the Garter were made: This created a new Disturbance, and *Bolingbroke* ut- 'tered outrageous Expressions against all then made. He was much against 'Duke *Shrewsbury*'s going to *France*, for Reasons very plain, which were then 'in Negotiation.

'The third and last Session began *April* 9, 1713. which was as soon as the 'Peace was concluded, and could be proclaimed.

'*During this whole Negotiation, the Treasurer was obliged by his own Hand and* 'Charge, *to correspond in all the Courts concerned, and often had the good Luck to* 'set right *several Mistakes, and to obtain some Things very little expected; but* 'the only Merit of this belongs to her Majesty, *the Credit of whose Favour brought* 'it about, *and gave Power to the Treasurer to act with Success.*

'During this Session, the Lords of the Cabinet, and others, met every *Satur-* 'day at the Treasurer's to carry on the Queen's Business, at they did the Year 'before on *Thursdays*. Many Offers were made, and *repeated by the Treasurer* 'in order to *attack former Offenders*, and quiet the Minds of the Church-party; 'and the only Reason for this failing was, because of the Project laid for their 'New Scheme, and putting themselves at the Head, as they called it, of the 'Church-party.

P. 58. 'This being the last Session of Parliament, and some Gentlemen fear- 'ing their Elections, and some for other Reasons, dropped the Bill of Commerce. 'The Treasurer improved this Opportunity to bring Sir *Tho. Hanmer* and others 'into the Payment of the Civil-List Debts, incurred before the Change of the 'Treasury; though the present Treasurer was railed at, he chose to bear it pa- 'tiently, rather than own the true Reason, that there was no Money to do it 'with, which would have ruined all at once. This Step of paying the Debts 'put the Malecontents into the utmost Rage, which they expressed in both 'Houses.

'The Peace with *France* being over, and it being neceſſary to put her Ma-
'jeſty's Affairs into a more ſettled Regulation, and to eaſe the Treaſurer of the
'Burden and Envy of ſuch a Bulk of Buſineſs, her Majeſty approved the Scheme
'of the Duke of *Ormond*'s ſtaying here to attend the Army-Affairs at the Time
'of diſbanding; that the Duke of *Shrewsbury* ſhould go to *Ireland*, Lord
'*Findlater* to be Chancellor of *Scotland*, Lord *Mar* third Secretary, Lord
'*Dartmouth* Privy-Seal, Mr. *Bromley* Secretary of State, and Sir *William*
'*Wyndham* Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Queen remembers the Rage
'this cauſed, as perfectly defeating their Scheme. Lord Chancellor ſaid it was
'againſt Law, did not treat Lord *Findlater* with Decency; and Lord *Mar* and
'Mr. Secretary *Bromley* met with much ill Treatment.

'But the Treaſurer, to leave them without Excuſe, and to make her Majeſty's
'Affairs and Servants eaſy, wrote a long Letter to Lord *Bolingbroke*, *July* 25,
'1713, with a Scheme of the Queen's Affairs, and what was neceſſary for him
'to do, as belonging only to his Province. Lady *Maſham* came to viſit Lord
'Treaſurer when ſick, ſaw this Letter, and thought it a very good one. I be-
'lieve the whole, ſays Lord Treaſurer, would be of Uſe to let her Majeſty ſee
'into the Foundation of the Follies and Madneſs which have ſince appeared.

'The Treaſurer put Lord *Bolingbroke* in mind of the Particulars which then
'required Diſpatch, and ſolely belonged to his Province; among others, that of
'a Circular Letter upon the Addreſſes of both Houſes relating to the Pretender.
'This was not done in three Months: His Lordſhip wrote Word it was done
'*July* 27. In the ſame Letter the Treaſurer propoſed that Care ſhould be taken
'of *Newfoundland*, *Hudſon's-Bay*, *Acadia*, *St. Chriſtophers*, *Aſſiento*, and other
'Things contained in the Treaties of Commerce. Theſe Particulars the Trea-
'ſurer thought had been executed, until within a few Weeks he heard the con-
'trary by Accident, and that the Time in the ſeveral Treaties was elapſed. On
'*June* 2, he told Mr. *Moor* of this, and that every Body in the Queen's Ser-
'vice would be liable to Blame. Next Day Lord *Bolingbroke* writes to the Trea-
'ſurer a Letter, which begins thus:

"Mr. *Moor* has been with me this Morning, and put into my Hands a Paper,
"which he calls, I think not improperly, a Charge upon me."

P. 59. 'This Paper contains the Neglect above-mentioned in the Treaſurer's
'Letter of *July* 25, 1713. eleven Months before; and yet theſe Faults are now
'charged upon the Treaſurer.'

So ends the Lord Treaſurer's long Letter to the Queen.

The Committee obſerve next, that large Sums had been directed for ſpecial Services relating to the War by Signs Manual, and Warrants upon the ſame counterſigned by Lord Treaſurer; which were afterwards paid to his Lordſhip's Order, and applied to his Lordſhip's private Uſe, as appears by *page* 91, &c. of the *Appendix*.

The Committee obſerving ſeveral Tranſactions, Orders, and Directions given by the Miniſtry in the Queen's Name, contrary to her Majeſty's Sentiments, expreſſed in ſeveral Meſſages to Parliament and Speeches from the Throne, concerning the Terms of Peace, which ſhe communicated to both Houſes; compared her Majeſty's Declarations with the Meaſures her Miniſtry preſumed to take

take in carrying on these important Negotiations; the Substance of which is as follows.

The Queen first mentioned the Peace to the Parliament *December* 7, 1711. when nothing had been concluded betwixt us and *France*, but the Special Preliminaries signed by Lord *Dartmouth* and Mr. *St. John* for *England*, and M. *Mesnager* for *France*, *September* 27, 1711. *Append. Numb.* 4. and the General Preliminaries signed by *Mesnager* only, sent over by the Earl of *Strafford* as the Foundation of a General Peace; *Append. Numb.* 7. After these were signed, Mr. *St. John* pressed M. *orcy, that the Queen might have some Explication of the* French *King's Intentions in respect to the particular Interest of the Allies:* and says, If *Gaultier* returns with these Marks of Confidence, you will see *our Parliament as much inclined to Peace, as ever it was to War.*

The *French* King's Explications are in the Answer *Gaultier* brought to the Memorial, *Nov.* 1711. *Append. Numb.* 11. Upon which, her Majesty told the Parliament, *Dec.* 11, 1711. 'That notwithstanding the Arts of those who delight in War, Place and Time are appointed for opening the Treaty of a General Peace. Our Allies, especially the States-General, whose Interest I look upon as inseparable from my own, have by their ready Concurrence expressed their Confidence in me.'

Though the Queen was thus imposed upon, to think the States had readily concurred with her, the States remonstrated in the strongest Manner against the Propositions signed by *Mesnager*, as too general and uncertain, and dreaded the fatal Issue of opening the general Conferences before they knew what they were to have for their own Barrier and Commerce. This they told Lord *Strafford* in *Holland*, and sent M. *Buys* over to enforce their Representations in *England.*

P. 60. Instead of acquainting the Queen with this, or acting according to her Sentiments, Mr. *St. John* in a Letter, *Octob.* 9. to Lord *Strafford*, says, 'It is certain her Majesty is so far determined in her Measures, that those will deceive themselves, who imagine by Delays to break them.' And, *Octob.* 29. 'The Queen remains firm in her first Resolution of causing the Conferences to be opened on the Articles signed by *Mesnager*.' And, *Nov.* 2. 'That she will not finally concert a Plan with the States for prosecuting the War, till they agree with her to open the Conferences of Peace.' And, *Nov.* 15. Lord *Strafford* says, He had told them, by her Majesty's Order, that she would look upon any Delay as a Refusal to comply with her.' Thus the States were compelled by our Ministers Threats to consent to open the Conferences, though her Majesty was made to believe that they concurred readily.

The Queen declared *her Interest to be inseparable from that of the States*; but Mr. *St. John* writes to Lord *Strafford*, *May* 29. that *Britain* had gone so much *too far in weaving her Interest into that of the Continent*, that it would prove no easy Task to disentangle them, without tearing and rending.

The Queen said, 'The Princes and States engaged with us in War, being by Treaties to have their several Interests secured at a Peace, I will do my utmost to procure every one of them all reasonable Satisfaction, and unite with them in the strictest Engagements for continuing the Alliance, in order to render the General Peace secure and lasting.'

But her Miniſtry, in the private Propoſitions as ſent over by Mr. *Prior*, July 1, 1711. *Append. Numb.* 2. inſerted an Article, *That the Secret ſhould be inviolably kept, till divulged by the Conſent of both Parties.*

And tho' *France*, in the firſt Propoſitions ſent over by M. *Torcy*, *April* 22, 1711. *Appendix* N°. 1. offered to treat with *England* and *Holland* either *ſeparately*, or *jointly* with the *reſt of the Allies*, our Miniſters *excluded the Allies*, and inſiſted that it was abſolutely neceſſary to remit the Diſcuſſion of *the particular Intereſts of the Allies to general Conferences*. And when Mr. *St. John* preſſed M. *Torcy* to explain what the *French* King deſigned for the Allies, he aſſures him, if the King would offer Specific Preliminaries, *the Queen would never communicate it to her Allies.*

The Queen in her Meſſage, *Jan.* 17, to the Parliament, declares her Plenipo's had begun, in Purſuance of their Inſtructions, to concert the moſt proper ways of procuring a *juſt Satisfaction to her Allies, according to the Treaties, and particularly with relation to* Spain *and the* Indies. And in anſwer to the Addreſs of the Lords, *December* 11, 1711, ſaid, I ſhould be ſorry any one could think I would not *do my utmoſt to recover* Spain *and the* Indies *from the Houſe of* Bourbon.

But that her Miniſters had no ſuch Thoughts, is plain from every Part of the Negociation; for in the firſt Propoſitions ſent over by Mr. *Prior*, Demands are made of the King of *France*, to be performed by the King of *Spain*, which the *French* King was to engage for, and Mr. *Prior* had Orders to ſee if the *French* Court had full Powers from *Spain*. In the ſpecial Preliminaries ſigned by our Miniſters, and M. *Meſnager*, it is ſaid expreſly, the *French* King promiſes, in the Name of the King of *Spain*, and according to the Powers which he had from him, that *Portmahone* and *Gibraltar* ſhall belong to us, and that we ſhall have the Aſſiento for thirty Years; *Appendix* Numb. 4. *Art.* 4, 5, 6, 7.

P. 61. Theſe Steps had been taken by our Miniſters, before the Queen made the above-mentioned Declarations; therefore it is concluded, that her Majeſty knew nothing of them. Altho' our Plenipo's were obliged by their Inſtructions, *Appendix*, Numb. 12. to inſiſt, that *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* ſhould not be allotted to any Branch of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, yet on *February* 11, 17$\frac{1}{2}$. when the Plenipotentiaries of *France* gave in their ſpecific Explanation of the General Preliminaries, ſigned by *Meſnager*, the *French* King made his firſt Offers, in the Name and by Vertue of Powers from his Grandſon, as King of *Spain*. *March* 4, 17$\frac{1}{2}$, when the Confederate Miniſters communicated their reſpective Demands, Count *Sinzendorf* inſiſted, that the Reſtitution of the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy ſhould be expreſly mentioned. It appears by a Letter from the *Engliſh* Miniſters of the 6th, that they were the only Miniſters, that did not make any Mention at all of *Spain*; and all that ever they did for obtaining this great Point, was to demand Aſſurances, that the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* ſhould never be united; neither the Method of preventing this, nor the Senſe of *France* and *Spain* upon it, was ever aſked until the End of *March* 1712.

Her Majeſty added in her Meſſage, 'The World will now ſee how ground-'leſs thoſe Reports are, which have been ſpread by Men of evil Intentions, to

ſerve

'ſerve the worſt Deſigns, as if a ſeparate Peace had been treated, for which 'there has not been the leaſt Colour given.'

Her Majeſty was adviſed to ſay this by her Miniſters, to clear them from the juſt Suſpicions which the World had conceived of the ſeparate Meaſures they were engaged in; tho' that they had given moſt juſt Cauſe for theſe Reports, is evident from what has been ſaid. The Miniſtry had inſiſted, that the Secret ſhould be inviolably kept betwixt *England* and *France*, excluſive of the Allies; a ſeparate Negociation had been carried on betwixt them by Papers backward and forward, and much Time ſpent in it, as is ſaid in Lord *Straſford*'s Inſtructions; *Appendix* Numb. 12. Mr. *Prior* had been in *France*, and *Meſnager* in *England*, and no Communication given for five Months together to any of the Allies of theſe Tranſactions, which were depending from *April* 1711, to *September* following. When theſe General Preliminaries were ſigned, which were ſent over as a Foundation for the General Conferences, a Set of ſpecial Preliminaries were ſigned betwixt *England* and *France*, which were *concealed*, *publickly* diſowned, and never appeared 'till this Inquiry; and all theſe Tranſactions had paſſed before the Time that the Queen's Miniſters adviſed her to impoſe ſo groſly upon the Nation, as to declare in Parliament, there had not been the leaſt Colour given for theſe Surmiſes. Her Majeſty here declares, that the Report of a ſeparate Peace's being treated, proceeded from evil Intentions, and to ſerve the worſt Deſigns; yet after this Declaration, her Miniſters propoſed to *France*, agreed with *France*, and ſent repeated Orders to her Plenipotentiaries to conclude a Peace with *France*.

P. 62. The 20th of *June*, 1712. Mr. *St. John* acquaints M. *Torcy*, that the Queen will make no Difficulty to conclude immediately a ſeparate Peace, and leave the Allies a Time to ſubmit to ſuch Conditions, as ſhall be agreed on betwixt her and the King. M. *Torcy* anſwers, *July* 5, 1712, that upon Condition ſhe immediately *makes a ſeparate Peace, and keeps no Meaſures with her Allies*, the King has determined to ſend Orders to permit the *Engliſh* Troops to enter *Dunkirk*. *July* 12, Mr. *St. John* thinks the Queen in a Condition not to loſe a Moment in concluding a General Suſpenſion of Arms by Sea and Land, and a Treaty of Peace betwixt her and *France*. *Auguſt* 4, 1712, M. *Torcy* writes, that the King conſented the Duke of *Savoy* ſhould have *Sicily*, upon certain Conditions, whereof this was one, that a Peace be concluded betwixt *England*, *France*, *Spain* and *Savoy*; and when the Treaty drew to a Concluſion, and moſt of the Allies were ready to ſign, poſitive Orders are ſent to our Plenipo's, *Feb.* 20, $17\frac{1}{3}$, and repeated by Lord *Bolingbroke* the 28th, to conclude and ſign with *France*. He adds, the Duke of *Shrewſbury* had declared, that they had Orders, in caſe the *French* complied, as they have now done, to ſign a Peace without further Delay: That his Grace had alſo declared, that in this Caſe her Majeſty would open the Parliament, by telling them ſhe had made Peace with *France*. Theſe two Conſiderations, ſays his Lordſhip, were perhaps the moſt prevalent Inducements to the *French* Court to come roundly into her Majeſty's Propoſitions.

Lord *Bolingbroke*, in a Letter to Mr. *Prior*, ſays, If ſuch Overtures as theſe were not inſtantly accepted, our ſeparate Peace would, ſitting this Parliament,

be addreſſed for, made, approved, aud the Cauſe of *France* for once become popular in *Great-Britain.*

The 6th of *June*, the Queen ſays to the Parliament, *I am now come to let you know upon what Terms a General Peace may be made.* That ſame Day Lord *Bolingbroke* acquaints M. *Torcy*, that tho' the *French* King had not anſwered the Queen's Demands, according to Expectation, the Queen would go that Day to Parliament, and make all the Declarations neceſſary to render the Nation unanimouſly inclined to the Peace.

The Queen ſaid, *That Difficulties had been increaſed by other Obſtructions artfully contrived to hinder this Great and Good Work*; whereas it is notorious, that the Miniſters had but the Day before received the Account of King *Philip*'s conſenting to the Renunciation, upon which only, the Queen's ſpeaking to the Parliament had been deferred.

The Queen ſaid, *I have not omitted any thing, which might procure to our Allies, what is due to them by Treaties, and neceſſary for their Security.* Lord *Bolingbroke* writes to Mr. *Torcy* the ſame Day, that Lord *Stafford* was returning to *Utrecht* with Inſtructions, which would put our Plenipo's in a Condition to keep no longer thoſe Meaſures to which they have hitherto been obliged to ſubmit; but from henceforth they may openly join with thoſe of *France*, and give Law to them who will not ſubmit to juſt and reaſonable Conditions.

The Queen ſays, *Nothing has moved me from ſteadily purſuing, in the firſt Place, the true Intereſt of my own Kingdoms*; yet Lord *Bolingbroke*, on *May* 24, propoſed to Mr. *Torcy*, that the Queen being much more intent on the General Peace, than any particular Advantages, Commiſſaries ſhould be appointed to ſettle, after the Peace, ſuch Points relating to Trade, as required a longer Diſcuſſion than the preſent Criſis will admit.

P. 63. The *Queen* ſays, *That to prevent the Union of the two Crowns, ſhe would not be content with what was ſpeculative, but inſiſted on ſomething ſolid*; tho' M. *Torcy* had before declared to her Miniſters, that the Expedient they propoſed was a ſandy Foundation.

The Queen ſays, *The Nature of the Propoſal for a Renunciation is ſuch, that it executes itſelf, and that* France *and* Spain *are thereby more effectually divided than ever:* but M. *Torcy* had aſſured our Miniſters, that this Renunciation would be null and void by the fundamental Laws of *France*, and deceive thoſe who accepted it as an Expedient to prevent the Union of the two Crowns.

The Queen ſays, *Proviſion is made that the ſame Privileges and Advantages, as ſhall be granted to any other Nation by* France, *ſhall be granted to us:* yet by Lord *Bolingbroke*'s Letter in *January* following to the Duke of *Shrewſbury*, it appears, that *France* refuſed to let our Trade ſtand upon the Foot of *Gens Amiciſſima*; declared the Tariff of 1664, which was granted to the *Dutch*, except the four Species, *was too beneficial for us*; and refuſed to grant it 'till another Tariff ſhould be made in *Great-Britain*, exactly conformable to that of 1664, whereby our Duties would be reduced, as theirs are in *France*, by that Tariff.

The Queen ſays, *June* 6. *Our Commerce with* France *was in a Method of being ſettled*; yet Mr. *Prior* ſays in *May* following, near a twelvemonth after, 'We had like to have made an *Athanaſian* Buſineſs of it at *Utrecht*, by that 'Ex-

'Explanation, of our own Way of underſtanding our own Commerce. Their 'Letters to you, full of Surmiſes and Doubts that all was unhinged; and their 'Letters to us again, that Explanations, however made, were only to ſave 'Appearances, and ſignified nothing: This *Melange*, I ſay, and my endea- 'vouring to underſtand it, had like to make me run mad, if the Duke of '*Shrewſbury*'s extreme good Senſe, and M. *Torcy*'s not only honeſt, but right 'Underſtanding, had not redreſſed us.'

The Queen ſays, *The* French *conſented to deliver up* Newfoundland *and* Placentia; yet by the Preliminaries, ſigned in *September* before, *Appendix* Numb. 4. *Art.* 8. the *French* had reſerved to themſelves a Liberty of taking and drying Fiſh in *Newfoundland.*

The Queen ſays, *An abſolute Ceſſion was to be made of* Nova Scotia, *or* Acadia; but Cape *Breton*, which was always underſtood to be part of *Nova Scotia*, and is ſo declared in her Inſtructions to the Duke of *Shrewſbury*, is expreſly given up to *France.*

The Queen ſays, *The Trade to* Spain *and the* Weſt-Indies, *may in general be ſettled as in the Time of King* Charles II. *of* Spain; but when the Project of the Treaty of Commerce came from *Madrid*, Lord *Bolingbroke* ſays of it, they had ſent a Blind, Lame, Miſhapen, Indigeſted Monſter, inſtead of that Fair Offſpring which we had reaſon to expect from our Candour.

If the other Parts of the Speech be ſtrictly examined, it will appear that the Miniſters did ſo groſly deceive the Queen, in order to impoſe on the Parliament, that there's ſcarce a Paragraph which does not contain ſome unfair or equivocal Repreſentation of the State of the Treaty: and when the Queen was adviſed to ſpeak thus to the Parliament, it is evident the Miniſters had no Aſſurance that *France* would make good what they prevailed upon her to declare in ſo public a manner. For, *June* 11, the Biſhop of *Briſtol* is directed by Mr. *St. John* to diſcourſe with the Confederate Miniſters according to the Plan in her Majeſty's Speech; but firſt to know of the *French* Plenipotentiaries, if they were willing, and in what manner, to give this Communication to the Allies. The Biſhop anſwers, *June* 28, the *French* Plenipotentiaries declared they had no ſuch Orders, and without them they could not do it.

Pag. 64. And in this Refuſal of owning the Queen's Speech to contain the *French* King's Offers, and in abſolutely denying to treat upon it, the *French* Plenipotentiaries perſevered, even after the *Dutch* had conſented to treat upon that Plan, and to accept the Queen's Speech *pro materia tractandi.*

The RESOLUTIONS, MEMORIAL, and VOUCHERS of their *HIGH-MIGHTINESSES*, ſhewing, That the *States-General* of the *United Provinces* are wrongfully charged (by the Reſolutions or Votes of the Houſe of Commons of the Parliament of *Great-Britain*, and by the * Addreſs of that Houſe, preſented on the Subject to her *Britiſh* Majeſty) with having failed in ſeveral Reſpects during the Courſe of this preſent War, to furniſh what they ought of their Quota or Contingent, according to their Engagements.

Printed by PAUL SCHELTUS, Printer in Ordinary to the High and Mighty Lords, *The States-General* of the *United Provinces*, Anno 1712. *(By Authority.)*

An Extract from the Regiſter of the Reſolution of their High-Mightineſſes the Lords the States General *of the Provinces of the* United Netherlands.

Friday, April 1, 1712.

MESSIEURS *de Brockhuyſen*, and other Deputies of their High-Mightineſſes for Foreign Affairs, (who in Purſuance and Execution of the Commiſſorial Reſolution of the 12th paſt, examined, together with ſome of the Deputies of the Council of State, the Letter of M. *van Borſelle*, Envoy Extraordinary from their High-Mightineſſes to the Court of her Majeſty the Queen

* *The Humble* REPRESENTATION *of the Houſe of Commons to the* QUEEN. *With Her Majeſty's Moſt Gracious Anſwer thereunto.*

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Commons of *Great Britain* in Parliament aſſembled, having nothing ſo much at Heart, as to enable your Majeſty to bring this long and expenſive War to an honourable and happy Concluſion; have taken it into our moſt ſerious Conſideration, how the neceſſary Supplies to be provided by us, may be beſt applied, and how the Common Cauſe may in the moſt effectual Manner be carried on by the united Force of the whole Confederacy. We have thought ourſelves obliged, in Duty to your Majeſty, and in Diſcharge of the Truſt repoſed in us, to enquire into the true State of the War in all its Parts; we have examined what Stipulations have been entered into between your Majeſty and your Allies, and how far ſuch Engagements have on each ſide been made good; we have conſidered the different Intereſt which the Confederates have in the Succeſs of this War, and the different

Queen of *Great-Britain*, writ the 8th of the laſt Month, containing an Account of the Reſolutions taken by the Houſe of Commons of the Parliament of *Great Britain*,

different Shares they have contributed to its Support; we have with our unmoſt Care and Diligence endeavoured to diſcover the Nature, Extent, and Charge of it, to the end that by comparing the Weight thereof with our own Strength, we might adapt the one to the other in ſuch Meaſure, as neither to continue your Majeſty's Subjects under a heavier Burden than in Reaſon and Juſtice they ought to bear, nor deceive your Majeſty, your Allies, and ourſelves, by undertaking more than the Nation in its preſent Circumſtance is able to perform.

Your Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed, upon our humble Applications, to order ſuch Materials to be laid before us, as have furniſhed us with the neceſſary Information upon the Particulars we have enquired into; and when we ſhall have laid before your Majeſty our Obſervations and humble Advice upon this Subject, we promiſe to ourſelves this happy Fruit from it, that if your Majeſty's generous and good Purpoſes for the procuring a ſafe and laſting Peace ſhould, through the Obſtinacy of the Enemy, or by any other Means, be unhappily defeated; a true Knowledge and Underſtanding of the paſt Conduct of the War, will be the beſt Foundation for a more frugal and equal Management of it for the time to come.

In order to take the more perfect View of what we propoſed, and that we might be able to ſet the Whole before your Majeſty in a true Light, we have thought it neceſſary to go back to the Beginning of the War, and beg Leave to obſerve the Motives and Reaſons upon which his late Majeſty King *William* engaged firſt in it. The Treaty of the Grand Alliance explains thoſe Reaſons to be for the ſupporting the Pretenſions of his Imperial Majeſty, then actually engaged in a War with the *French* King, who had uſurped the entire *Spaniſh* Monarchy for his Grandſon the Duke of *Anjou:* And for the aſſiſting the States-General, who by the Loſs of their Barrier againſt *France*, were then in the ſame or a more dangerous Condition, than if they were actually invaded. As theſe were the juſt and neceſſary Motives for undertaking this War, ſo the Ends propoſed to be obtained by it were equally Wiſe and Honourable: For as they are ſet forth in the Eighth Article of the ſame Treaty, they appear to have been, the procuring an equitable and reaſonable Satisfaction to his Imperial Majeſty, and ſufficient Securities for the Dominions, Provinces, Navigation, and Commerce of the King of *Great Britain* and the States-General; the making effectual Proviſion that the two Kingdoms of *France* and *Spain* ſhould never be united under the ſame Government, and particularly, that the *French* ſhould never get into the Poſſeſſion of the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, or be permitted to ſail thither upon the Account of Traffick, under any Pretence whatſoever; and laſtly, the ſecuring to the Subjects of the King of *Great Britain* and the States-General, all the ſame Privileges and Rights of Commerce throughout the whole Dominions of *Spain*, as they enjoyed before the Death of *Charles* the Second King of *Spain*, by Virtue of any Treaty, Agreement, Cuſtom, or any other Way whatſoever: For the obtaining theſe Ends, the three confederated Powers engaged to aſſiſt one another with their whole Force, according to ſuch Propoſitions as ſhould be ſpecified in a particular Convention afterwards to be made for that Purpoſe: We do not find that any ſuch Convention was ever ratified, but it appears, that there was an Agreement concluded, which by common Conſent was underſtood to be binding upon each Party reſpectively, and according to which the Propoſitions of *Great Britain* were from the Beginning regulated and founded: The Terms of that Agreement were, That for the Service at Land, his Imperial Majeſty ſhould furniſh Ninety Thouſand Men, the King of *Great Britain* Forty Thouſand, and the States-General One Hundred and Two Thouſand, of which there were Forty Two Thouſand intended to ſupply their Garriſons, and Sixty Thouſand to act againſt the Common Enemy in the Field; and with regard to the Operations of the War at Sea, they were agreed to be

tain, for continuing in the *Netherlands* this Year 1712. 1. The 40000 Men ſent thither by her Majeſty at the Beginning of the War. 2. The 10000 Troops

performed jointly by *Great Britain* and the States-General; the Quota of Ships to be furniſhed for that Service, being five Eighths on the Part of *Great Britain*, and three Eighths on the Part of the States-General.

Upon this Foot the War began in the Year 1702, at which time the whole yearly Expence of it to *England*, amounted to Three Millions, Seven Hundred and Six Thouſand Four Hundred Ninety Four Pounds; a very great Charge, as it was then thought by your Majeſty's Subjects, after the ſhort Interval of Eaſe they had enjoyed from the Burden of the former War; but yet a very moderate Proportion, in Compariſon with the Load which hath ſince been laid upon them; for it appears, by Eſtimates given in to your Commons, that the Sums neceſſary to carry on the Service for this preſent Year, in the ſame manner as it was performed the laſt Year, amount to more than Six Millions, Nine Hundred and Sixty Thouſand Pounds, beſides Intereſt for the Publick Debt, and the Deficiencies accruing the laſt Year; which two Articles require One Million, One Hundred and Forty Three Thouſand Pounds more: So that the whole Demands upon your Commons, are ariſen to more than Eight Millions for the preſent annual Supply. We know your Majeſty's tender Regard for the Welfare of your People will make it uneaſy to you to hear of ſo great a Preſſure as this upon them; and as we are aſſured it will fully convince your Majeſty of the Neceſſity of our preſent Enquiry, ſo we beg Leave to repreſent to you from what Cauſes, and by what Steps, this immenſe Charge appears to have grown upon us.

The Service at Sea as it hath been very large and extenſive in itſelf, ſo it hath been carried on through the whole Courſe of the War, in a Manner highly diſadvantageous to your Majeſty and your Kingdom; for the Neceſſity of Affairs requiring, that great Fleets ſhould be fitted out every Year, as well for maintaining a Superiority in the *Mediterranean*, as for oppoſing any Force which the Enemy might prepare, either at *Dunkirk* or in the Ports of *Weſt France*, your Majeſty's Example and Readineſs in fitting out your Proportion of Ships for all Parts of that Service, have been ſo far from prevailing with the States-General to keep pace with you, that they have been deficient every Year to a great Degree, in Proportion to what your Majeſty hath furniſhed, ſometimes no leſs than two Thirds, and generally more than Half of their Quota. From hence your Majeſty has been obliged, for the preventing Diſappointments in the moſt preſſing Services, to ſupply thoſe Deficiencies by additional Reinforcements of your own Ships; nor hath the ſingle Increaſe of ſuch a Charge been the only ill Conſequence that attended it; for by this Means, the Debt of the Navy hath been inhanced, ſo that the Diſcounts ariſing upon the Credit of it, have affected all other Parts of the Service; from the ſame Cauſe, your Majeſty's Ships of War have been forced in great Numbers to continue in remote Seas, and at unſeaſonable Times of the Year, to the great Damage and Decay of the *Britiſh* Navy: This alſo hath been ſtreightned in your Convoys for Trade, your Coaſts have been expoſed for want of a ſufficient Number of Cruizers to guard them, and you have been diſabled from annoying the Enemy in their moſt beneficial Commerce with the *Weſt Indies*, from whence they have received thoſe vaſt Supplies of Treaſure, without which they could not have ſupported the Expences of this War.

That Part of the War which hath been carried on in *Flanders*, was at firſt immediately neceſſary to the Security of the States-General, and hath ſince brought them great Acquiſitions both of Revenue and Dominion: Yet, even there, the original Proportions have been departed from, and, during the Courſe of the War, have been ſinking by Degrees on the Part of *Holland*; ſo that, in this laſt Year, we find the Number in which they fell ſhort of their Three Fifths to your Majeſty's Two Fifths, to have been Twenty Thouſand, Eight Hundred and Thirty Seven Men: We are not unmindful, That in the Year 1703, a Treaty was made between the Two Nations, for a joint Augmentation

Troops of Augmentation, which were agreed upon in 1703, and the 15178 Men which have been engaged in her Majesty's Service, since the Year 1703, but the

tation of Twenty Thousand Men, wherein the Proportions were varied, and *England* consented to take Half upon itself: But it having been annexed, as an express Condition to the Grant of the said Augmentation in Parliament, That the States-General should prohibit all Trade and Commerce with *France*; and that Condition having not been performed by them, the Commons think it reasonable, that the first Rule of Three to Two ought to have taken Place again, as well in that as in other subsequent Augmentations; more especially when they consider, that the Revenues of those rich Provinces which have been conquered, would, if they were duly applied, maintain a great Number of new additional Forces against the Common Enemy, notwithstanding which, the States-General have raised none upon that Account, but make Use of those fresh Supplies of Money, only to ease themselves in the Charge of their first established Quota.

As in the Progress of the War in *Flanders*, a Disproportion was soon created, to the Prejudice of *England*, so the very Beginning of the War in *Portugal*, brought an unequal Share of Burden upon us. For, altho' the Emperor and the States-General were equally Parties with your Majesty in the Treaty with the King of *Portugal*, yet the Emperor neither furnishing his Third Part of the Troops and Subsidies stipulated for, nor the *Dutch* consenting to take an equal Share of his Imperial Majesty's Defect upon themselves, your Majesty hath been obliged to furnish Two Thirds of the entire Expence created by that Service: Nor has the Inequality stopped there; for ever since the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Six, when the *English* and *Dutch* Forces marched out of *Portugal* into *Castile*, the States-General have entirely abandoned the War in *Portugal*, and left your Majesty to prosecute it singly at your own Charge, which you have accordingly done, by replacing a greater Number of Troops there, than even at first you took upon you to provide. At the same time, your Majesty's generous Endeavours for the Support and Defence of the King of *Portugal*, have been but ill seconded by that Prince himself: for notwithstanding that by his Treaty he had obliged himself to furnish Twelve Thousand Foot, and Three Thousand Horse, upon his own Account, besides Eleven Thousand Foot, and Two Thousand Horse more, in Consideration of a Subsidy paid to him; yet, according to the best Information your Commons can procure, it appears, That he hath scarce at any time furnished Thirteen Thousand Men in the whole.

In *Spain* the War hath been yet more unequal and burdensome to your Majesty, than in any other Branch of it; for being commenced without any Treaty whatsoever, the Allies have almost wholly declined taking any Part of it upon themselves. A small Body of *English* and *Dutch* Troops were sent thither, in the Year 1705, not as being thought sufficient to support a Regular War, or to make the Conquest of so large a Country, but with a View only of assisting the *Spaniards* to set King *Charles* upon the Throne, occasioned by the great Assurances which were given of their Inclination to the House of *Austria*: But this Expectation failing, *England* was insensibly drawn into an established War, under all the Disadvantages of the Distance of the Place, and the feeble Efforts of the other Allies. The Account we have to lay before your Majesty, upon this Head, is, That altho' this Undertaking was entered upon at the particular and earnest Request of the Imperial Court, and for a Cause of no less Importance and Concern to them, than the reducing the *Spanish* Monarchy to the House of *Austria*; yet neither the late Emperors, nor his present Imperial Majesty, have ever had any Forces there on their own Account, till the last Year, and then only one Regiment of Foot, consisting of Two Thousand Men: Tho' the States-General have contributed something more to this Service, yet their Share also hath been inconsiderable; for in the Space of Four Years, from 1705, to 1707, both inclusive, all the Forces they have sent into that Country, have not exceeded Twelve Thou-

the latter on Condition that the *State* ſhould on her Part maintain as many Troops in Proportion as Three to Two) have reported to the Aſſembly:

That

ſand Two Hundred Men; and from the Year 1708, to this Time, they have not ſent any Forces or Recruits whatſoever. To your Majeſty's Care and Charge, the Recovery of that Kingdom hath been in a Manner wholly left, as if none elſe were intereſted or concerned in it: And the Forces which your Majeſty hath ſent into *Spain*, in the Space of Seven Years, from One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Five, to One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Eleven, both incluſive, have amounted to no leſs than Fifty Seven Thouſand Nine Hundred Seventy Three Men, beſides Thirteen Battalions and Eighteen Squadrons, for which your Majeſty hath paid a Subſidy to the Emperor. How great the eſtabliſhed Expence of ſuch a Number of Men hath been, your Majeſty very well knows, and your Commons very ſenſibly feel: But the Weight will be found much greater, when it is conſidered how many heavy Articles of unuſual and extraordinary Charge have attended this remote and difficult Service; all which have been entirely defrayed by your Majeſty, except that one of Tranſporting the few Forces which were ſent by the States-General, and the Victualling of them, during their Tranſportation only. The Accounts delieved to your Commons ſhew, That the Charge of your Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels, employed in the Service of the War in *Spain* and *Portugal*, reckoned after the Rate of Four Pounds a Man *per* Month, from the Time they ſailed from hence, till they returned, were loſt, or put upon other Services, hath amounted to Six Millions, Five Hundred and Forty Thouſand, Nine Hundred and Sixty Six Pounds, Fourteen Shillings. The Charge of Tranſports, on the Part of *Great Britain*, for carrying on the War in *Spain* and *Portugal*, from the Beginning of it till this Time, hath amounted to One Million, Three Hundred Thirty Six Thouſand, Seven Hundred and Nineteen Pounds, Nineteen Shillings, and Eleven Pence. That of Victualling Land Forces for the ſame Service, to Five Hundred Eighty Three Thouſand, Seven Hundred and Seventy Pounds, Eight Shillings, and Six Pence; and that of Contingencies, and other Extraordinaries for the ſame Service, to One Million, Eight Hundred and Forty Thouſand, Three Hundred Fifty Three Pounds.

We ſhould take Notice to your Majeſty, of ſeveral Sums paid upon Account of Contingencies and Extraordinaries in *Flanders*, making together the Sum of One Million, One Hundred and Seven Thouſand, Ninety Six Pounds: But we are not able to make any Compariſon of them, with what the States-General have expended upon the ſame Head, having no ſuch State of their extraordinary Charge before us. There remains, therefore, but one Particular more for your Majeſty's Obſervation, which ariſes from the Subſidies paid to Foreign Princes: Theſe, at the Beginning of the War, were borne in equal Proportion by your Majeſty and the States-General; but in this Inſtance alſo the Balance hath been caſt in Prejudice of your Majeſty: For it appears, That your Majeſty hath ſince advanced more than your equal Proportion, Three Millions, One Hundred and Fifty Five Thouſand Crowns, beſides Extraordinaries paid in *Italy*, and not included in any of the foregoing Articles, which ariſe to Five Hundred Thirty Nine Thouſand, Five Hundred Fifty Three Pounds.

We have laid theſe ſeveral Particulars before your Majeſty, in the ſhorteſt Manner we have been able; and by an Eſtimate grounded on the preceding Facts, it does appear, That over and above the Quota's on the Part of *Great Britain*, anſwering to thoſe contributed by your Allies, more than Nineteen Millions have been expended by your Majeſty during the Courſe of this War, by way of Surpluſage or Exceeding, in Balance of which, none of the Confederates have furniſhed any thing whatſoever.

It is with very great Concern, that we find ſo much Occaſion given us to repreſent, how ill an Uſe hath been made of your Majeſty's and your Subjects Zeal for the Common Cauſe, that the Intereſt of that Cauſe hath not been proportionably promoted by

it,

That while they were examining the abovementioned Letter, they were informed, that the Earl of *Strafford*, Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary

it, but others only have been eaſed at your Majeſty's and your Subjects Coſt, and have been connived at in laying their Part of the Burden upon this Kingdom, although they have upon all Accounts been equally, and, in moſt reſpects, much more nearly concerned, than *Britain*, in the Iſſue of the War. We are perſuaded your Majeſty will think it pardonable in us, with ſome Reſentment to complain of the little Regard which ſome of thoſe, whom your Majeſty of late Years entruſted, have ſhewn to the Intereſt of their Country, in giving way, at leaſt, to ſuch unreaſonable Impoſitions upon it, if not in ſome Meaſure contriving them: The Courſe of which Impoſitions hath been ſo ſingular and extraordinary, that the more the Wealth of this Nation hath been exhauſted, and the more your Majeſty's Arms have been attended with Succeſs, the heavier hath been the Burden laid upon us; whilſt on the other hand, the more vigorous your Majeſty's Efforts have been, and the greater the Advantages which have redounded thence to your Allies, the more thoſe Allies have abated in their Share of the Expence.

At the firſt Entrance into this War, the Commons were induced to exert themſelves in the extraordinary Manner they did, and to grant ſuch large Supplies, as had been unknown to former Ages, in hopes thereby to prevent the Miſchiefs of a Lingring War, and to bring that, in which they were neceſſarily engaged, to a ſpeedy Concluſion: But they have been very unhappy in the Event, whilſt they have ſo much Reaſon to ſuſpect, That what was intended to ſhorten the War, hath proved the very Cauſe of its long Continuance; for thoſe to whom the Profits of it have accrued, have not been diſpoſed eaſily to forego them: And your Majeſty from thence diſcern the true Reaſon, why ſo many have delighted in a War, which brought in ſo rich an Harveſt yearly from *Great Britain*.

We are as far from deſiring, as we know your Majeſty will be from concluding, any Peace, but upon ſafe and honourable Terms; and we are far from intending to excuſe ourſelves from raiſing all neceſſary and poſſible Supplies for an effectual Proſecution of the War, till ſuch a Peace can be obtained. All that your faithful Commons aim at, all that they wiſh, is an equal Concurrence from the other Powers engaged in Alliance with your Majeſty, and a juſt Application of what hath been already gained from the Enemy towards promoting the Common-Cauſe. Several large Countries and Territories have been reſtored to the Houſe of *Auſtria*; ſuch as the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Dutchy of *Milan*, and other Places in *Italy*: Others have been conquered, and added to their Dominions, as the Two Electorates of *Bavaria* and *Cologn*, the Dutchy of *Mantua*, and the Biſhoprick of *Leige*; Theſe having been reduced in great Meaſure by our Blood and Treaſure, may, we humbly conceive, with great Reaſon, be claimed to come in Aid towards carrying on the War in *Spain*; And therefore we make it our earneſt Requeſt to your Majeſty, That you will give Inſtructions to your Miniſters to inſiſt with the Emperor, that the Revenues of thoſe ſeveral Places, excepting only ſuch a Portion thereof as is neceſſary for their Defence, be actually ſo applied. And as to the other Parts of the War, to which your Majeſty hath obliged yourſelf by particular Treaties to contribute, we humbly beſeech your Majeſty, That you will be pleaſed to take effectual Care that your Allies do perform their Parts ſtipulated by thoſe Treaties; And that your Majeſty will, for the future, no otherwiſe furniſh Troops, or pay Subſidies, than in Proportion to what your Allies ſhall actually furniſh and pay. When this Juſtice is done to your Majeſty, and to your People, there is nothing which your Commons will not chearfully grant, towards ſupporting your Majeſty in the Cauſe in which you are engaged. And whatever farther ſhall appear to be neceſſary for carrying on the War, either at Sea or Land, we will effectually enable your Majeſty to bear your reaſonable Share of any ſuch Expence, and will ſpare no Supplies which your

Subject's

tiary of her ſaid Majeſty, had the Day before his going to *Utrecht*, which was *Monday* laſt, inſinuated to ſome Perſons, that he had received Orders by Mr. *St.*

Subjects are able, with their utmoſt Efforts, to afford.

After having enquired into, and conſidered the State of the War, in which the Part your Majeſty has borne appears to have been not only ſuperior to that of any one Ally, but even equal to that of the whole Confederacy; your Commons naturally inclined to hope, that they ſhould find Care had been taken of ſecuring ſome particular Advantages to *Britain*, in the Terms of a future Peace; ſuch as might afford a Proſpect of making the Nation amends in time for that immenſe Treaſure which hath been expended, and thoſe heavy Debts which have been contracted in the Courſe of ſo long and burdenſome a War. This reaſonable Expectation could no way have been better anſwered, than by ſome Proviſion made for the farther Security, and the greater Improvement, of the Commerce of *Great Britain:* But we find ourſelves ſo very far diſappointed in theſe Hopes, that in a Treaty not long ſince concluded between your Majeſty and the States-General, under Colour of a mutual Guaranty given for two Points of the greateſt Importance to both Nations, the Succeſſion and the Barrier, it appears, the Intereſt of *Great Britain* hath been not only neglected, but ſacrificed; and that ſeveral Articles in the ſaid Treaty are deſtructive to the Trade and Welfare of this Kingdom, and therefore highly diſhonourable to your Majeſty.

Your Commons obſerve, in the firſt place, That ſeveral Towns and Places are, by Virtue of this Treaty, to be put into the Hands of the States-General; particularly *Newport*, *Dendermond*, and the Caſtle of *Ghent*; which can, in no Senſe, be looked upon as Part of a Barrier againſt *France*; but being the Keys of the *Netherlands* towards *Britain*, muſt make the Trade of your Majeſty's Subjects in thoſe Parts precarious; and whenever the States think fit, totally exclude them from it. The pretended Neceſſity of putting theſe Places into the Hands of the States-General, in order to ſecure to them a Communication with the Barrier, muſt appear vain and groundleſs: For the Sovereignty of the *Low-Countries* being not to remain to an Enemy, but to a Friend and an Ally, that Communication muſt be always ſecure, and uninterrupted: Beſides that, in Caſe of a Rupture, or an Attack, the States have full Liberty allowed them to take Poſſeſſion of all the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and therefore needed no particular Stipulation for the Troops abovementioned.

Having taken Notice of this Conceſſion made to the States-General for ſeizing upon the whole Ten Provinces, we cannot but obſerve to your Majeſty, That in the Manner this Article is framed, it is another dangerous Circumſtance which attends this Treaty: For had ſuch a Proviſion been confined to the Caſe of an apparent Attack from *France* only, the avowed Deſign of this Treaty had been fulfilled, and your Majeſty's Inſtructions to your Ambaſſador had been purſued: But this neceſſary Reſtriction hath been omitted; and the ſame Liberty is granted to the States to take Poſſeſſion of all the *Netherlands*, whenever they ſhall think themſelves attacked by any other neighbouring Nation, as when they ſhall be in Danger from *France*; ſo that, if it ſhould at any time happen (which your Commons are very unwilling to ſuppoſe) that they ſhould quarrel even with your Majeſty; the Riches, Strength, and advantageous Situation of theſe Countries may be made uſe of againſt yourſelf, without whoſe generous and powerful Aſſiſtance they had never been conquered.

To return to thoſe ill Conſequences which relate to the Trade of your Kingdoms, we beg Leave to obſerve to your Majeſty, That though this Treaty revives and renders your Majeſty a Party to the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Articles of the Treaty of *Munſter*, by Virtue of which, the Impoſitions upon all Goods and Merchandizes brought into the *Spaniſh Low-Countries* by the Sea are to equal thoſe laid on Goods and Merchandizes imported by the *Scheld*, and the Canals of *Saſs* and *Swyn*, and other Mouths of the

St. John, Secretary of State, to declare to their High-Mightineſſes, that they muſt make good their Quota of three Fifths, in Proportion to the above-mentioned

the Sea adjoining; yet no Care is taken to preſerve that Equality upon the Exportation of thoſe Goods out of the *Spaniſh* Provinces, into thoſe Countries and Places, which by Virtue of this Treaty are to be in the Poſſeſſion of the States. The Conſequence of which muſt in time be, and your Commons are informed that in ſome Inſtances it has already proved to be the Caſe, that the Impoſitions upon Goods carried into thoſe Countries and Places by the Subjects of the States-General, will be taken off, whilſt thoſe upon the Goods imported by your Majeſty's Subjects remain; by which Means *Great Britain* will entirely loſe this moſt beneficial Branch of Trade, which it hath been in all Ages poſſeſſed of, even from the Time when thoſe Countries were governed by the Houſe of *Burgundy*, one of the moſt ancient, as well as the moſt uſeful, Allies to the Crown of *England*.

With regard to the other Dominions and Territories of *Spain*, your Majeſty's Subjects have always been diſtinguiſhed in their Commerce with them, and both by ancient Treaties, and an uninterrupted Cuſtom, have enjoyed greater Privileges and Immunities of Trade, than either the *Hollanders*, or any other Nation whatſoever. And that wiſe and excellent Treaty of the Grand Alliance provides effectually for the Security and Continuance of theſe valuable Privileges to *Britain*, in ſuch a manner, as that each Nation might be left at the End of the War upon the ſame Foot as it ſtood at the Commencement of it. But this Treaty we now complain of, inſtead of confirming your Subjects Rights, ſurrenders and deſtroys them: For, although by the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Articles of the Treaty of *Munſter*, made between his Catholick Majeſty and the States-General, all Advantages of Trade are ſtipulated for, and granted to the *Hollanders*, equal to what the *Engliſh* enjoyed; yet, the Crown of *England* not being a Party to that Treaty, the Subjects of *England* have never ſubmitted to thoſe Articles of it, nor even the *Spaniards* themſelves ever obſerved them: But this Treaty revives thoſe Articles in Prejudice of *Great Britain*, and makes your Majeſty a Party to them, and even a Guarantee to the States-General for Privileges againſt your own People.

In how deliberate and extraordinary a Manner your Majeſty's Ambaſſador conſented to deprive your Subjects of their ancient Rights, and your Majeſty of the Power of procuring to them any new Advantage, moſt evidently appears from his own Letters, which, by your Majeſty's Directions, have been laid before your Commons: For when Matters of Advantage to your Majeſty and to your Kingdom had been offered, as proper to be made Parts of this Treaty, they were refuſed to be admitted by the States-General, upon this Reaſon and Principle, That nothing Foreign to the Guaranties of the Succeſſion, and of the Barrier, ſhould be mingled with them; notwithſtanding which, the States-General had no ſooner received Notice of a Treaty of Commerce concluded between your Majeſty and the preſent Emperor, but they departed from the Rule propoſed before, and inſiſted upon the Article of which your Commons now complain, which Article your Majeſty's Ambaſſador allowed of, altho' equally foreign to the Succeſſion, or the Barrier; and altho' he had for that Reaſon departed from other Articles which would have been for the Service of his own Country.

We have forborne to trouble your Majeſty with general Obſervations upon this Treaty, as it relates to, and affects the Empire, and other Parts of *Europe*. The Miſchiefs which ariſe from it to *Great Britain* are what only we have preſumed humbly to preſent to you. As they are very evident, and very great; and as it appears that the Lord Viſcount *Townſhend* had not any Orders or Authority for concluding ſeveral of thoſe Articles, which are moſt prejudicial to your Majeſty's Subjects, we have thought we could do no leſs, than declare your ſaid Ambaſſador, who negotiated and ſigned, and all others who adviſed the ratifying of this Treaty, Enemies to your Majeſty and our Kingdom.

tioned 15178 Men; otherwiſe her Majeſty would caſhier as many as was neceſſary to make juſt two Fifths to anſwer three Fifths, in Proportion to the Number of Troops which the *State* furniſhes in the *Netherlands* to anſwer the ſaid 15178 Men, which Inſinuation was founded on this Suppoſition, That at the Beginning of the War the *States* had conſented to furniſh in the *Netherlands* 102,000 Men, *viz.* 42,000 for Garriſons, and 60,000 for the Field; and that *Great Britain* on her Part was not obliged to furniſh more than 40,000 Men in the *Netherlands*. Since which the Troops were augmented in 1703 by 20,000 Men, that were to be paid, half by *Great Britain*, and half by the *States*. But as to the 15,178 Men furniſhed by her Majeſty of *Great Britain* ſince 1703, the firſt Proportion of 60,000 Men to 40,000, or of three Fifths to two Fifths was to be obſerved.

That on this Occaſion, they the ſaid Deputies had alſo examined the Votes or Reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons of the Parliament of *Great Britain* of the 16th of *February* this Year, *N. S.* by which they charge this *State* with not having ſatisfied its Engagements in diverſe Reſpects, as to the Troops which they were obliged to furniſh according to their Quota for the War. And, that they had examined the Addreſs preſented to her Majeſty on this Head; which Addreſs, as well as the ſaid Votes, have been Printed and Publiſhed every where.

That to demonſtrate how little Ground there is either for the ſaid Suppoſition, or for the Deficiency which the ſaid Reſolutions and Addreſs charge upon the *State*, they have drawn up a Memorial, which they have at the ſame time laid before the Aſſembly, as it is here inſerted at the end of theſe Preſents.

Upon which the *States* having deliberated, it was judged fit, and reſolved that they would ſend to the Sieur *de Borſelle*, Envoy Extraordinary of their High Mightineſſes to the Court of her Majeſty the Queen of *Great Britain*, a Copy of the ſaid Memorial, and of the Pieces hereunto joined; and that he ſhall be ordered to repreſent both *viva voce*, and by Writing, to her ſaid Majeſty, and otherwiſe where it might be uſeful, that the Inſinuation of the ſaid Earl of *Strafford*, importing that the *States* muſt furniſh what is wanting of their three Fifths to anſwer the ſaid 15,178 Men, or otherwiſe her Majeſty would leſſen the Number of hers to the Proportion of two Fifths to thoſe of this *State*, has very much troubled them; and that likewiſe in their Judgment it is not well founded, ſince on the one hand it cannot be reaſonably demanded of the *State*, which

Upon theſe faithful Informations and Advices from your Commons, we aſſure ourſelves, your Majeſty, in your great Goodneſs to your People, will reſcue them from thoſe Evils, which the private Counſels of ill-deſigning Men have expoſed them to; and that in your great Wiſdom you will find ſome Means for the explaining and amending the ſeveral Articles of this Treaty, ſo as that they may conſiſt with the Intereſt of *Great Britain*, and with a real and laſting Friendſhip between your Majeſty and the States-General.

Her Majeſty's Moſt Gracious Anſwer.

THIS Repreſentation is a farther Inſtance of that Dutiful Affection to my Service, and Concern for the Publick Intereſt, which this Houſe of Commons has always ſhewn.

You may be aſſured, that I will give ſuch Orders, as ſhall effectually anſwer what you deſire of me in every Particular.

which already bears ſo much Burden, that they ſhould augment their Troops; and that on the other hand, the Good of the Common Cauſe will not permit that her Majeſty ſhould leſſen hers in the preſent Conjuncture.

That the Suppoſition abovementioned, upon which this Inſinuation is founded, cannot be admitted by their High Mightineſſes; and even though it were, all the Difference would then be no more than that the *State* had 4,303 Men too few, or that her Majeſty had too many in the *Netherlands*. As to this, it would certainly be juſt to conſider, and to account for, the Augmentation of the Troops which this *State* made at the Beginning of this War, before *Great Britain* made any conſiderable Augmentation on her Part, as well as thoſe which the State has maintained over and above the 102000 Men, as is ſhewn by the above-mentioned Memorial. That for theſe Reaſons the Sieur *van Borſelle* ſhall requeſt her Majeſty not to demand of the State to augment their Troops, nor yet to diminiſh the Number of her own.

That further, the ſaid Sieur *van Borſelle* ſhall repreſent on this Occaſion to her Majeſty, that their High Mightineſſes are very much grieved, to find that by the ſaid Votes and Addreſs, publickly printed and diſperſed through the World, they are condemned without being heard, as if they had not fulfilled their Engagements, nor contributed as much as they ought, in proportion to her Majeſty, towards the Charge of the War.

That their High Mightineſſes, to clear themſelves of this Charge, and to inform her Majeſty of the Reaſons which perſuade them that they are wrongfully charged, have ordered him to preſent the ſaid Memorial to her Majeſty, and to add, that if her Majeſty (as they hope ſhe will) would make an equitable and favourable Reflection upon the Efforts which this *State* has made and continues to make in this preſent War, after having already gone through two others extremely burdenſome; and if ſhe would duly conſider that they begun this with 110,000 Men, ſo great an Effort, as they never made the like before; that further from time to time they have conſiderably augmented the Number of their Troops; to which muſt be added the Conſideration of the Subſidies which they annually pay, and the naval Equipments they make, their High Mightineſſes aſſure themſelves, that not only her Majeſty, according to her well known Equity, but alſo the whole World muſt neceſſarily be convinced, that the State in this preſent War has done as much and more than could have been expected in Reaſon and Juſtice of a good and faithful Ally, and that nothing but an Exceſs of Love for their Liberty and for their Religion, and an ardent Zeal to aſſiſt in warding off that Slavery with which all *Europe* is threatened, could have induced them to make ſuch great Efforts, and to continue them ſo long. That they return Thanks to God, who by his Goodneſs has ſo bleſſed the Efforts they have made in Conjunction with her Majeſty and their other Allies, that by comparing the preſent State of Affairs with what they were at the Beginning of the War, we may find a very happy Change; ſo that to lay a juſt Foundation of Hope, that by a good Peace, we may obtain the End deſired, there ſeems nothing to be wanting but the Preſervation among the Allies of that ſame Firmneſs, Union and Vigour, with which the War was begun, and has been hitherto continued.

That their High Mightineſſes have always conſidered a Union and good Harmony betwixt her Majeſty and this *State*, and betwixt their Subjects on both Sides, as the ſtrongeſt Support to the Common Cauſe, that they are ſtill of the ſame Opinion, and believe this Union to be more neceſſary now than ever. That they have always carefully endeavoured, and will endeavour for time to come, to preſerve her Majeſty's Affection and Friendſhip, and to cultivate and increaſe the ſaid Union and good Underſtanding betwixt the Two Nations; That there is nothing more grievous to them, than to be obliged to juſtify themſelves againſt Cenſures ſo little deſerved, conſidering that hereby the Enemy, to whom a Union betwixt her Majeſty and the *State* muſt be formidable, may conceive hopes of a Coldneſs and Diviſion betwixt Allies ſo ſtrictly united, which cannot fail of being prejudicial to both.

That therefore their High Mightineſſes wiſh this Stone of Stumbling had never been laid in the Way, and that it may be removed as ſoon as poſſible. That they hope chiefly from her Majeſty's great Equity, and from her well known Zeal for the Common Cauſe, that ſhe will not tack the Continuation of the Service of her Troops in the *Netherlands*, and particularly of the ſaid 15,178 Men, to the Augmentation of thoſe of this *State*.

That their High Mightineſſes, on their ſide, will always contribute as much as lies in their Power or depends upon them, not only to advance as formerly the Welfare of the Common Cauſe, but alſo to concert with all poſſible Confidence in her Majeſty the neceſſary Meaſures for that End, and to ſatisfy her Majeſty by the real Effects, that they deſire and infinitely eſteem her Affection and Friendſhip, of which the Sieur *Van Borſelle* ſhall give her Majeſty the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances.

There ſhall alſo be delivered a Copy of the preſent Reſolution of their High Mightineſſes, and one of the aboveſaid Memorials to the Earl of *Strafford*, Ambaſſador Extraordinary, *&c.* of her Majeſty, and his Lordſhip ſhall be deſired to ſecond the Intentions of their High Mightineſſes by his good Offices.

Marked,

H. van Iſſelmunde ut.

And a little lower,

This agrees with the ſaid Regiſter,

Signed,

J. Fagel.

The

The following Memorial was presented to the Queen on *Thursday April* the 3*d.* 1712, by the Sieur *de Borselle*, Envoy Extraordinary from the *States* to her Majesty.

A Memorial, shewing, That the States General *of the* United Provinces *are wrongfully charged (by the Resolutions or Votes of the House of Commons of the Parliament of* Great Britain, *and by the Address of that House presented in this Subject to her Majesty) with having failed in several Respects, during the Course of this present War, to furnish what they ought of their Quota or Contingent, according to their Engagements.*

THE Resolutions, or Votes abovementioned, are dated *Tuesday* the 5-16*th* of *February* 1711-12, and conceived in these Terms.

Resolved, That the *States General* have been deficient in their Quota's for Sea-Service, in Proportion to the Number of Ships provided by her Majesty, some Years two Thirds, and generally more than half of their Quota.

Resolved, That the Forces supplied and paid by her Majesty, for the carrying on the War in *Spain*, from the Year 1705, to the Year 1711 inclusive, amounted to Fifty Seven Thousand, Nine Hundred, Seventy-three Men, besides Thirteen Battalions and Eighteen Squadrons, for which her Majesty has paid a Subsidy to the Emperor.

Resolved, That the Forces supplied by the *States General* for the Service in *Spain*, from the Year 1705, to the Year 1708, both inclusive, have amounted to no more than Twelve Thousand, Two Hundred Men, and that from the Year 1708, to this present Time, they have sent thither no Forces at all.

Resolved, That her Majesty has not only furnished her Proportion of Twelve Thousand Men, according to the Treaty entered into for the Service of the War in *Portugal*, but has taken upon her the Emperor's Proportion, by furnishing two Thirds, when the *States General* only furnished one Third for that Service.

Resolved, That since the Year 1706, when the *English* and *Dutch* marched into *Castile*, and returned no more into *Portugal*, her Majesty has re-placed more than her Share, according to her Proportion, and the *States General* have not had any Troops in *Portugal*.

Resolved, That the first Proportion of three Fifths, or two Fifths, agreed upon between his late Majesty King *William* and the *States General*, for the Service of the War in *Flanders*, has not been observed by the *States General*.

Resolved, That the *States General*, during the Course of the War, have furnished less than their Proportion in *Flanders*, Twenty Thousand, Eight Hundred, Thirty-seven Men.

Resolved, That the Condition for prohibiting all Trade and Correspondence between *Holland* and *France*, on which the Troops of Augmentation were granted in 1703, and afterwards continued, has not been observed by the *States General*.

Resolved, That at the Beginning of this War, the Subsidies were paid in equal Proportions by her Majesty and the *States Generol*, but her Majesty has since

ſince paid more than her Proportion, Three Millions, One Hundred Fifty Thouſand Crowns.

Theſe Reſolutions, or Votes of the Houſe of Commons, are thus drawn up in Form of Deciſions, as a Charge againſt the *States General*, who have the Honour to live with her Majeſty of *Great Britain* in a full and perfect Amity, and to be engaged with her in the greateſt Alliances. Beſides, this is done at a Time when an Union and Harmony betwixt *Great Britain* and the *States* of the United Provinces is more neceſſary than ever, to obtain a ſafe and honourable Peace. They are alſo followed by an Addreſs that was preſented to her Majeſty, which having been Printed and Publiſhed, as well as their Votes or Reſolutions, muſt without doubt very much ſurprize thoſe who have but the leaſt Knowledge of the great and extraordinary Efforts which the *States* have made in this War, for the Support and Advancement of the Common Cauſe, and conſider of what Conſequence thoſe Efforts have been to the ſaid Cauſe.

But though it be impoſſible that the ſaid Reſolutions and Addreſs ſhould fail of making a diſadvantageous Impreſſion of the *State* upon thoſe who have not an exact Knowledge of Affairs, yet they muſt loſe very much of their Force, when it is conſidered that the Reſolutions and Addreſs were formed, and the *States General* ſo poſitively condemned by them, without having any Opportunity directly or indirectly to make known what they had to ſay on this Subject, or the leaſt Knowledge of the Eſtimates, or Liſts upon which thoſe Votes were founded; in ſhort, without having any way left them to remove, by Explanations and neceſſary Informations, the Prejudices that the Houſe ſeems to have entertained againſt their Conduct; which Certainty is not conſiſtent with the Rules of Equity and Friendſhip.

But as we have received, ſince thoſe Reſolutions were formed, a Copy from private Hands, of the Eſtimates laid before the Houſe, which probably gave occaſion to the ſaid *Reſolves*, and being thereby in ſome Meaſure informed of the Grounds on which they were founded, we are in a Condition to make ſome Remarks upon them, which we believe will be ſufficient to take off all the bad Impreſſions, which may have been given of the Conduct of the *States General*, and to juſtify them entirely as to the Charge againſt them in the above-mentioned Votes and Addreſs thereupon preſented to the Queen. Our Remarks may be conveniently divided into four Heads, according to the Eſtimates or Liſts laid before the Commons, and according to the Order obſerved in their Addreſs, wherein they advance that the *States* has not anſwered their Quota of the Charge of the War in Proportion to what has been done by her *Britiſh* Majeſty, *viz.*

I. In the Charge of the Sea-Service.
II. In the Number of Troops in *Flanders*.
III. For the Service of *Spain* and *Portugal*.
IV. In the Subſidies.

Before we enter upon the Diſcuſſion of each of thoſe Heads, it is neceſſary to lay down as a Foundation, That after the King of *France* had ſeized the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy for his Grandſon, and by taking poſſeſſion of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* had wreſted from this *State* her Barrier, and that he had acknowledged

the pretended Prince of *Wales* for King of *Great Britain*, all *Europe* finding themſelves threatened with intollerable Slavery, his Majeſty the King of *Great Britain* and their High Mightineſſes, were obliged in 1702, for ſeveral known and lawful Reaſons, but chiefly for the Defence of their own Liberty, and that of their High Allies, to take up Arms with them, and enter into a War againſt *France*. That the Alliances, and particularly that of the 3d of *March*, 1677-8, made with the late King *Charles* II, that of the 11th of *November*, 1701, made with the late King *William* the IIId, that of the 9th of *June*, 1703, by which the two preceding ones are confirmed and renewed, and which was concluded with her preſent Majeſty; and laſtly, the Treaty of the Grand Alliance made the 7th of *September*, 1701, oblige her Majeſty and the *States General*, and every one in particular, to employ all their Force by Sea aad Land, in order to obtain the End which was propoſed in making the ſaid Alliances, without ſtipulating either in them, or in any other Treaties now in being or ſubſiſting, any fixed Proportion, according to which each of the High Allies of *Great Britain* and the *State* ſhould carry on the War, and regulate their Efforts.

It is true, that by the 4th Article of the Grand Alliance, and by the 8th of that between the *State* and *Great Britain*, both made in the Year 1701, it was thought proper that ſome Number of Forces ſhould be mentioned, but afterwards this Agreement was dropped without being put in Execution, either becauſe it was found to be attended with too many Difficulties, or that it was reckoned ſuperfluous, becauſe all the Alliances imported, that each of the Confederates ſhould make War with all their Forces by Sea and Land, and that it was believed they muſt rely upon one another's Fidelity.

The Foundation thus laid, *viz.* That according to the Alliances, *Great Britain* and this *State* are obliged each to employ all their Force in the War againſt the common Enemy, and that the Quantum which each ought to furniſh, is not determined neither by the ſaid Alliament nor by any Agreement, and particular Convention, it follows neceſſarily and inconteſtably, that the only Rule of this Quantum ought to be the Power of each, and that no other Proportion between *Great Britain* and this *State* ought to be enquired into, or alledged, than that of their Ability; but that which ſoever of theſe two Potentates can prove, according to that general Proportion, or abſolutely without making any Compariſon, that it has employed all its Force in the preſent War, for the Advancement of the Common Cauſe, the ſaid Potentate muſt be allowed to have ſatisfied all its Engagements, and cannot be charged to have been deficient therein.

Now it is evident, that the Strength of *Great Britain* is incomparably greater than that of this *State*. To be convinced of this, one need only conſider the Extent of the Countries, Poſſeſſions and Commerce of *Great Britain*, with the Number and Wealth of its Inhabitants, and, in a Word, every thing which can contribute to make a *State* powerful.

This is alſo the Reaſon why in all the Treaties which have been made between *England* and this *State*, not only formerly in the time of the *Spaniſh* War, but alſo ſince, except in ſome particular Caſes, it was always obſerved in mentioning the Number of Forces, ſo to proportion the Supplies of Troops on both

both Sides, as that thoſe of *England* ſhould be greater than thoſe of the *States*. They have been often regulated on the Foot of two Thirds or three Fifths for *England*, againſt one Third or two Fifths for the *State*. And accordingly by the Treaty of perpetual Alliance of the 3d of *March*, 1677-8, *England* promiſed a Supply of 10,000 Men againſt 6000 which were to be furniſhed by the *State*. This plainly proves, that though it ſhould be granted that *Great Britain* has contributed much more than this *State* to the preſent War, it will by no means follow, that the *State* has not fulfilled her Engagements, ſince her Forces are not equal to *Great Britain*, and that it is upon this Foot the Proportion ought to be regulated.

Beſides, every one knows that the *States General* have abundantly anſwered all that could be expected from good and faithful Allies, whether the Efforts be compared with thoſe of *Great Britain* and the other Allies, or conſidered in themſelves without any ſuch Compariſon. Certainly Poſterity will ſcarce believe that a *State* which maintained a very ſevere War in 1672, which ſhe could not get out of but by very extraordinary Efforts; and without having time to recover her Strength, was obliged to carry on a ſecond, by which ſhe ſtill remains charged with very heavy Debts; we ſay, it would ſeem incredible, that ſuch a *State*, being again engaged in a third War, ſhould be able ſtill to make ſuch great Efforts, and to continue them ſo long. Beſides, the Inequality of Strength we have juſt now mentioned, there is this Difference betwixt *Great Britain* and the *State*: That *Great Britain* never felt the Burden nor the Calamities of the firſt War againſt *France*: That in time of Peace ſhe keeps very few Troops on Foot; and, That after the Peace at *Ryſwick*, ſhe diſbanded moſt of thoſe at that time in her Pay, which was a very great Eaſe to her; whereas this *State* was obliged to maintain above 40,000 Men. Another conſiderable Difference is, that in 1702, the Dominions of the *State*, being the Seat of the War, ſuffered very much by it; one Part of their Country was overflowed by the breaking in of the Sea, and another Part was laid under Warer to defend it againſt the Enemy, not to mention the large Contributions we pay them annually, to none of which Inconveniencies *Great Britain* is ſubject. This being conſidered, together with her great Power, enables her to contribute much more to War than this *State*. Beſides this, if we make the Reflection on the Taxes of all Sorts, which are raiſed on the Perſons and Eſtates of our Subjects, which Taxes are more numerous and more heavy than in her Majeſty's Kingdoms, or in any other State of the World. Then, if we conſider the immenſe Sums which this *State* is obliged to borrow each Year in the two laſt Wars, and particularly in this, it will be owned that nothing but an extraordinary Love of Liberty, and an inviolable Affection to the Common Cauſe, could oblige them thus voluntarily to charge themſelves till they are ready to ſink under the Burden. Nor is there need of any other Evidence to prove, that the *States General* have fully and faithfully anſwered all their Engagements, nay, and that they have contributed above their Strength to the Charge of the War.

In general, this is ſufficient to remove all the Prejudices that appear in the Reſolves and Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons, and to efface all the diſadvantagious Impreſſions which they might make on others. For though all

he Deficiences they charge upon the *State* were fully proved, and though it were certain that the *States General* had contributed much leſs to the Charge of the War than her *Britiſh* Majeſty, it would nevertheleſs be true, that according to their Treaties they have employed all their Strength in the preſent War, and by Conſequence, that in Proportion to their Power, they have done as much and more than any of the Allies, *Great Britain* herſelf not excepted. Therefore the Commons have wrongfully, and without any Foundation, charged the *States* with not having anſwered their Engagements, and furniſhed their Quota.

We ſhall more particularly prove this, by examining one after another the four principal Parts of the Addreſs and Reſolution of the Houſe of Commons; but in the firſt place think ourſelves obliged to make ſome further Remarks on that Addreſs. They acquaint her Majeſty, when they enumerate the Motives which induced the late King *William* to enter into the War, that according to the Treaty of the Grand Alliance, thoſe Motives were to aſſiſt the Emperor in his Pretenſions to the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, and the *States General* in recovering their loſt Barriers. They afterwards add, That in all Reſpects the Allies are equally intereſted with *Great Britain* in the Succeſs of the War, and for moſt part a great deal more. Yet this very Treaty of the Grand Alliance on which they found their Propoſition, ſets forth expreſly in the Preamble, that the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* were in eminent Danger of loſing the Liberty of their Navigation and Commerce in the *Mediterranean*, the *Indies*, and other Parts; and that *France* and *Spain* were more and more united to trample upon the Liberties of *Europe*, and to ruin the Commerce; Motives which concerned *Great Britain* ſo directly and ſo nearly, that it is eaſy to infer from thence, that ſhe carries on the War as much for herſelf as for the Emperor, the States, or the other Allies. This appears yet more plainly from the ſeparate Article concluded the 12th of *April*, 1702, between the Emperor, the Queen of *Great Britain*, and the *States General*, which ought to have the ſame Force as if it were inſerted *verbatim* in the principal Treaty. For the Affront put upon the late King *William*, her preſent Majeſty, and the whole *Britiſh* Nation, by owning the Prince of *Wales* for King of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, being expreſly ſet down in this Article among the Motives of the War, as well as in her Majeſty's Declaration of War; which Motive could not have been inſerted in the Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons, without too much weakening the above-mentioned Propoſition, *viz.* That the Allies are on all Accounts equally concerned with *Great Britain* in the Succeſs of the War, and for the moſt part a great deal more. Indeed it cannot be conceived upon what Principle this Propoſition could be founded, nor in what Senſe it can agree with the Demand of the Queen of *Great Britain* for Peace. Her Majeſty demands, That the Moſt Chriſtian King ſhould acknowledge her; That he likewiſe owns the Succeſſion in the *Proteſtant* Line of the Houſe of *Hanover*, as it is eſtabliſhed by Acts of Parliament; That he refuſe all Manner of Aid and Aſſiſtance to the Pretender; That he make a Treaty of Commerce with *Great-Britain*; That he demoliſh the Fortifications of *Dunkirk*, and fill up the Harbour; and, That he yield to her Majeſty the Iſlands of *St. Chriſtopher* and *Newfoundland*, with *Acadia*, and other Countries in *North America*. Now it is

plain, that these Demands are not of such a Nature, that they concern the other Allies as much or more than *Great Britain* herself.

As to the Commerce in the *Mediterranean*, it cannot be said with the least Colour of Reason, that all the Allies have an equal Interest in it with *Great Britain*, since it is known and incontestible, as well with regard to Commerce in general, as particularly to the Vent of Woollen Manufactures in *Spain*, the Ports of the *Mediterranean*, and especially in *Turkey*, that *Great Britain* is much more interested in it than the *State*, the only one among all the Allies which the Commerce in the *Mediterranean* most concerns.

We come now to examine those Articles by which it is pretended, that the *States General* have not furnished their Quota towards the Charges of the War. The first relates to the Sea-Service. On this Head, it is advanced, that for some Years the *States General* have not furnished two Thirds, and generally not half their Contingent for that Service. This is a very general Proposition, and another general one to the contrary might perhaps be sufficient to answer it, after which it might be left to the Judgment of those who know the present Posture of Affairs, whether of those two general Propositions is the most probable. It would also have been very difficult to answer it otherwise, if there had not been imparted to us by private Hands, a Copy of the Paper delivered into the House of Commons, by the Commissioners of the Admiralty of *Great Britain*, in which are specified the Ships of the Line that were furnished Year after Year by her *British* Majesty, and on the Part of the *States General*, to act jointly in the *Channel* and the *Mediterranean*. It is inserted at the End of this Memorial, and marked Numb. I. and it was doubtless on this Paper, that the Resolutions of the House of Commons are founded.

It is there laid down as a Certainty, that the Quota of the *States* in Naval Armaments with respect to *Great Britain*, is three to five, and they found this on the Agreement on the 27th of *April*, 1689. But on this Occasion it must be observed, that the 7th Article of the Treaty of the 9th of *June*, 1703, by which the said Agreement was renewed, imports, that the entire Quota of Ships of War, which each were to furnish by Virtue of that Agreement, should be regulated every Year, and that the Rendezvous as well as the respective Stations appointed for the said Ships, should likewise be agreed upon at the same time. In pursuance hereof, Her Majesty the Queen of *Great Britain*, thought fit to send hither one of her Admirals almost every Year. The necessary Conferences were held with them, in which the Number of Ships to be fitted out, and the Places where to be employed, were the chief Points considered. Upon this it commonly happened, that the Projects exhibited on the part of her *British* Majesty, proposed a greater Number of Ships than those of the *State*, and much more Regard was had to the Security of the *Channel*, than to that of the *North Sea*. It is likewise to be observed, that the Paper of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, does not say a Word of the Ships employed in that Sea, which is partly the Cause why they reckoned the Quota furnished by the *State* so low. The Sentiments of the *States General* upon this Subject have always been, that the Number of Ships which was to be equipped every Year in common, ought to be regulated according to a reasonable

ſonable Eſtimate of the Enemy's Force, and of the Ships which he could ſend into the *Mediterranean*, the *Channel*, or the *North Sea*; ſo that there was always a moral Certainty that the Fleets and Squadrons of *Great Britain*, and this *State*, whether they acted in Conjunction or ſeparately, would be ſuperior to thoſe of the Enemy. The Terms in *Conjunction* or ſeparately were uſed, becauſe it was ever the Opinion of the *State*, that the Ships of her Majeſty and the *States General*, which ſhould be ſent to *Portugal* and the *Mediterranean* ought to act in Conjunction, that the Security of the *Channel* ought to be left to her Majeſty's particular Care, and that of the *North Sea* to the *States General*. The Reaſons aſſigned for this, were, becauſe *Great Britain* had a greater Intereſt in Point of Commerce, in the *Channel*, and could by its Situation and the Conveniency of its Harbours, ſend and keep Ships there more eaſily than the *State*; and on the other hand, the *State*, for the very ſame Reaſons, could ſend and keep her Ships in the *North Sea* with more Conveniency than *Great Britain*. But Caſes of Neceſſity were always reſerved, in ſuch manner, that if the Enemy, contrary to all Expectation, ſhould make any extraordinary Armament, and ſend any Fleet or Squadron into the *Channel* or *North Sea*, then the Squadrons on both Sides ſhould join, in whole or in part, in the *Channel* or in the *North Sea*, as Occaſion ſhould require. It was not believed, that for ſome Years paſt, it was neceſſary to keep a Squadron before *Dunkirk*, Experience having ſhewed us oftener than once, that there was very little Advantage to be reaped by it, and that it was almoſt impoſſible ſo to block up that Harbour, as to hinder Ships from getting out of it. Beſides, the laſt Year, moſt of the *Dunkirk* Ships having ſailed to other Places, there was not enough left there to form a Squadron.

As theſe Sentiments were well founded, they were for the moſt part followed, and with good Succeſs. The Proof of this is evident; for ſince the Loſs ſuſtained by *France* at *Vigo*, in 1702, and that which ſhe ſuffered in the Sea Fight near *Malaga*, in 1704, ſhe has not been in a Condition to put any conſiderable Fleet to Sea; the only one they have ſince, was in the *Mediterranean*, *Anno* 1704, to ſupport the Siege of *Barcelona*; but ſo inconſiderable, that they retired upon the Sight of the Confederate Fleet, without daring to hazard a Battle.

After having thus ſhewn on what Foundation this State did annually regulate their Naval Equipments, it is proper to examine if it has furniſhed its Quota in Proportion to that of her *Britiſh* Majeſty, which certainly it has not done, if we may believe the Paper of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty of *Great Britain*. But in the firſt place, ſuppoſe there were nothing to be objected to the Liſt of the Ships which they ſay were furniſhed by her Majeſty, and that we take it on Truſt as they have ſet it down in their Paper; yet we may aſk, Whether all the Ships which they ſet down as employed in the *Mediterranean* and the *Channel*, were really needful there? A Queſtion which would not be altogether improper; for there were ſome Years wherein the Number of Ships employed in that Service, did very much exceed what her Majeſty herſelf did propoſe. For Inſtance, they reckon 74 Ships for 1704, and 79 for 1705; yet the Propoſals made by Admiral *Mitchel* for thoſe Years demand only 24 Ships from the State to anſwer 60 of her Majeſty's, both for the Service of

the *Mediterranean*, the *Channel*, and the *North-Sea*. How comes it then that the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty do now reckon for her Majeſty's Quota 74 and 79 Ships for the Service only of the *Mediterranean* and the *Channel*, and that they demand as the Quota of this *State* 44 Ships for one Year and 47 for another? We leave it to every Man's Judgment, whether this Number of Ships would not have been too great for the Service we were to expect from them, and to the Force which the Enemy could then put to Sea. The Sentiments of the *States* were, that 24 Ships on their Part, and 40 on that of her Majeſty, would have been enough for the Service of thoſe Years.

It muſt be obſerved further, that of all the Ships which the State has furniſhed, there is no Notice taken in this Paper of any but ſuch as jointly ſerved with thoſe of her Majeſty in the *Mediterranean* or *Channel*, and not the leaſt mention of the *North-Sea*, the Care and Security of which were left almoſt entirely for ſome Years to the *States*. We are not to wonder after this, that the Number of Ships furniſhed by the *States-General* appears ſo ſmall in the Paper of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, when compared with thoſe of the Queen of *Great-Britain*, ſince they cut off all that ſerved in the *North Sea*, and mention only ſuch as acted in Conjunction with her Majeſty's Ships.

This Omiſſion, no doubt, gave occaſion to thoſe injurious Reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons; and we have reaſon to think, they would never have come into them had they known the Reaſons of the *States*. We may judge of this by the following Liſt, that contains the true Number of Ships which the *States* have employed during this War for the common Cauſe in the *Mediterranean*, the *Channel*, and the *North Sea*. They are all Ships of the Line, without reckoning Frigats, or other leſſer Ships.

In 1702	55
In 1703	50
In 1704	56
In 1705	56
In 1706	54
In 1707	49
In 1708	53
In 1709	50
In 1710	43
In 1711	40

All this is Fact, and can be proved by good and authentick Vouchers: So that it is wrong, and without any Foundation, that they charge the State with not having furniſhed its Quota for the Sea-Service.

The ſecond Head relates to the Troops in *Flanders*, as to which it is complained, that the *States-General* have not obſerved the firſt Proportion of three to two, which they agreed upon with the late King *William*; that they have furniſhed 20837 Men leſs than their Quota; and that they have not fulfilled the Condition for prohibiting Commerce and Correſpondence with *France*, on which the Troops of Augmentation were granted in 1703. For the clearing of this Head, we thought it would not be improper to ſubjoin to this Memorial the Eſtmate

Eſtimate (marked N°. II.) of the Forces, as well of the Queen as the *States-General*, that was delivered in to the Houſe of Commons, and upon which, as far as we can judge, they founded their Reſolutions.

Our firſt Remark on this Eſtimate of the Forces is, that here they confound in a general Article the 44992 Men which the *States* kept in Pay after the Peace of *Ryſwick*, with the 34866 Men, whom they took again into their Service immediately after the Death of King *Charles* II. of *Spain*; and that in the Year 1702, they have likewiſe mixed the Troops which the *States* took into Pay that Year, with thoſe they had hired from ſeveral Princes the Beginning of the Year before. Had not theſe things been confounded, it would have clearly appeared, that the *States* had augmented their Troops with 50000 Men, long before *Great-Britain* made any conſiderable Augmentation; which certainly ought to have been allowed for in the Account, conſidering the Expence that the *States* had been at in maintaining many Troops alone.

We ſhall not inſiſt on other particular Miſtakes in the ſaid Eſtimate, but content ourſelves to ſhew, that it does no way prove what they pretend to prove by it. For Example, it does not thereby appear that the *States* furniſhed 20837 Men too few, or that the Queen of *Great-Britain* had 13892 too many for the War in *Flanders*. It is certainly very ſurpriſing, that ſuch a Concluſion ſhould be drawn from an Eſtimate, by which on the contrary it appears very plain, that the States of the *United Provinces*, though much inferior in Power and Strength to *Great-Britain*, did not only furniſh and keep in Pay from the Beginning of the War to this preſent time as many Troops as that Crown, but a great many more. From hence we may eaſily perceive, that this ſtrange Concluſion was not naturally deduced from the Premiſes; but that to make it out, they were forced to ſuppoſe two Propoſitions.

I. That at the Beginning of the War, the *States* obliged themſelves to furniſh in *Flanders* 60000 Men for the Field againſt 40000 to be furniſhed by *Great-Britain*, and that the *States* ſhould over and above maintain 42000 Men in Garriſon.

II. That the *States* were obliged to contribute according to this Proportion of 60 to 40, or 3 to 2, towards the Expence of the Troops, which have ſince been taken into the Service of her Majeſty of *Great-Britain* and the *States*.

But we cannot ſee by this Eſtimate of the Troops, on what it is they pretend to found the ſecond Propoſition. As to the firſt, it ſeems to be founded on a verbal Meſſage which King *William* of glorious Memory ſent to the Parliament in 1702, by Mr. Secretary *Vernon*; and in the Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons, they ſuppoſe that an Agreement was concluded on that Head, and we preſume that they pretend to draw the ſecond Propoſition as a Concluſion from the firſt.

It is certainly very ſtrange, that they ſhould make no Scruple to charge the *States* without firſt hearing them, with ſo conſiderable a Deficiency, and upon no other Proofs than a verbal Meſſage or an Agreement, which is ſuppoſed to have been concluded, but without any Ground, themſelves having owned a little before, that it was never yet ratified. It is true, the *States* were obliged to hold their Peace, though *Great-Britain* at the Beginning of the War furniſhed no more than 40000 Men in the *Netherlands*, which was ſo great a Diſproportion to what was furniſhed by this State, but it is no leſs true, that the *States* were obliged

obliged to ſubmit to it, not by vertue of any Agreement or Convention, or becauſe it was reaſonable, but becauſe the Parliament did not grant any more. The Reaſons of which are known to all the World, and ſeveral Perſons may ſtill remember them. This Diſproportion was ſufficiently complained of by the *States*, but they were obliged to have Patience and to comfort themſelves with Hopes, that if the War continued, it would be afterwards redreſſed.

But now to ſhew that theſe two Propoſitions are very ill grounded, we ſhall only ſay that we are very well aſſured it can never be proved on the Part of *Great-Britain*, that the *States-General* obliged themſelves to maintain 60000 Men in the Field, and 42000 in Garriſon, nor that they owned, which is the eſſential Point, that *Great-Britain* would anſwer all her Engagements, by furniſhing only 40000 Men for 102000 furniſhed by the State, nor that in ſhort they ever agreed to obſerve this unequal Proportion for the time to come, in maintaining the Troops with which the Army in the *Netherlands* might afterwards be reinforced.

Nor was there indeed the leaſt Reaſon for this; *Great-Britain* and the *States* are equally obliged by the 6th Article of the Treaty of the 3d of *March*, 1678, and by the 7th Article of the Treaty of the 11th of *Nov.* 1701, to aſſiſt one another mutually *with all their Strength, and all their Forces by Sea and Land*; and by the 4th Article of the Treaty of the Grand Alliance, they are likewiſe engaged to ſupport one another with all their Strength. *Great-Britain* was then, as ſhe is at preſent, beyond all Contradiction much more powerful than this State, and ſince ſhe could not in the Beginning of the War make good in *Spain* or in *Italy*, what was wanting of her Troops elſewhere, as ſhe has been able to do ſince, it is evident, that in order to fulfil the abovementioned Treaties of the 3d of *March*, 1678, of the 11th of *November*, 1701, and of the Grand Alliance; ſhe ought neceſſarily to have augmented her Troops in *Flanders* conſiderably, and to have maintained an Army there far more numerous than that of the State. It was the only Place then where the two Potentates had Armies, and if they would have obſerved any reaſonable Proportion, that was the Place where it ought to have been done.

As to the nature of this Proportion, if they would have followed by Land that which was eſtabliſhed by Sea, and which had actually been obſerved in the Number of the Troops mutually ſtipulated by the ſaid Treaty of the 3d of *March*, 1678, in the firſt ſeparate Article, it ought to have been five to three; that is to ſay, that *Great-Britain* ought to have furniſhed 170000 Men againſt 102000, which it is pretended the *States* obliged themſelves to maintain in *Flanders*, for the Field and in Garriſons. When we ſay 170000 Men, we comprehend the Guards and Garriſons neceſſary in *Great Britain*, otherwiſe the Proportion might have been reduced to 100000 Men, againſt 60000 of the *State*, which they pretend ought only to be reckoned in the Proportion, though without any Foundation, as we ſhall ſee afterwards; but if they would follow the Proportion of two thirds to one third, which has been done on ſeveral other Occaſions during the War. In that Caſe *Great-Britain* ſhould have brought to the Field 120000 Men againſt the ſaid 60000, or rather ſhe ought to have furniſhed 204000 Men againſt 102000 of the State, including the Guards and Garriſons.

In ſhort, if inſtead of ſeeking for the Proportion in the Augmentation of the Troops of *Great-Britain*, with relation to thoſe of the State, they had rather

chuſe to ſeek it in the Reduction of the Troops of the State with relation to thoſe of *Great-Britain*, it will be found that the *States General* were not obliged to furniſh on the foot of three to five, any more than 24000 Men, and on the foot of one to two, only 20000, which would have fully anſwered their Proportion to the 40000 Men of *Great-Britain*; whereas according to their own Eſtimate laid before the Houſe of Commons, they did not furniſh only 60000 Men, but indeed 68242 Men, beſides the 42000 for Garriſons. By which it is evident, that the *State* had no Reaſon to ſubmit to a Propoſition ſo unreaſonable as that before-mentioned, or to be ſatisfied with it.

Suppoſe now that the *State*, conniving at ſuch an exceſſive Diſproportion had engaged, as is pretended, at the Beginning of the War, to furniſh in the *Netherlands* 60000 Men for the Field, and 42000 for Garriſons againſt 40000 furniſhed by *Great-Britain*; it will by no means follow from thence, that ſhe ought to ſubmit to the ſame Diſproportion with relation to the Troops wherewith the two Potentates have ſince thought fit to augment their Forces, in order to puſh on the War with more Vigor in *Flanders*.

On the contrary, one would think that *Great-Britain*, conſidering the Exceſs of this Diſproportion, and the Good-will of the *State* to make the greateſt Efforts at firſt, in order to animate others by her Example, would have been induced voluntarily to take upon herſelf the ſole Burden of ſuch new Expences as might be judged neceſſary for the Advantage of the common Cauſe, whether with reſpect to the *Netherlands*, or other Countries, 'till that Diſproportion had been entirely made up.

And though, when it was reſolved to augment the Army in the *Netherlands* with 20000 Men, in the ſecond Year of the War, *Great-Britain* would not be prevailed with to take upon herſelf the whole Charge of that Augmentation, yet ſhe never pretended either then or ſince, that the *State* was obliged to bear more than a Moiety.

The Diſtinction made between the 60000 Men, which it is pretended ſhould have ſerved in the Field, and the 42000 applied to Garriſons, well deſerves a particular Remark. It is pretended, that the 60000 Men only, ought to be conſidered in the Proportion to be obſerved between the Troops of her *Britiſh* Majeſty and thoſe of the *States-General*, as if the keeping of 42000 Men was only a private Charge, which ought not to be computed amongſt thoſe of the War.

But what is more unreaſonable than this Pretenſion, the *State* was in a manner blocked up, at the Beginning of the War, by the Troops of *France*, which put her under a Neceſſity of reinforcing her Garriſons, as is ſuppoſed, to 42000 Men, while *Great-Britain*, by her happy Situation, could do with a far leſs Number. Where is there any Ground, what Reaſon is there to pretend that the *State* ſhould not bring thoſe Troops into the Account with thoſe of her *Britiſh* Majeſty? if not all of them, at leaſt ſo many of them, as exceed the Number of Guards and Garriſons in *Great-Britain*. It cannot be denied, that when two Allies of equal Power, engage to make War in common with all their Forces, *omnibus viribus*, and that for inſtance, when one of the two finds occaſion for 20000 Men more than the other, for his Garriſons; in this caſe it would be neither reaſonable nor poſſible, that the one ſhould take the Field with as many Troops as the other. How much leſs then when this Caſe falls out between two Allies of unequal Abi-

lity &c.

lity? and when he who has need of 20000 Men more for his Gnrrifons, is very much inferior to the other in Power?

But ſuppoſe that the Garriſons of the Places belonging to the *State* ought not to be ſet down, neither in whole nor in part, in the Liſt of the Troops furniſhed againſt the Enemy, it would ſtill be a great Miſtake to compute them at 42000 Men for every Year of the War. It is true, that the Liſt of the Garriſons, which is made out yearly before the taking of the Field, has amounted ſome Years to 40000 Men; but it is very well known, that as ſoon as the Army was formed, immediately part of the Garriſons of the Places which it covered, was drawn out; and that the reſt, except a few Regiments, were always ordered to be in Readineſs to march at the firſt Command, to replace ſuch Regiments, as ſhould ſuffer moſt in Sieges and Battles, which has been the Caſe almoſt every Year: So that their High Mightineſſes have been obliged to be at the Charge of Recruits and Waggons for a great Part of the Regiments that were in Garriſon, as well as for thoſe that were in the Field.

It is as well known, that 'till the Reduction of *Brabant* and *Flanders*; that is to ſay, 'till 1706, a flying Camp was formed annually in *Flanders* out of the neighbouring Garriſons, which emptied all thoſe Garriſons in general above a full third Part of their Men: That this Camp obliged the Enemy to keep a much greater Number of Troops in the Country of *Waes*, and along the Canal of *Bruges*; and that ſince 1706, it is ſo far from being true, that the Garriſons of the *States* took up above 42000 Men, that they never amounted to the third of them: All the reſt are ſent to the Field, and this was the Cauſe why the Dominions of the States were invaded oftener than once; which would not have happened, had their Garriſons been ſtronger.

'Tis true, that part of the State's Troops have been employed in the *Spaniſh* Garriſons; but ſo have thoſe of her Majeſty; and there they now actually ſerve as well as thoſe of the *States-General*. And if, ſince the reducing of *Liſle*, *Tournay*, and other Places that have been conquered in *French Flanders* and *Artois*, we have obliged to put Garriſons into them, thoſe of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, which they now cover, have been conſiderably leſſened. Beſides, the Enemy has been thereby reduced to a Neceſſity, for the Security of his Frontiers, to double his Garriſons in thoſe Places, and to extend them as far as the *Soame*. It is wrong then to pretend, that the Army was weakened by putting Garriſons in the conquered Towns; but eſpecially to affirm, as the Commons have done, that the *States* do at this very time employ above 42000 Men in thoſe Garriſons.

From all this it is eaſy to judge who is moſt in the right, thoſe who alledge, that during this whole War the *States* have had 20837 Men too few in the *Netherlands*, and that *Great-Britain* has furniſhed 13892 too many; or thoſe who maintain on the contrary, that *Great-Britain* has not furniſhed the Moiety of what ſhe ought to have done in the *Netherlands*, even though it ſhould be granted, as it is not, that the 42000 Men, which are ſuppoſed to be employed in Garriſons, are not to be allowed a Place in the Account. The former go directly againſt the Treaties of the 3d of *March*, 1678, and of the 11th of *November*, 1701, and of the Grand Alliance. The latter ground themſelves upon thoſe Treaties, and follow the literal Meaning of them: the former reject the Proportion heretofore received, and the latter abide by it: the former have no re-

gard to the Difference betwixt the Strength of the two Nations, and the latter believe, that according to the Tenor of the Treaties, their Strength is the Rule of Proportion. The former, in ſhort, ground themſelves upon a mere verbal Meſſage ſent to the Parliament, without the Knowledge or Conſent of the *States*; the latter abide by the Treaties, and by what Reaſon and the Strength of the one and the other State do plainly dictate.

We agree that the Queen of *Great-Britain* has, except in the *Netherlands*, and particularly by Sea, in *Portugal*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, made greater Efforts than thoſe of the *States-General*; but we deny that therefore *Great-Britain* has Reaſon to accuſe the *States* of not having performed their Engagement, at leaſt till ſuch time as they prove to us, that their greater Efforts elſewhere have exceeded their Deficiencies in the *Netherlands*.

And ſince the Earl of *Strafford*, Ambaſſador-Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of her Majeſty of *Great-Britain*, has notified, that as to the Troops by which the Army in the *Netherlands* has been augmented ſince 1703, her Majeſty expects that the *States-General* ſhould reinforce their Quota to the Proportion of the Fifths againſt the 15128 Men ſhe has actually there in Pay, or that otherwiſe ſhe will leſſen the Number of them to the Proportion of two Fifths, againſt thoſe of the *State:* We have thought proper, for the better underſtanding of that Matter, to ſubjoin here the following Account of the State of thoſe Troops.

The Troops in the Pay of *Great-Britain*, which ſerve in the *Netherlands*, amount, according to the Liſt laid before the Parliament in *February*, 1712, to	65197
We muſt deduct one Battallion of *Palatines*, inſerted in the Liſt of the Troops for the *Netherlands*, under the Year 1702, and which never ſerved there	600
	64597
The Troops in the Pay of the *State*, which ſerve in the *Netherlands*, amount, according to the foreſaid Liſt, to	122458
But under the Year 1701, too many are reckoned, by	1949
	120509
On the other Side, under the Year 1702, they have omitted	1092
And under the Year 1706, too many are deducted for the Troops of *Italy*, by	1538
	123139
The Troops of *Great-Britain* and of this *State* amount together to	187736
According to what is pretended by *Great-Britain*, this *State* engaged, in the Beginning of the War, to furniſh	102000

Great-Britain —— ——	40000	
In the Year 1703.		
Great-Britain —— ——	10000	
This *State* —— —— ——		10000
Since the Year 1703, *Great-Britain* and this *State* took into Service 25736 Men, of which this *State*, as is pretended by *Great-Britain*, ought to pay three Fifths, or ——		15442
Great-Britain two Fifths, or —	10294	
	60294	127442
Great-Britain pays in all, as above	64597	60294
Ergo, too much by ——	4303	187736
This *State* pays in all, above ——		123139
Ergo, too little by ——		4303

It appears by the Account as above, firſt, that *Great-Britain* has furniſhed 14597 Men over and above the 40000 and the 10000, and not 25178 as is pretended. Secondly, that though we ſhould grant the miſtaken Propoſitions of *Great-Britain*, to wit, that at the Beginning of the War the *State* had agreed to furniſh in *Flanders* 102000 Men againſt 40000, that *Great-Britain* by furniſhing the ſaid 40000 had performed her Treaties, and that the *State* ought to pay three Fifths of the Troops of Augmentation ſince 1703, and *Great-Britain* two Fifths; even then the Diſproportion ſo much complained of would be reduced to 4303 Men.

As to which Equity would oblige them to conſider, 1. That the *State* had augmented her Troops with above 50000 Men, long before *Great-Britain* made any conſiderable Augmentation on her Part; and 2dly, That according to the ſaid Liſt, the *State* has paid for ſome Years 8242 Men (or the Errors of the Liſt being corrected) 7385 Men, above the 102000, which they pretend by Miſtake the *State* was obliged to furniſh as her Quota, and above the Moiety of the 20000 Men taken into Pay in 1703. So that even though we ſhould take all the Pretenſions of the Houſe of Commons to be well founded, as they are not, the pretended Diſproportion in Queſtion would be ſo much ballanced by the two Articles above-mentioned, that it would vaniſh entirely, and not ſo much as deſerve to be thought on.

This is enough fully to confute the Reſolutions and Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons upon this Head. All that remains, is, to anſwer the Reproaches therein caſt upon the *State*, as not having performed the Condition for prohibiting Commerce, upon which the Augmentation of 20000 Men was granted in 1703. In order to confute this Objection alſo, it will be ſufficient to premiſe, that before it can be affirmed, as is done, that the *States* has been deficient in that pretended Condition, it muſt be proved that ſhe accepted it, which ſhe can never be proved

to have done longer than for one Year. The *State* consented to that Prohibition notwithstanding the Hardships they found in it, and which had no Place in *England*, because Commerce with *France* was in a manner prohibited there, even during the Peace. But their Engagement was only for a Year, by way of Trial, and by no means as a Condition to which the Augmentation of the Troops was annexed, and it was only out of pure Deference to the Sentiments of her *British* Majesty, who desired it, and had caused Instances to be made on that Subject. The Agreement was exactly observed all the Time it lasted, and after its Expiration, the *States General* notifyed to her Majesty, the Reasons they had against prolonging it. These Reasons were acquiesced in, there was no more Talk of the Prohibition of Commerce, the Augmentation of 20,000 Men was continued, and the House of Commons granted every Year the necessary Subsidies for the Proportion which *Great Britain* was to contribute thereto, without ever making the least Objection as to the Prohibition or Condition. Is it not then very strange, that after so long a Space of Time, this Matter should now be revived again, and a Pretence drawn from it to charge the *State* with not having performed a Condition which it did not accept, or only accepted for a Year?

There is also in the Address of the Commons an Assertion in Fact, which might give occasion to a great Mistake, if it was passed by without an Answer. They therein assert, That by the War in the *Netherlands*, the *State* has made great Acquisitions, as well in Revenues, as in Territories and Dominions. That out of the Revenues of those rich conquered Provinces, she might raise and maintain a considerable Augmentation of Troops against the Common Enemy, if they were duly applied for that End; But that the *State*, instead of employing them for that Use as they ought, had diverted them to her own Ease, and for the maintaining her Quota, as the same was regulated from the Beginning.

All the World knows, and it cannot be unknown in *England*, that since the Battle of *Ramelies*, *French Flanders*, and *Artois* have been the Theatre of the War; That two Armies, far more numerous than those of any of the preceeding Years, have acted and subsisted there. That the Enemy continually raised Contributions from them, and that the open Country is so ruined by Forragings, raising of Pioneers, Waggons, Horses, and still more by Ravages, Plunder, demolishing of Houses, felling of Trees, the Fright and Mortality of Men and Cattle, *&c.* that it will require a very long Time, to restore it to a tolerable Condition. The Inhabitants of the Towns have also their Share in all these Calamities. They are oppressed with numerous Garrisons, to which they are obliged to furnish Lodging, Fire, and Candle. Instead of making any Profit by their Lands, they are obliged to maintain their Peasants at their own Charge, because otherwise they would starve with Hunger, or abandon the Farms. The Commerce and Manufactures, which were heretofore the principal Riches of *Lisle* and *Tournay* are quite lost, the Workmen lay down their Employs, or are obliged by their extreme Poverty to list themselves in the Army. A Country so miserable must be very unable to furnish the *State* wherewith to maintain a great Number of Troops against the Common Enemy, especially if we reckon the ordinary and indispensible Charges,

ſuch as the repairing of Fortifications and Buildings, ruined or very much damaged by Sieges, and the filling of Magazines exhauſted by the long Defence of Places, and other the like Charges at the Expence of the *State*.

But not to dwell upon general Arguments, it will be proper to take notice, that from the Year 1706, that is to ſay, ſince the taking of *Menin*, the *States* have received by thoſe Conqueſts (which it is pretended brought them in ſo much Wealth) no more than 1590916 Livres; a Sum ſo ſmall in Compariſon of the Charges which they were obliged to be at for repairing the Fortifications, and filling up the Magazines of *Menin*, *Liſle*, *Tournay*, *Doway*, *Bethune*, *Aire*, *St. Venant*, and *Bouchain*, and for the other Reparations made within ſix Years Time, to all the Places, Forts, and Cittadels of thoſe Countries, that certainly none can aſſert with Juſtice, that the ſame has not been laid out in that Country.

It is plain, that in *England* they have conceived ſuch an Idea of the Revenue of the Conqueſts in *Flanders*, as is very remote from the Truth. The Town and Caſtellany of *Liſle*, with *Doway*, *Orchies*, and its other Dependencies, is without Contradiction the richeſt Conqueſt that has been made in the *Netherlands*. Yet the moſt Chriſtian King never raiſed from it in Time of Peace, above 3 or 400,000 Livres *Flemiſh* Money, (which is 12 *per Cent.* leſs in Value than that of *Holland*) whether under the Name of Aids, Domains, Fortifications, or other ordinary Impoſts, except only the Duties of Import and Export, of which, though a juſt Eſtimate cannot be made, becauſe they are included in the general Farm of the conquered Countries, yet it is certain they are at preſent upon a very indifferent Foot. The extraordinary Subſidies and the Capitation by which the Revenues of the King of *France* have been augmented to ſupport the War, did not bring him in 400,000 Livres *per Annum*, *Flemiſh* Money, from the beginning of this War to 1704, about which Time it was augmented with 82,540 Livres *per Annum*, but under an expreſs Condition on the Part of the *States*, and a Promiſe on the Part of the Court, that for this Augmentation, the Province ſhould be free from all other kind of Impoſts, and that the ſame ſhould ceaſe, as well as the Capitation and other extraordinary Aids, the very Day the Peace ſhould be proclaimed. This was all that the King of *France* could raiſe continually out of the Country. Not but that at ſeveral Times he has actually drawn ſeveral other conſiderable Sums from it, by the Creation of a great Number of Officers very burthenſome to the Eſtates, Magiſtrates and Communities, or the Country, ſome having been made Hereditaries, and others redeemed again by the Eſtates and other Communities. But without examining whether ſuch Means be lawfully uſed in a Country, where the Sovereign can levy no Money without the Conſent of the Eſtates, it will be ſufficient to ſay, that thoſe Methods can be but once made uſe of.

We may ſee by this, whether the Houſe of Commons had any Ground to ſuppoſe in their Addreſs, that the *State* drew from her Conqueſts in the *Netherlands*, ſuch an Augmentation of Revenues as could maintain a great Number of Troops, but that ſhe applies it for her own Eaſe, toward the furniſhing her Quota.

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The 3d Article is no better founded than the Two preceeding ones: They therein complain, that the *State* has not furniſhed what it ought for the War in *Spain* and *Portugal*, and give Eſtimates thereof, which are ſubjoined at the End of this Memorial, and marked Numb. 3, and 4.

If they have the leaſt Equity, and any ways conſider the great Efforts, abovementioned, which have been made by the *State* in the *Netherlands*, they will agree no doubt, that it was not reaſonable to pretend that the *States General* ſhould ſtill contribute to this other War, an equal Share with her *Britiſh* Majeſty, and that indeed it is not poſſible for them to do it, *Great Britain* being much more powerful than this *State*, and ſhe having nevertheleſs contributed a great deal more than *Great Britain* to the War in the *Netherlands*, it was but reaſonable and juſt, that *Great Britain* ſhould make ſome Compenſation elſewhere. If then ſhe has contributed more than this *State* to the Affairs of *Portugal* and *Spain*, this Overplus ought to be conſidered as a Supplement to make up what was wanting on her Part towards the War in the *Netherlands*, and not as a Deficiency of the *States* towards the War in *Spain* or *Portugal*.

By the Treaty concluded in 1703, the *States* obliged themſelves to ſend thither, and to maintain there 4000 Men, being the third Part of 12,000 promiſed by that Treaty. They actually ſent them thither, and kept them compleat till 1706: That the Theatre of the War was changed, and tranſported from the Frontiers of *Portugal*, to the Kingdom of *Valencia* and *Catalonia*. This Change was made without the Knowledge of the *State*, and the only Share ſhe had in it was the doubling of her Expence, to ſend the Reinforcements that were deſigned for *Portugal* to *Spain*. The Number of Troops which the *States* have ſent to *Portugal* or *Catalonia*, ſince the Treaty was concluded, amounts to 15724 Foot, 3120 Horſe, and 4563 Recruits, in all 23807 Men, as appears by the Liſt hereunto annexed, and marked Numb. 5. The Recruits which have been ſent from hence to the Troops of the *State*, and thoſe which have been levied in the Country, by liſting *Flemings*, *Walloons*, and *Germans*, that deſerted from the Enemies Army, were ſo conſiderable, that the Troops of the *State* were generally more compleat, and fitter for Service, than any of the other Allies.

We agree, That by the Treaty *Great Britain* was not obliged to furniſh above one Third of thoſe 12,000 Men, and that the Emperor was to make good the other Third; but it is known, that from the Beginning her *Britiſh* Majeſty took upon herſelf the Emperor's whole Quota without any Concurrence on the Part of this *State*: So that it is contrary to Reaſon, that this Article ſhould now be brought into the Account againſt the States, among the Efforts which her Majeſty has made out of the *Netherlands*. The Treaty with *Portugal*, obliges the States General only to one Third of the 12000 Men, and they made them good. After this, they did not oblige themſelves to any other Proportion than that of the Grand Alliance, and of the Treaties of the 3d of *March*, 1671, and of the 11th of *Novemb*, 1701, which oblige them to make War with all their Forces, and to procure to the utmoſt of their Power a reaſonable Satisfaction to the Emperor as to the Succeſſion of *Spain*. This they have alſo faithfully executed, ſo that they cannot without In-

juſtice be denied the Teſtimony of having in this War made their greateſt Efforts, equal unto, and beyond their Allies. Further, though it ſhould be allowed, that the *State* ought to have ſent more Troops to *Catalonia*, and alſo to have replaced in *Portugal* thoſe which marched out of it in 1706, to *Spain*, it muſt nevertheleſs be certain, according to all the Rules of Equity, that the conſiderable Efforts ſhe has made in the *Netherlands*, over and above what *Great Britain* has done, would abundantly make up thoſe pretended Deficiencies.

Upon this it is fit to obſerve, That in the Addreſs of the Commons, they reckon the extraordinary Charge of the War of *Spain* and *Portugal* to a very great Sum; but as to that of the *Netherlands*, they ſay no more, than that the extraordinary Charges of the War there came to above 1,107,096 *l.* Sterling; and that the Houſe of Commons could not make a Compariſon betwixt that Sum and what the *State* had laid out for the ſame End in the *Netherlands*, becauſe the Eſtimate of it was not communicated to them. But we may ſupply that Defect, by telling them here, That if *Great Britain* laid out very great Sums for the Extraordinaries of the War in *Spain* and *Portugal*, the *States General* have alſo laid out very great Sums for thoſe of the War in the *Netherlands*, *viz.* 65,861,821 Livres; ſo that they exceed thoſe of *Great Britain* 53,683,765 Livres, reckoning Eleven *Dutch* Guilders for one Pound Sterling.

Perhaps it will be alledged here, That the *States* have raiſed great Sums by Contributions, Paſſports, the Subſidies of *Liege* and *Limbourg*, and the Revenues of a Part of the Upper Quarter of *Guelderland*, that is in their Poſſeſſion; But theſe Advantages ſpeedily vaniſh, when ballanced by the Contributions that are paid by the Inhabitants of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, ſubject to the State; by Part of thoſe who inhabit Two of the Seven Provinces; by the Expence of the Fortifications and Magazines of *Huy*, *Limbourgh*, *Ruremond*, *Tenlo*, *Stevenſwaert*, *Bon* and *Traerbach*; by the new Works which they have added to ſeveral of theſe Places for the Good of the Common Cauſe; and by the Expence of the Artillery and Ammunition of War for all the Sieges that have been made during this long and burdenſome War, none of which are reckoned in the 65,861,821 Livres abovementioned; and in fine, the Winter Quarters which the auxiliary Troops of *Pruſſia* have taken each Year in the Upper Quarters of *Guelderland*; and the continual Marches of other Troops to and fro through the ſaid Country, have ſo ruined the Inhabitants, that they are no longer able to pay their Taxes.

The fourth and laſt Head which remains to be examined, relates to the Subſidies which, during the firſt Year of the War, were paid in equal Shares, and afterwards unequally by *Great Britain* and the *State*; the Eſtimate of it, which was laid before the Commons, is the Paper annexed, marked Numb. 6. Upon which we ſhall obſerve,

1. That this Eſtimate takes no Notice of the 40,000 Crowns *per Annum*, which the *States General* pay alone to the Biſhop of *Munſter*; nor of the 100,000 Crowns, which they have paid in the like manner annually to the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, from the Year 1704, to the Year 1709. Nor do they take notice of 400,000 Crowns, which the *States General* were obliged to pay to facilitate the Treaty with the King of *Denmark*, for two ſtated Obligations of a greater Sum

Sum that ought to have been reſtored to the ſaid King againſt an unſtated Pretenſion, according to the 9th Article of the Treaty concluded with his *Daniſh* Miniſtry, the 15th of *June*, 1701. Which Sum of 400,000 Crowns might very well have been brought here to account on the Part of the *State*, for ſeveral good Reaſons.

2. That by the Treaty with *Portugal*, *Great Britain* is charged no higher than the *State*; only that in the ſame Manner, and for the ſame Reaſons that her Majeſty thought fit to take upon herſelf the Emperor's Quota of the 12,000 Men, ſhe likewiſe charged herſelf with his Quota and the Subſidies. This Third may indeed be placed to the Emperor's Account, but not to that of the *States General*; and if this be deducted, as it ought to be, the Article of the Subſidies paid to the King of *Portugal* by *Great Britain*, in Oppoſition to thoſe of the *State*, will be reduced to half, which makes a Diminution of 2722222 Crowns, ſo that the Difference of the Payments between *Great Britain* and the *State*, will be nothing ſo great, as it is made in the Eſtimate laid before the Houſe of Commons.

3. Suppoſing nevertheleſs, that laying aſide thoſe juſt Conſiderations, we agree that *Great-Britain* has paid during the Ten Years War, 3155032 Crowns and a half more than the *State*, which will be little more than 300000 Crowns *per Annum*, this Overplus muſt be owned to be very inconſiderable, with Reſpect to the Difference there is between the Ability of the one and the other *State*. It muſt likewiſe be granted, that the *States*, by paying the Moiety of the Subſidies to *Denmark* and others, are in Proportion more burthened by the Payment of that Money, than *Great-Britain* is by what ſhe has paid over and above upon this Article.

Nor ought we to paſs over in Silence, that this *State*, by charging herſelf at firſt with the Moiety of the Subſidies promiſed to the King of *Denmark* and other Princes, has done more than ought to have been demanded from her; but what ſhe did in this Caſe, ſhould not have been drawn into Conſequence for the other Treaties that were afterwards to be made, and ſhe never obliged herſelf to pay indifferently the Moiety of all the Subſidies which ſhould be promiſed afterwards on the Account of the War. We may juſtly ſay on the contrary, that ſhe had very good Reaſons not to engage herſelf after that manner, if we conſider that ſhe is much inferior in Ability to *Great-Britain*, and the Treaties made in the preceding War with the Duke of *Savoy*, and other Princes; by which it appears, that the Proportion in the Payment of Subſidies granted for carrying on the War any where elſe than in the *Netherlands*, was for the moſt Part adjuſted at two thirds for *Great-Britain*, to one third for this *State*: So that conſider the Matter which way you pleaſe, *Great-Britain* has no Cauſe of Complaints in this Reſpect. We muſt likewiſe obſerve that formerly, even in *England*, they very well underſtood that this Proportion in the Subſidies and other Charges of the War out of the *Netherlands* was not unreaſonable; ſince not only her Majeſty took upon herſelf the Emperor's Share, in the Treaty of *Portugal*, but likewiſe in the Treaty which the Emperor made with the Duke of *Savoy*, long before the *States* entered into it, her Majeſty willingly charged herſelf two thirds of the Subſidies which were to be paid to that Prince.

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This evidently ſhews, that tho' the Inequality in the Payments of the Subſidies, and of other the Expences which her Majeſty charged upon herſelf, ſhould be contrary to Proportion, as it is not, *Great-Britain* could not with any Ground now make it a Cauſe of Complaint againſt this *State*, ſince her Majeſty did voluntarily charge herſelf with thoſe Payments.

The Reſult of all that we have now ſaid is this, That according to Treaties and Alliances, *Great-Britain* and this *State* are each of them obliged to employ all their Strength, in the preſent War: That ſince the Quantum or Quota of the one and the other has not been regulated by any Convention or Agreement, their Proportions neither ought nor can be regulated, but upon the Foot of their reſpective Abilities: That *Great-Britain* is incontrovertibly more powerful than this *State*, and that from this Principle we have likewiſe an incontrovertible Right to conclude, that ſhe ought to contribute more to all the Charges and Expence of the War: That in every Reſpect the *State* has fulfilled her Engagements with relation to *Great-Britain*: That if in ſome Places it has not contributed ſo much as ſhe, it has in others contributed a great deal more: That in general we can truly ſay, that in Proportion to her Strength, ſhe has done as much, at leaſt, as *Great-Britain*, or any other of the Allies: That as *Great-Britain* deſerves high Commendation and a grateful Acknowledgment for her general Efforts, in Favour of the Common Cauſe, and for the good Effects, which by the Bleſſing of God have followed upon them: We likewiſe truſt, that every one who looks with an equitable and impartial Eye upon the Efforts which the *States-General* have made on their Part, both before the War, and ſince it began, to this very Day, they will do them the Juſtice to own, that they no way deſerve what they are charged with by the Reſolutions and Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons; and that in ſhort, it can neither with Reaſon nor Juſtice be demanded of the *States*, that notwithſtanding the Expences they are at in the *Netherlands*, which are incomparably greater than thoſe of *Great-Britain*, we ſhould contribute equally with her in other Countries, and that *Great-Britain* ſhould only contribute to the Charge of the War by Sea, in Proportion of five to three, and not do the like in other Caſes.

We do not believe that we ought to take for a Reflection on the *State*, what 'the Houſe ſays in their Addreſs, 'That thoſe who have all the Profit of a 'War, cannot eaſily be diſpoſed to deprive themſelves of it, and that the true 'Reaſons, why ſo many People delight in War, which brings annually from '*Great-Britain* a rich Harveſt into their Granaries, are eaſy to be gueſſed at. For beſides that thoſe Words cannot be applied to the *State*, with the leaſt Shadow of Reaſon, we are able to prove uncontrovertibly, by a great Number of the Queen's Speeches to her Parliament, and by the Addreſſes of both Houſes, that *Great-Britain*, as well as this *State*, thought it was abſolutely neceſſary to puſh on the War with Vigour. The *States* could not deſire the Continuation of a War, the Expence of which ſhe is ſcarce able to bear, and from which ſhe reaped no Advantages capable to make up her Loſſes by it; on the contrary, ſhe had always wiſhed, and does now wiſh from the Bottom of her Heart for ſuch a Peace, as may in ſome Meaſure compenſate the Treaſure and Blood it has coſt her, as may anſwer the Bleſſings which God Almighty has been pleaſed ſo abundantly to give to the Arms of the Confederates, and as may, humanly ſpeaking, aſcer-

aſcertain the Peace of *Europe*, againſt the exorbitant Power of *France*, without which, we fear the War has been begun and carried on to little Purpoſe.

We might alſo prove here by very good Arguments, that the abovementioned Addreſs, in the Reflections upon the *State* on the Head of the Barrier-Treaty, contains very falſe Propoſitions; but beſides that, we have a Right to ſtand by that Treaty which was concluded and ratified with all the due Formalities, we do not think it to the Purpoſe to enter at preſent into the Diſcuſſion of that Matter, and ſo much the leſs, becauſe there is a Negotiation on Foot, to ſee if by any Explanation or otherwiſe, the Objections which at preſent ſeem to be made againſt it on the Part of *Great-Britain* can be removed.

N°. I.

By the Lords Commiſſioners for Executing the Office of Lord-High-Admiral of Great-Britain *and* Ireland, *&c. and of all her Majeſty's Plantations*, &c.

HER Majeſty's Pleaſure having been ſignified to us, by Mr. Secretary *St. John*, that we ſhould (in Purſuance of an Addreſs from the Houſe of Commons) prepare an Account of the Quota's of her Majeſty's Ships and thoſe of her Allies, during this preſent War, and what Agreements and Conventions have been made for the ſaid Quota's, and how the ſame have been obſerved, we do in Obedience to her Majeſty's Command humbly report:

That by the Treaties between the Queen of *Great-Britain* and the *States-General*, their Proportion of the Ships of the Line of Battle, to act in Conjunction with thoſe of this Kingdom in the *Channel*, and in or about the *Mediterranean*, ought to be 3 to our 5.

That ſince the Commencement of this preſent War, not only Sir *David Mitchell*, but Sir *James Wiſheart* have been appointed by her Majeſty's Command to go to *Holland*, and to adjuſt with the *States-General* or their Deputies, the Quota's of their Ships of War, to act in Conjunction with thoſe of her Majeſty, as aforeſaid; and what was done in Purſuance of thoſe Treaties, was ſent to her Majeſty's principal Secretary of State, to which we do humbly refer.

And as to the Number of Ships of the Line of Battle, which the *States-General* have each Year, during the War, joined to her Majeſty's on the fore-mentioned Service, the ſame will appear by the following Account, which has been computed with as much Exactneſs as the nature of the thing will bear, *viz.*

In the Year 1702, her Majeſty had 44 Ships employed in the *Channel* and *Soundings*, of the Line of Battle, and 30 in and about the *Mediterranean*, making in the whole 74, and they were joined with no more than 33 of the *States-General*, whereas they ſhould have been 44.

1703. Seventy-nine of her Majeſty's Ships were employed in the aforeſaid Services, and but 22 of the *States-General*, which ſhould have been 47.

1704. There were 74 of the Queen's Ships, and 18 *Dutch*, which ſhould have been 44.

1705. Seventy-nine of her Majeſty's Ships were employed as aforeſaid, and 20 *Dutch* inſtead of 47.

1706. There were but 15 Ships of the *States-General*, acted in Conjunction with 78 of the Queen's Ships, whereas they ſhould have been 46.

1707. To 72 Ships of her Majeſty's, there was no more than 27 of the *States-General*, inſtad of 43.

1708. The *States-General* joined 25 Ships of the Line to 69 of her Majeſty's, inſtead of 43.

1709. No more than 11 Ships of the *States* were joined to 67 of the Queen's Ships, inſtead of 42.

1710. Her Majeſty had 62 Ships employed on the aforeſaid Services, and the *States-General* appointed no more than 13, to act in Conjunction with them, inſtead of 37.

1711. There were no more than 12 *Dutch* Ships inſtead of 35, appointed to act with 59 of the Queen's Ships, which, as well as thoſe in the preceding Years, were employed in the *Mediterranean*, and not ſo much as one Ship allotted by the *States-General* to act in concert with thoſe of her Majeſty's, againſt the Enemy's Ships before *Dunkirk*, and in the *Channel*.

Signed by

James Wiſheart,
George Byng,
William Drake,
George Clark.

Admiralty-Office, Jan. 21.
1711-12.

By Order of their Lordſhips, Signed,

John Burchett.

N°. II.

Eſtimate of the Forces which the Queen furniſhed from Time to Time for the Service in Flanders, *ſince the Beginning of this War.*

Years	Nations.	Batallions.	Squadrons.	N°. of Soldiers	By what Treaties.
1701	*Engliſh*	12			Treaty betwixt *England* and *Holland*, dated the 3d of *March*, 1677.
	Total	12		10000	
1702	*Engliſh*	4	17	8459	According to the Votes and Addreſs of the Lower Houſe to regulate her Majeſty's Quota at 40000 Men; which Votes paſſed on a Meſſage from the late King by Mr. Secretary *Vernon*, who declared, that his Majeſty had ordered him to lay before the Houſe the Quota which was to be furniſhed by his Majeſty, the Emperor, and the *States-General*.
	Daniſh	5	10½		
	Pruſſians	2½	2		
	Hanoverians	8	14	21612	
	Heſſians	2½	7		
	Palatines	1		600	
	Total	35	50½	40671	
1703	*Engliſh*	2			In Purſuance of the Treaty betwixt *England* and *Holland*, of *March* 15, 1703, about a common Augmentation of 20000 Men.
	Holſtein Gottorp	1	4		
	Saxe-Gotha	1	3		
	Leigois	1½	2		
	Munſterians	1½			
	Heſſians	½		10000	
	Eaſt-Frieſland	½			
	Oſnabrug	½			
	Palatines	2			
	Danes 260				
	Total	45½	59½	50671	

Years

1704 - - - - - - - -	45½	59½		
1705 - - - - - - - -	45½	59½		
1706 *Palatines*	2½	2	2000	
Total	48½	61½	52671	
1707 *Saxons*	2	4	2319	
Hanoverians		2	400	
Total	50⅙	67½	55390	
Troops drawn off for *Italy*				
Saxe-Gotha	1	3	2600	Deduct
Palatines	2			
Remains	47⅙	64½	52790	Remains
1708 *Engliſh* under General *Erle*	5		4500	
Engliſh	1		938	
Total	53⅙	64½	58228	
1709 *Saxons*	2	2		
Pruſſians	5	14	9471	
Treeves	1			
Engliſh Guards	1			
Total	62⅙	80½	67699	
1710 *Saxons*	2		1548	
Total	64⅙	80½	69247	
Engliſh		2	450	
Total	64⅙	82½	69697	
Engliſh drawn off to *Canada*	5		4500	Deduct
Remains	59⅙	82½	65197	Remains

Note, There are 9 Batallions and 21 *Pruſſian* Squadrons, 3 Batallions, and 2 *Heſſian* Squadrons, for whom her Majeſty pays nothing but Bread and Forage in Conjunction with the States, and are not ſpecified in this Liſt. *Her*

Her Majesty's Half.

Prussians	$4\frac{1}{2}$	6	$10\frac{1}{2}$	$11\frac{1}{2}$	7000
Hessians	$1\frac{1}{2}$		1		
So that her Majesty has for her effectual Quota in *Flanders*		$65\frac{1}{6}$		94	72197

Quota agreed at the *Hague* in 1701, to serve against *France*.

By the *Dutch* ——	120000		
Deduct. for Gar. ——	42000		
Remains for the Field		60000	
By *England*		40000	
But *Holland* has augmented her Troops to —— ——		129458	
Deducted for Garrisons		42000	
Remains for the Field			87458
England has augmented her Troops to			72197
Total for the Field			159655
England has no more to furnish to augment her Troops in Proportion than		58305	
So that *England* has furnished more than her Quota —— ——		13892	
		72197	

N. B. As the Number of Garrisons is augmented by the Conquests made in the *Netherlands* during this War; so they have been obliged to employ more Troops in them than the first 42000 Men, which by Consequence lessens the Troops designed for the Field, and so the Number of Troops which *England* has furnished must rise much higher than the said —— 13892

And the Deficiency of the *Dutch* Troops must be greater than the said —— 20837

N°.

Eſtimate of the Forces furniſhed by the States-General *from Time to Time, for the Service in* Flanders, *from the Beginning of this War.*

Years	Nations.	Batal-lions.	Squa-drons.	N°. of Soldiers	By what Treaties.
1701	*Dutch*	75	73	79858	
	Total	75	73		
1702	*Anſpach*	2	4		In Purſuance of an Agreement made with *England*, to bring 60000 Men into the Field, and leave 42000 in Garriſons.
	Mecklenburgh	2			
	Hanover and *Zell*	6	11		
	Heſſe-Caſſel	3		30384	
	Palatines	7	8		
	Danes	5	10½		
	Munſterians	2	2		
	Pruſſians	2½	2		
	Heſſians	2½	7		
		107	117½	110242	
1703	*Engliſh*	2			In Purſuance of a Treaty between *England* and *Holland*, about a common Augmentation of 20000 Men.
	Holſtein Gottorp	1	4		
	Saxe-Gotha	1	3		
	Leigeois	1½	2		
	Munſterians	1½			
	Heſſians	½		10000	
	Eaſt-Frieſland	½			
	Oſnabrug	½			
	Palatines	2			
	Danes 260				
	Total	117½	126½	120242	

Years	Nations.	Batallions.	Squadrons.	N°. of Soldiers
1704	- - - - - - - - -	117½	126½	
1705	- - - - - - - - -	117½	126½	
1706	*Palatines*	1½	1	1000
	Total	118⅚	127½	121142
1707	*Dutch Cavalry*			1160
	Saxons	2	4	2319
	Hanoverians		2	400
	Total	120⅚	133½	125121
	Troops ſent to *Italy*			
	Dutch	3	10	
	Saxe-Gotha	1	3	
	Palatines	9	8	12850
	Remains	107⅚	112½	112271
1708	- - - - - - - - -	107⅚	112½	112271
	The *Switzers* and *Griſons* augmented			1144
	Wirtemberg	5	4	
	Wolfenbuttle	2	2	
	Saxons	2		
	Holſteiners	1		
	Munſterians	1		
	Total	118⅚	118½	122458
1710		111⅚	118½	
1711		118⅚	111½	

Note, There are 9 Batallions and 21 Squadrons of *Pruſſians*, 3 Batallions and 2 Squadrons of *Heſſians*, to whom her Majeſty, in Conjunction with the *States General*, paid nothing but Bread and Forage, and which are not ſpecified in this Liſt.

N°. 6. ESTIMATE *of the* SUBSIDIES *annually granted by* Parliame *with them, ſince the*

To whom the SUBSIDIES are paid.	1701. England.	1701. Holland.	1702. England.	1702. Ho
	Crowns.	Crowns.	Crowns.	Cr
To the King of *Denmark* in Bank Money	75000	75000	150000	15
To the Landgrave of *Heſſe-Caſſel*			50000	5
To augment his Troops and march them to *Italy*				
To the Elector of *Triers*				
To the Duke of *Savoy*				
To the King of *Portugal*				
To the King of *Pruſſia*				
For Bread and Forage for 12000 Men in *Flanders*				
To the Elector *Palatine*				
Total	75000	75000	200000	20
	1707.		1708.	
To the King of *Denmark*	150000	150000	150000	1
To the Landgrave of *Heſſe-Caſſel*	25000	25000	25000	
To augment his Troops and march them to *Italy*	$33333\frac{1}{2}$	$16666\frac{2}{3}$	$66666\frac{2}{3}$	
Bread-Waggons, Forage and for Hoſpitals of his Troops in *Italy*	$46666\frac{2}{3}$	$23333\frac{1}{3}$	$107374\frac{1}{2}$	
To the Elector of *Triers*	25000	25000	25000	
To the Duke of *Savoy*	640000	320000	640000	3
To the King of *Portugal*	$666666\frac{2}{3}$	$333333\frac{1}{3}$	$666666\frac{2}{3}$	3
To the King of *Pruſſia*	200000	100000	200000	1
For Bread and Forage for 12000 Men in *Flanders*	$155451\frac{2}{3}$	$155451\frac{2}{3}$	$155451\frac{2}{3}$	1
To the Elector *Palatine*	20000	20000	20000	
Total	$1962118\frac{1}{3}$	$1168784\frac{2}{3}$	$2056159\frac{2}{3}$	12

N. B. The Sum of 50000 *l.* was yearly granted to the King of *Spain*, by th Parliament, ſince 1707, incluſive, for his own Maintenance, and that of his Troops beſides what was given above, according to this Account.

N. B. Beſides the Subſidies to the King of *Pruſſia* above-mentioned, his *Pruſſia* Majeſty requeſted of the Queen, as her Quota, Two Thirds of 70000 Crowns t recruit his Troops in *Italy*, that the ſame might be in a Condition to act there i 1710, and 1711. And this Sum was granted by an Act of Parliament.

N. B. Beſides the ordinary Subſidy for the Duke of *Savoy* of 640000 Crowns *pe Annum*, there was granted him for the Year 1706, 50000 *l.* And for the Yea 1709, 1710, and 1711, 100000 *l. per Annum*, for the extraordinary Charges of th War in *Italy*.

N. B. By the Treaty with the King of *Pruſſia*, of the 20th of *November*, 1704 that a Body of 8000 Men of his Troops, ſhould act in *Italy*; it was ſtipulated, Th he ſhould have 300000 Crowns *per Annum*; one Half to be paid by *England*, an the other by the *Dutch*. But notwithſtanding this Treaty is only ſigned by *Englan*

This Eſtimate is as exact as I could poſſibly m of the Secretaries of State and War, and li this Service.

nt, *ſo as the ſame are paid to* Foreign Princes, *in Purſuance of the* Treaties *made Beginning of this War.*

	1703.		1704.		1705.		1706.	
lland.	England.	Holland.	England.	Holland.	England.	Holland.	England.	Holland.
owns.	Crowns.	Crowns.	Crowns.	Crowns.	Crowns.	Crowns.	Crowns	Crowns.
0000	150000	150000	150000	150000	150000	150000	150000	150000
0000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	25000	25000
							47124	23562
	25000	25000	25000	25000	25000	25000	25000	25000
	160000	80000	64000	32000	64000	32000	64000	32000
	111111	55555½	666666½	333333½	666666⅔	333333½	666666⅔	333333½
					194520	67260	200000	100000
							82973	82973
			20000	20000	20000	20000	20000	20000
0000	496111	360555½	1551666⅔	898333½	1746186⅔	995593½	1856763⅔	1079868½

	1709.		1710.		1711.		Total.	
0000	150000	150000	150000	150000	150000	150000	1575000	1575000
5000	25000	25000	25000	25000	25000	25000	350000	350000
3333⅓	66666⅔	33333⅓	66666⅔	33333½	66666⅔	33333⅓	347124	173561¼
3687⅓							154041⅓	77020
5000	25000	25000	25000	25000	25000	25000	225000	225000
0000	640000	320000	640000	320000	640000	320000	5280000	2640000
3333⅓	666666⅔	333333⅓	666666⅔	333333⅓	666666⅔	333333⅓	5444444½	2722222⅕
0000	200000	100000	200000	100000	200000	100000	1394020	697060
5451⅔	155451⅓	155451⅔	155451⅔	155451⅔	155451⅔	155451⅔	860231⅓	860231½
0000	20000	20000	20000	20000	20000	20000	160000	160000
5805⅔	1948785	1162118⅓	1948785	1162118⅓	1948785	1162118⅓	15790361	9480296

it is not doubted but the *Dutch* will agree to it. In the mean Time, we ſee, as above, that *England* has paid her Two Thirds.

N. B. The Two Thirds of the Subſidy of a Million of Rixdollars for the King of *Portugal* have always been paid by *England*; tho' it appeats by the Vth Article of the Offenſive Alliance, that this Sum ought to have been paid by the *Emperor*, *England* and *Holland*.

N. B. In the Beginning of this War, the Subſidies were equally divided betwixt *England* and *Holland*.

But it appears by the Sums above ſpecified, that the

Share of *England* amounts to		15790361
And that of *Holland* to		9480296
Both together		25270657
The Half of this Sum for *England*	12635328½	15790361
So that *England* paid more than her Share	3155032½	as above.

ke it; and taken out of the Books which were found in the Offices kewiſe out of the Accounts given by thoſe who were employed in

Signed,

H. St. John.

The Half for the *States* is

	Batallions.	Squadron.
Pruſſians	$4\frac{1}{2}$	$10\frac{1}{2}$
Heſſians	$1\frac{1}{2}$	1
So that the *States-General* have in *Flanders* for their Share of Effective Men	$124\frac{1}{6}$	130

Quota agreed at the *Hague*, 1701, to act againſt *France*.

By *England*		40000
By *Holland*	102000	
Deducted for Garriſons	42000	
Remains for the Field	60000 Men.	
	10000	
But *England* has encreaſed her Troops to		72197
And the *Dutch* to	129458	
Deducted for Garriſons	42000	
Remains for the Field		87458
Total of Forces		159655

If the *Dutch* had augmented in Proportion, they muſt furniſh for the Field — 108295

So that the *Dutch* furniſhed leſs than their Proportion — 20837

Remains as above 87458

7000

129458

This Eſtimate is as exact as I could poſſibly make it, and taken out of the Books which was found in the Offices of the Secretaries of State and War, and likewiſe out of Accounts given by thoſe who were employed in this Service.

Signed,

H. St. John.

N°. III.

Eſtimate of the Forces which the Queen furniſhed from Time to Time for the Service in Spain, *ſince the Beginning of the War.*

Years	Nations.	Batallions.	Squadrons.	N°. of Soldiers	By what Treaties.
1705	*Engliſh*	6	2	5000	
1706	*Engliſh*	5		4170	
	Engliſh	7	4	8152	
	French Refugees	3			
	Total	21	6	17322	
1708	*Germans*	6		4360	
	Italians and *Germans*	6	7	5480	
	Portugueſe	2	21	5569	
	Palatines	2		1300	
	Total	37	34	34031	
1709	*Engliſh*	9	2	7904	
	Germans and *Italians*	5		3180	
	Total	51	36	45115	
1710	*Germans* and *Italians*	4		3000	
	Portugueſe	1		845	
	Total	56	36	48960	
1711	*Engliſh*	9		7013	
	Imperial Dragoons		12	2000	
	Total	65	48	57973	

} Theſe Troops, in *June* 1711, were reduced to 3493 Men, in 15 Squadrons and 2 Batallions.

Note, The Body of *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Troops, which in 1706 marched out of *Portugal* into *Spain*, and have ſerved there ſince, are not contained in theſe Liſts.

Note, Notwithſtanding the Reductions made of the Queen's Troops in *Spain*, the Reinforcements which were ſent thither every Year afterwards were ſo conſiderable, that they much exceeded the Reductions. So that there ſtill remains in *Spain* 24 Batallions, and 14 Squadrons of *Engliſh* Troops; of whom there were made Priſoners of War in the Battle of *Briheuga* 8 Batallions and 11 Squadrons. Beſides, there are ſtill 87 Batallions, and 52 Squadrons of Auxiliary Troops in the Queen's Pay, including the 13 Batallions and 18 Squadrons of the King of *Spain*, for which the Queen pays Subſidies; and thoſe are not contained in theſe Liſts.

The Difference on the Part of the Queen is 55 Batallions and 52 Squadrons.

Eſtimate of the Forces furniſhed from Time to Time by the States-General *for the Service in* Spain, *ſince the Beginning of the War.*

Years	Nations.	Batallions.	Squadrons.	N°. of Soldiers	By what Treaties.
1705	*Dutch*	4		2500	
1706	*Dutch*	6		4000	
	Total	10		6500	
1708	*Palatines*	4	8	5700	
	Total	14	8	12200	

Theſe *Palatines*, with the Remains of the *Dutch*, made, after the Battle of *Almanza*, a Body of 6 Batallions and 14 Squadrons; and this was near upon the Number of Troops which the *States-General* had in *Spain* before the ſaid Battle; after which, they ſent no more Troops to that Kingdom.

Note, In the Beginning of 1711, the Emperor ſent a Regiment of 2000 to *Spain*; and upon the manifold Repreſentations of the *Imperial* Miniſters, that nothing was wanting to finiſh the War in *Spain*, but an Augmentation of 2000 Horſe, the Queen took into her Pay two *Imperial* Regiments amounting to that Number; the *States-General* promiſed at the ſame Time to ſend 4 Batallions thither, but have not yet done it.

The *States-General* have at preſent in *Spain*, 6 Batallions and 14 Squadrons.

This Eſtimate is as exact as I could poſſibly make it, and taken out of the Books which were found in the Offices of the Secretaries of State and War; and likewiſe out of the Accounts given by thoſe who were employed in this Service.

Signed, *H. St. John.*

N°. IV.

Eſtimate of the Forces which the Queen furniſhed from Time to Time for the Service of Portugal, *ſince the Beginning of this War.*

Years	Nations.	Batallions.	Squadrons.	N°. of Soldiers	By what Treaties.
1703	*Engliſh*	8	6	8000	Treaty betwixt the Emperor, *England*, *Holland*, and *Portugal*, of the 16th of *May*, 1703.
1704	*Engliſh*	2	2	1810	*Note*, Theſe Troops were ſent to make good the Loſs ſuſtained in the Beginning of 1704, before *Caſtele de Vide*, and in *Portugal*.
Total in 1704		9	8		*Note*, One of theſe Batallions, that ſuffered much at the abovementioned Places, was ſent to *England* to recruit.
1706 Formed out of Priſoners		2			
		11	8		

Note, The ſame Year the whole Body of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* marched with the *Portugueſe* Army into *Caſtille*; but inſtead of coming back again to *Portugal*, the whole Army was obliged, at the Cloſe of that Year, to retire to *Valencia*.

The

The King of *Portugal* having desired a new Supply of Troops for the Security of his Kingdom, her Majesty not only sent some of her own Troops thither, but also levied others there at her own Charge, as follows.

Years	Nations.	Batallions.	Squadrons.	Nº. of Soldiers
1707	*English*	4		2900
1708	*English*	2		1710
	Portuguese	1		876
	Formed out of Deserters	1		845
1709	*English*		5	912
	Portuguese		10	1615
1710	Formed out of Deserters		4	646
		8	19	9504

Which Troops were actually in *Portugal*, at her Majesty's Charge, in 1711, except the Batallion of Deserters, who were taken Prisoners of War, and cashiered in 1710.

Estimate

Eſtimate of the Forces which the States-General *furniſhed from Time to Time for the Service in* Portugal, *ſince the Beginning of this War.*

Years	Nations.	Batal-lions.	Squa-drons.	N°. of Soldiers	By what Treaties.
1703	*Dutch*	6	4	4000	Treaty betwixt the Emperor, *England*, *Holland*, and *Portugal*, of the 16th of *May*, 1703.
1704	*Dutch*	2	—	1200	*N. B.* Theſe Troops were ſent to make good the Damage ſuſtained in the Beginning of the Year 1704.

Note, The *States-General* maintained their Quota of One Third 'till the Battle of *Almanza*, but ſent not one Man to *Portugal* ſince that Time; ſo that the Queen alone ſent thither, and levied at her own Charge, 8 Batallions and 19 Squadrons.

Note, The King of *Portugal* was obliged by the Treaty of the 16th of *May*, 1703, to maintain at his own Charge in the Field 12000 Foot and 3000 Horſe.

And in Conſideration of a Subſidy of a Million of Rixdollars *per Annum*, of which her Majeſty paid Two Thirds, and the *States-General* One Third, that King obliged himſelf to furniſh 13000 Men more: But the whole Body of thoſe Troops never amounted to the laſt mentioned Number.

This Eſtimate is as exact as I could poſſibly make it from the Books that were found in the Offices of the Secretaries of State and War; and likewiſe out of the Accounts given by thoſe who were employed in that Service.

Signed,

H. St. John.

N°.

N°. V.

Eſtimate of the Troops which the States of the United Netherlands *ſent to* Portugal *and* Spain, *in the Year* 1703, *and after.*

Note, The four Batallions that ſtand next are only reckoned Two in the Liſt of the Troops in the *Netherlands*.

The 1300 Men from *England* are not included here.

	Batallions.	Squadrons	Foot.	Horſe and Dragoons.
In 1703, to *Portugal*	6	5	3960	852
In 1704, to *Portugal*	2		1320	
In 1705, to *Spain*	4		2400	
In 1706, to *Spain*	3	5	2376	780
In 1707, the *Palatine* Troops from *Italy* to *Spain*	6	8	4468	1488
In 1711, *Diesbag*'s Regiment of *Swiſſers* was raiſed, and lies ready on the Frontiers of *Swiſſerland*, to march to *Spain*	2		1200	
	23	18	15724	3120
				15724
				18844
Beſides theſe, the following Recruits were ſent to *Spain* and *Portugal*				
In the Autumn of 1704			600	
In the Spring of 1705			730	
In the Autumn of 1705			1283	
In the Autumn of 1706			1500	
In the Autumn of 1708			850	
				4963
				23807

Of the abovementioned Twenty Three Batallions, thoſe that follow were commanded Home, or incorporated with others in *Spain*, having ſuffered ſo much, that it was not poſſible to recruit them in *Portugal* and *Spain*, and they were all immediately recruited and compleated at Home.

1704	—	—	—	2	—	1320		
1707	3 Batal. at	792	2376					
	4 at —	660	2640					
	2 at —	600	1200	9	—	6216		
1711	—	—	—	2	—	1200		
				13	—	8736		
The *Palatine* Foot was, in 1709, reduced to 3300 Men, of whom the *States* paid 2591, making up four Batallions; ſo that the Quota of the *States* was leſſened —				2	—	1877		
				15	—	10613		
So that the *States*, in 1712, paid in *Spain*, including the Regiment of *Diesbag* —		—	—	3	18	5111	3120	
				23	18	15724	3120	

N°.

Of the Soul of the World; and of particular Souls: In a Letter to Mr. *Lock*, occaſioned by Mr. *Keil*'s Reflections upon an Eſſay lately publiſhed concerning *Reaſon*.

By the Author of that Eſſay.

Veritas obvia, ſed requirentibus. Minut. Fæl. in Octav.
Verborum umbris territamur, quum in Re nihil ſit abſurdi. Eraſ. in Hyperaſpiſt. l. 2.

SIR,

IT may ſeem an improper Way of making Satisfaction for a former Trouble, to give a new one: Yet ſince you have pardoned the Confidence that made a Preſent to you of my *Eſſay* concerning Reaſon, and that ſome very ſharp Reflections have been publiſhed on a Part of that Eſſay, I hold myſelf obliged to ſend you my Defence of it.

My Intention in this Addreſs is not to engage you in the Protection, or to the Countenance of any *Opinion*, further than as Reaſon allows it; nor is it to inſinuate that you are of mine, to gain it the more Authority: For though I could not procure a greater Advantage to any Opinion I own, than to have others perſuaded that you are of it; yet I muſt do you the Juſtice to profeſs that I am wholly ignorant what yours is, as to the Point in Debate.

I only appeal unto you now, as I did at firſt, as to an *Arbiter* or Judge, for which your excellent penetrating Underſtanding highly qualifies you, without inviting you as a Party to come to my Aſſiſtance, which at this Time I hope I ſhall not need.

Mr. *Keil*, in the Introduction to his Examination of Dr. *Burnet*'s *Theory of the Earth*, hath done me the Honour (though I am not ſure he deſigned it for one) to mention me with ſeveral very celebrated Perſons; but he doth it in that Manner, and with that Abatement, that I have no great Cauſe of being exalted on that regard.

After he had inſtanced in *Spinoſa*, Dr. *More*, and Mr. *Hobbs*, *as Authors of great Diſcoveries, which might well demand Eſteem and Veneration, if they were real*, he picks out ſome of their Opinions, which he believed the moſt obnoxious, *that by them his Readers may ſee how well they deſerve ſuch a Character.* He then adds, " But a new Philoſopher (naming me, who am not ambitious of that Title) " has much out-done any I have yet mentioned, in a Book lately " printed concerning Reaſon; there *he aſſures us, that there is but one univerſal* " *Soul in the World, which is omnipreſent, and acts upon all particular organized* " *Bodies, and makes them produce Actions more or leſs perfect, in Proportion to the* " *good Diſpoſition of their Organs. So that in* Beaſts *that Soul is the Principle of* " *the ſenſitive and vital Functions: In* Men *it does not only perform theſe*, but alſo " all other rational Actions: *Juſt as if you would ſuppoſe a Hand of a vaſt Exten-*

" *ſion, and a prodigious Number of Fingers, playing upon all the Organ-pipes in* " *the World, and making every one ſound a particular Note, according to the Diſ-* " *poſition and Frame of the Pipe: So this univerſal Soul, acting upon all Bodies,* " *makes every one produce various Actions, according to the different Diſpoſition and* " *Frame of their Organs.* This Opinion he as confidently aſſerts to be true, as " other Men believe that it is falſe; though it is impoſſible he ſhould any other " Way be ſure of it but by Revelation; and I believe he will find but few that " will take it upon his Word."

Mr. *Keil*, I hope, will give me Leave to tell him without Offence, that the Repreſentation of my Opinion, had he pleaſed to make it in my own Terms, would have been leſs invidious, and withal more juſt than it appears in his. However, ſince he hath endeavoured by a *Compariſon* to illuſtrate, or elſe to expoſe [for I cannot well reſolve which it is] the Sentiment I own, and that this Compariſon is capable of being applied unto it to good Purpoſe, I will myſelf make uſe of it my own Way.

But firſt I muſt give a Plan of my true Notion; which in ſhort is this: That the Moſaical Spirit (called *Gen.* i. 2. the Spirit of God) being a Spirit of Life, and preſent every where, in all the Parts of the Univerſe, is the Original of all the Energy, Motion, and Action therein, eſpecially of that which is Animal. And that particular *Souls* [for ſuch I acknowledge there be] are Portions of that Spirit acting in the ſeveral particular Bodies in which they are, according to the Capacities, Diſpoſitions, and Qualities of thoſe Bodies. A Sentiment conformable to two received Maxims: *Quicquid recipitur, recipitur ad Modum recipientis. Actus activorum ſunt in Patiente diſpoſito.*

To make it imaginable, let us ſuppoſe a vaſt Organ, conſiſting of innumerable Pipes of different Sizes and Fabric, and this Organ to be filled with Wind blown into it, and the Wind to be received, and ſome Portion of it appropriated by each particular Pipe: Imagine alſo innumerable Fingers playing upon thoſe ſeveral Pipes; for then each particular Pipe being played upon will, by means of the Wind, be made to ſound a particular Note, differing from the Notes of all the other Pipes, according as its Qualities, Diſpoſitions and Fabric differ.

The World is as ſuch an Organ [an orderly Aggregate] and the ſeveral Sorts of Bodies that compoſe it are as the ſeveral Pipes of that Organ; the Moſaical Spirit, preſent every where throughout the whole World, is as the Wind (which is) blown into the Organ. This Spirit is received and apportioned by the ſeveral particular *Bodies*, as the Wind in an Organ by the ſeveral particular *Pipes*; and as *theſe*, inſpired with Wind, being played upon, do ſound different Notes or Tunes, ſo *thoſe*, animated with their reſpective Portions of the Moſaical Spirit, being impreſſed and acted upon by Objects, do perform their ſeveral vital Functions, according to their ſeveral Diſpoſitions and Fabric.

Thus far the Compariſon plainly holds; but it may be carried a greater length, and made ſerve to illuſtrate what I ſay in my *Eſſay* concerning the Nature of Animals, of Spirits, and of Souls. For it may be added, that as the Power of making an Organ ſound at all, or the Power of making a particular Pipe to ſound a particular Note, ariſes not ſolely from the Frame of the Organ, or from that of the Pipe; for the Organ ſounds not at all, if it be not inſpired with

with Wind; and tho' inſpired with Wind, and conſequently though it gives a Sound, yet it will not ſound to ſuch and ſuch a particular Tune, if it be not play'd upon with the Fingers. In like manner, the Power of making a Body live, or of any particular Inſtrument of it exerciſe any particular Action of Cogitation, as of Seeing, or of Hearing, ariſes not ſolely from the Frame of the Body, or from that of the particular Inſtrument the Eye, or the Ear: For the Body lives not, if it be not animated with ſome Portion of the Moſaical Spirit; and if it be animated, and conſequently hath Life, as the inſpired Organ hath Sound, yet it doth not exerciſe that Life in this or that particular Manner of Cogitation, by its ſeveral Inſtruments, as in ſeeing by the Eye, or hearing by the Ear, if it be not acted upon, and impreſſed by Objects, any more than an Organ which is only inſpired, though it ſound, will ſound to this or that particular Tune, if it be not played upon with the Fingers. Thus Life originally comes from the Soul: I ſay comes *from* the Soul; for that, ſpeaking properly, it is not *in* the Soul, conſider'd as a Soul, any more than Motion is, which properly is not *in* the Soul, but *from* it. And as Life, ſo Cogitation, which is a Species of Life, proceeds from the Soul; but the Specification of it from the Body. And for the actual Exerciſe of Cogitation in its ſeveral Species, whether of Senſation or of Intellection, it comes originally from the Impreſſions and Operations of Objects. For *Images* and *Ideas*, that is to ſay, the Sentiments of the Senſe, and thoſe of the Mind or Underſtanding (they) are nothing but different Modifications of Cogitation; the former Modifications of Senſation, the latter of Intellection; after the ſame Manner as different Notes or Tunes are but different Modifications, or diverſe Modulations of Sound.

In this Way of conceiving, the Production of *Images* and *Ideas* is more perſpicuous and intelligible, as well as more con-natural, than in that of *Malbranch*; which, methinks, in Things of Nature, inſtead of having recourſe to natural Cauſes, doth a little too unphiloſophically, too ſoon repair unto the firſt Cauſe, which is the Author of Nature. But (as I ſaid) in the Way before ſet out, the Conception of it is very eaſy: For Images and Ideas being but the Modifications of Cogitation, they are made by Impreſſions, and made different by different Impreſſions of Objects upon the Faculties; as Notes and Tunes are made by the playing, and different Notes and Tunes by the different playing of the Fingers upon the ſeveral Pipes of an Organ.

This Compariſon of the World animated with the Spirit of God, to an Organ filled with Wind blown into it, cannot but be acknowledged to have much of Reſemblance and Agreeableneſs; and the more, if we conſider that this Spirit of God is called *Ruach* in Hebrew, a Word ſignifying Wind; and likewiſe that pneumatical or wind Inſtruments of Muſic are ſaid (though but metaphorically) to be animated, as I think they are in *Pſalm* cl. 6. For here it is ſaid, *Let every thing that hath* Neſhamah; the ſame Word that is uſed for the Soul of Man, *Gen.* ii. 7. when God is ſaid to breathe into him the Breath of Life: So here, *Let every thing that hath* Neſhamah, every thing that is animated with Wind, let every wind Inſtrument (for the Co-herence plainly carries it unto muſical Inſtruments) *praiſe the Lord.* And as *Neſhamah* comes from *Naſham*, *anhelare*, to pant or breathe, ſo likewiſe *Nepheſh*, another Word in Hebrew

for a Soul, derives from a Root of the like Signification, and often ſtands for Breath, as well as for a Soul.

Nor was this a particular Sentiment only of the *Jews*, but both the *Greeks* and *Romans* were in the ſame: For in *Greek* the Name for Spirit is πνεῦμα, and πνεῦμα comes from πνέω to blow; and ψυχὴ, the Word for Soul, derives from ψύχω to breathe. With the *Romans*, the Word for Soul is ſometimes *Anima*, ſometimes *Animus*; Words that come from ἄνεμος, which ſignifies Wind, as in like manner *Spiritus* does from *Spiro*.

When I affirm that [*Anima*] and [*Animus*] are often uſed promiſcuouſly in *Latin* Authors, I have good Authority to ſupport it, ſince *Cotta in Cicero*, *l. 3. de Nat. Deor.* ſaying, *Quî magis quam præter Animam, unde Animantium quoque conſtet Animus, ex quo Anima dicitur*, intimates the ſame: For there he calls the vital Principle of inferior Animals *Animus*, and in Effect ſays, both that it conſiſts of *Anima* or Breath (which is inſpired Air or Wind) and that for this Reaſon the Breath is called *Anima*, becauſe it is to inferior Animals what the *Animus* is to Man; [*Animus ex quo Anima dicitur.*] *Anima* is *Animus* with a little Diſtinction; *Anima* is the *Animus* or Soul of Brutes, and *Animus* is the *Anima* or Soul of Men; as in the Holy Scripture, where St. *Paul* ſpeaks of Body, Soul, and Spirit, what he means by Soul may be expreſſed by *Anima*, what he intends by Spirit by the Word *Animus*; the former Word importing the ſenſitive Principle, which is common to Beaſts, the latter the rational or intellectual, which is proper to Men.

To clear this Paſſage further, which I have quoted out of *Cicero*, and the Senſe I have given of it, we ought to conſider that the *Stoicks* held an Opinion that all Souls were Fire; and *Balbus* (who was one of them) taking it for granted, is told by *Cotta* that he was too forward in aſſuming ſo much; for, ſays he, 'tis the probable Opinion that the vital Principle or Soul is not Breath only as moſt think, or Fire only as Stoicks think, but a Complex or Reſult of both: *probabilius videtur, tale quiddam eſſe Animum, ut ſit ex igne atque anima temperatum.*

It is true *Julius Scaliger*, in his 107th Exercitation againſt *Cardan*, is extream ſevere upon that wonderful knowing and learned Man for ſaying but by Implication, that other Souls beſides the human were called *Animi*. For *Cardan* having ſaid, *Animi vires præcipue humani, &c. Scaliger* replies upon him, *Quaſi vero alius ſit Animus ab humano.* Inſinuating thereby, that to hold that every (or indeed that any) Soul might be called *Animus* is very abſurd, as in Truth it would be, if what he ſays was well grounded, to wit, that all wiſe Men did ever underſtand by *Animus* a Faculty of the human Soul, which he ſays; though at the ſame Time he confeſſes *Cicero* (who, it ſeems, for this Reaſon he thought not very wiſe) to be in a different Opinion: *Nam tametſi Cicero* (ſays he) *Animal ab Animo dictum ſcribit, tamen hominis proprium Animum, id eſt, Animæ vim, ſapientes omnes intellexere.*

And to leſſen *Cicero*'s Authority in this Particular, he impeaches him of Inconſtancy, telling us that at another time, ſpeaking of *Apronius*, he uſes ſuch Expreſſions as do evidently ſo diſtinguiſh between *Anima* and *Animus*, that no room is left to imagine but that he took the latter for only a Power or Faculty of the former. *At* (ſays *Scaliger*) *non ſervabit* [Cicero] *conſtantiæ opinionem in-*

vitis

vitis doctis viris, ejus enim verba de Apronio ſunt, qui non modo Animum integrum, ſed ne Animam quidem puram conſervare potuiſſet, ubi aperte Animæ facultatem innuit Animi appellatione.

But our Hypercritic has not exerciſed his Talent to Advantage in this Place: For though it muſt be acknowledged that *Animus* is very often uſed for a Faculty of the Soul, and not always taken for the Soul itſelf; yet when *Cicero* ſays of *Apronius*, that he could not *conſervare animam puram*, he does not mean by *Anima* his Soul (of which the *Animus*, that he diſtinguiſhes from it, ſhould be a Faculty) but he underſtands his Breath, which was impure, foul, and ſtinking. This is evident from the Orator himſelf, who in *Verrem, lib* 3. deſcribing this *Apronius*, ſays of him, that his Breath was ſo fetid, that, as ſome affirmed, the very Beaſts could not endure its Stink: *Ut odor Apronii teterrimus oris & corporis, quem, ut aiunt, ne beſtiæ quidem ferre poſſent.*

In truth, nothing more ſurpriſes me on this Occaſion, than to find *Scaliger* (a very extraordinary Man, and a great Critic) ſo poſitive in this Opinion, that none of the Ancients who had any Wit, ever denominated the Souls of inferior Animals *Animi*, or even that of Man *Animus*. For *Seneca*, Epiſt. 113. tells it to *Lucilius*, as the Opinion of the Ancients, that the *Animus* is an Animal, for that it makes us Animals; and that *Animals* receive their Name from *ANIMUS: Quæ ſint* (ſays he) *quæ Antiquos moverint* dicam; *Animal conſtat Animum eſſe*, cum ipſe efficiat ut ſimus Animalia, & cum ab illo Animalia nomen hoc traxerint.

However (to note it by the bye) it muſt not be ſaid neither, that the Ancients never gave the Name [*Anima*] to the Soul, or that *Anima* of old did only ſignify the Breath: For though *Anima* was uſed to ſignify the Breath, it was ſo but in a ſecondary Senſe, the Breath being therefore called *Anima*, becauſe the *Anima* or Soul was generally underſtood to be contained therein, or to conſiſt thereof. This is manifeſt not only from what is ſaid already, but (to omit others) from a Paſſage in *Seneca, L. de Provid.* where as he ſays, *Sive hauſtus ignis curſum Animæ remeantis* interſcidit, *&c.* where [*Anima remeans*] ſignifies Reſpiration or Breathing: So he likewiſe ſays, *Id quod vocatur MORI, quo Anima diſcedit a corpore*, &c. For here [*Anima*] is taken for the Soul. But to put it out of queſtion, that even the human Soul is called *Anima* by ancient Authors, I need to cite but *Seneca*'s 117th Epiſtle; where, writing of the Immortality of Souls, and ſaying that the Conſent of *Mankind* in that Point is a cogent Argument for the Truth thereof, he uſes the Word [*Anima*] not [*Animus*] for a Soul; *cum de ANIMARUM æternitate diſſerimus*, ſays he, *non leve momentum apud nos habet conſenſus hominum*, aut timentium Inferos, aut colentium.

I have a fruitful Subject before me, and could add a great deal more, if I believed it proper; but it may ſuffice at this Time to have ſhewed that both *Anima* and *Animus* are Names for a Soul, and that both derive from a Word that ſignifies Wind or Breath: For this evinces that the Compariſon I have made between the animated World and an inſpired Organ, is not any remote one, or (as we uſually ſpeak) far-fetch'd, but very fitting and agreeable.

However, though this Compariſon between the World and an Organ is well enough imagined, and carries much Reſemblance; yet ſince an Organ is but a Machine,

Machine, and only artificial, and that Animals are Works of Nature, and more than mere Machines, I chose in my *Essay* to illustrate and set out my Notion by Comparisons taken from Nature, as from Sound and Echo, from Light and Colours; but more particularly from our own Souls, and their different Operations in the several Organs of human Bodies, by means of their several Faculties.

In that Treatise I have shewed at large, *that there is* a universal vital Principle diffused throughout the World; and withal have shewed *how* that Principle comes to be singularized, and individuated, so as that there be particular Souls. I have also endeavour'd to satisfy Objections, and have instanced in the *Theodosian* and *Scotish* Monsters, as sensible Demonstrations of the Truth of what I affirm in Reference to this Subject.

I have shewed likewise, that the *Jewish* Doctors, many Philosophers, some Fathers, and several Schoolmen, were in the same Sentiment as to the main: For though, perhaps, they all agreed not either with each other, or with me, as to particular Explications; yet all held a vital Principle that doth permeate the whole World; and that, unto the Universe, is what the Soul of Man is to the Body. And if common Language does signify a common Sentiment, this must be owned to be one. For why else is Man called a Microcosm or little World, but because he is like the great, and has Soul and Body? And though this Expression is appropriated unto Man, yet if we believe *Galen*, the Ancients held that every *Animal* is a Microcosm, a World in little; and then surely, in their Opinion, the World itself is, after a Sort, an *Animal* in great.

Upon the whole it is evident, that for any to imagine I exclude particular Souls, because I do affirm a general (one) is to do me Injury; and in effect, the same as to infer that I deny there are Colours, because I affirm there is Light; or that I deny there is Echo, because I affirm there is Sound. In sum, he might as fairly conclude that all those deny the Powers of Seeing, of Hearing, of Feeling, *&c.* to be in any *Animal*, who do affirm that the *Animal* has a Soul which is the Principle of those Powers; for those Powers in divided Bodies would be so many Souls, that in the same Body are only so many Faculties of one Soul. This way of Reasoning goes on the same Ground that *Seneca*'s does, when, in another Case, he says, *Epist.* 113. *Animal sum & Homo*, non tamen duos esse dices: Quare? *quia separati esse debent. Ita dico, alter ab altero debet esse diductus, ut duo sint.*

Yet, after all, it has pleased Mr. *Keil* to make a sharp Reflection upon me for this Opinion (but with how much Equity or Candour, our Readers must determine) and he doth it in these Terms:

" *This Opinion he as confidently asserts to be true, as other Men believe it is* " *false; though it is impossible he should any other way be sure of it but by Reve-* " *lation; and I believe he will find but few that will take it upon his Word.*

First he says, *I confidently assert*, &c. As for Confidence, I acknowledge that a Confidence like his in this Reflection, that does only assert but not prove, cannot merit any great Commendation: But otherwise I know no Fault in being confident of any Opinion, or in a confident Asserting of it (which however I am no way conscious of) if there is Reason for that Confidence, and that the Opinion be well-grounded.

But

But this he ſuppoſes mine is not; for he ſays, *I confidently aſſert*, &c. *though it is impoſſible I ſhould any other way be ſure of it but by Revelation.* If he mean it is impoſſible I ſhould be abſolutely ſure of it but by Revelation, and that for this Reaſon it is a Preſumption in me to aſſert the Opinion, ſince I am not aſſured of it that way, he muſt excuſe me if I differ from him. For, in the firſt Place, I will take the Liberty to tell him what I believe moſt others (who conſider) would upon occaſion, that there are many Degrees of a juſt Confidence, that yet do all fall much beneath Infallibility, or abſolute Certainty. Beſides, methinks it ſhould content him, as being a ſufficient Ground of aſſerting any Opinion, even with Confidence, that there is Reaſon for the Opinion, though he that aſſerts it cannot be abſolutely ſure of it without a Revelation; eſpecially ſince Mr. *Keil* himſelf, I dare ſay, will not affirm he had a Revelation for all he confidently aſſerts in his Book, of which yet he cannot be abſolutely ſure without one; but what there is of Revelation in the Queſtion between him and me, he may be told hereafter, and might have learned ſomewhat of it from the Eſſay, where alſo he might have ſeen that there was ſome Reaſon for the Opinion.

And whereas he ſays, that I *as confidently aſſert my Opinion to be true, as other Men believe that it is falſe:* If I ſhould yield him ſo much, what would follow but this, That if this be all, it is only Confidence on either Side; I confidently aſſert it to be true, other Men *as* confidently believe that it is falſe? And when equal Confidence and nothing elſe is in both the Scales, what ſhall turn them? But certainly though other Men (if but *other Men*) believe an Opinion to be falſe, that any one affirms to be true, it will not neceſſarily follow that it is falſe indeed; for if it ſhould, Mr. *Keil* himſelf, who writes in oppoſition to *other Men* (and thoſe very worthy Men) muſt believe himſelf in the wrong Box, till he can convince them, ay, and all the reſt of Mankind that think otherwiſe than he does; for till then other Men will believe that what he ſays is falſe. Indeed, if my Opinion went contrary to common Senſe, and that all other Men, or but all conſiderate, wiſe, and thinking Men were in another Belief, I ſhould be very apt to ſuſpect I was impoſed upon by falſe Appearances; but there is nothing of this in the Matter, as will be manifeſt preſently.

Mr. *Keil* cloſes up his Cenſure (for all he ſays againſt me is Cenſure only, not Argument) with telling his Readers his Belief, which is, that I *will find but few that will take the Opinion upon my Word.* In truth it is not my Deſire, as it is not Reaſon any ſhould; nor, as it falls out, is there any need they ſhould: For if a Revelation in the Holy Scriptures, if the Authority of ſome of the moſt thinking and ſagacious Philoſophers, and if Reaſons taken from the *Phænomena* of Nature, can put any Sentiment beyond the Misfortune of being precarious, mine is ſafe enough from that Imputation.

As for Revelation, what Intereſt it hath in this Opinion, I have ſhewed in my Eſſay from *Geneſis* i. 2. compared with *Pſalm* cxlvii. 15, 16, *&c.* which I will not repeat, only I will add that I think it abundantly confirmed by an Evidence I find in the Book intituled *The Wiſdom of* Solomon, where it is ſaid, Ch. i. 7. *The Spirit of the Lord filleth all the World; and the ſame that maintaineth all things hath Knowledge of the Voice.*

This

This Spirit, as it hath in the Holy Scriptures the Denomination of the Spirit of God, becauſe it comes from him, and is his Hand in all his Influences upon the World; ſo it hath that of the Spirit (or Soul) of the Creatures, whether theſe be Plants, Senſitives, or Men, as being that vital Principle that acts and actuates them all. Thus in *Pſalm* civ. 29. that which is called the Breath of the Creatures, or the immediate Principle that makes them live, and is their Soul, upon whoſe Departure they are ſaid to die, and to return to their Duſt, is, in the 30th Verſe of the ſame *Pſalm*, called the Spirit of the Lord, which being ſent into them, makes them live: *Thou ſendeſt forth thy Spirit, and they live; and thou reneweſt the Face of the Earth.*

This is particularly affirmed as to Man by *Elihu*, Job xxxiii. 4. *The Spirit of God hath made me, and the Breath of the Almighty hath given me Life:* By *Job* himſelf, Chap. xxvii. 3. *All the while my Breath is in me, and the Spirit of God is in my Noſtrils:* And by *Elihu* again more comprehenſively, *Job* xxxiv. 14, 15. *If he ſet his Heart upon Man* (to take notice of him, and remark his Iniquities) *and* (conſequently) *gather unto himſelf his Spirit and his Breath; all Fleſh ſhall periſh together*, and Man ſhall turn again unto Duſt. Plainly intimating, that the Spirit of God (as if it were a common Soul) is the original Principle of Life and vital Operation in Man, as well as in all Things elſe that have Life. See *Iſa.* xlii. 5.

The prophetical Scheme in *Ezek.* xxxvii. concerning the dry Bones, is very pertinent, and full to the ſame Purpoſe: For when the dry Bones are to be made to live, God is introduced ſaying to them, ver. 5. *Behold, I will cauſe Breath to enter into you, and you ſhall live.* And he effects it by the ſame Steps, and in the ſame Manner as he created Man at firſt. For firſt he organized the Bodies, ver. 7, 8. *The Bones came together, Bone to his Bone, the Sinews and the Fleſh came upon them, and the Skin covered them above.* But though the Bodies were organized, yet being not inſpired *(for there was no Breath in them)* they were not made to live as yet; and therefore to make them living Bodies, and put Soul into them, the Prophet had a Commiſſion to the MUNDANE SPIRIT to come and animate them, ver. 9, 10. *Then ſaid he unto me, Propheſy unto the Wind, propheſy, Son of Man, and ſay to the Wind, Thus ſaith the Lord God, Come from the four Winds, O Breath, and breathe upon theſe ſlain, that they may live: So I propheſied, as he commanded me, and the Breath came into them, and they lived.* Where it may be obſerved, that the Spirit that quickneth and giveth Life to thoſe Bodies is compared to inſpired Wind or Breath; that this Spirit of Life or quickening Breath is diffuſed throughout the Univerſe in all the Quarters thereof; and that it is intirely at the Command and Beck of God: For it is Breath is called upon, to come and quicken thoſe Bodies; and it is called upon to come and quicken them from the four Winds; and it is no ſooner called upon, but it comes forthwith, and quickens them.

It may alſo be obſerved, that the Breath or common Spirit of Life, that blew upon thoſe Bodies, as it came upon them all, ſo it was apportioned by each; for the Breath muſt be in them: And where the Breath is in all, each hath his Portion of it in particular, and then may ſay as *Job*, xxvii. 3. *All the while*

while my Breath is in me, and the Spirit of God is in my Noſtrils, &c. So long his Breath is in him, as the Spirit of God is in his Noſtrils.

Thus every Man hath his own Soul, but this Soul is only a Portion of the Spirit of God that (as a Soul) does permeate the Univerſe; ſo that it is (as in *Pythagoras*'s Expreſſion, which I find in *Lucretius*) Ἀπόσπασμα αἰθέρος, a Spark of Ether; or as others chuſe to expreſs it, *Particula Auræ Divinæ:* which, according to the Grounds that I have laid in my Eſſay, I would render a Portion of Mind in Matter. So much for my Opinion from the *Authority* of Revelation.

As for *that* of Philoſophy, I produced in my Eſſay, as Vouchers of my *Hypotheſis*, not only the great Philoſopher laſt named, who was Founder of the *Italick* Sect, but alſo *Zeno*, *Seneca*, *Plutarch*, *Marcus Antoninus*, and *Apuleius*. To all which, from as many as would fill a Volume, I will add a few more:

Thales, the Father of the *Ionick* Sect, held (as *Laertius* tells us) that Water was the Principle of all Things, and that the World was animated [ἔμψυχον] in which Doctrines (as is very probable) he was inſtructed by the Moſaic Tradition [of the Waters, and the Spirit that moved upon them] for unto this his *Dogmata* are very conformable.

There are in *Plato* ſo many Teſtimonies of a Mundane Soul, and his Opinion is ſo generally known, that it were to overdo to inſtance Particulars.

I have mentioned *Zeno Citticus* in my Eſſay; but ſeeing he was Founder of the *Stoick* Sect, and that I find in *Laertius*, who wrote his Life, a fuller State of his Opinion, and in more Particulars conſonant to mine than what I have mentioned already, I will produce him again: He then, as *Laertius* tells us, aſſerted a Mind that permeated every Portion of the World, after the ſame manner that the Soul in us doth permeate the Body: εἶς ἅπαν αὐτῷ [κόσμου] μέρος διήκοντος, καθάπερ ἐφ' ὑμῶν τῆς ψυχῆς. But through ſome more, through others leſs, ἀλλ' ἤδη δι' ὧν μὲν μαλλον, δι' ὧν δὲ ἧττον. For Inſtance, ſome, he ſays, it pervaded only as a Habit [ὡς ἕξις] as through the Bones and Nerves; but through others as a Mind [ὡς νοῦς], as through the Underſtanding or rational Part [ἧς διὰ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ.]

This Sentiment of a Divine Virtue that pervaded the whole Univerſe, was in ancient Time ſo generally received, that even the Tyrant *Phalaris*, in an Epiſtle Conſolatory, written by him to the Children of *Steſichorus* (if indeed he was the Author of thoſe Epiſtles paſſing in his Name) mentions it as ſuch an one; ἡ γὰρ ἀθάνατος τοῦ Θεοῦ μοῖρα, ſays he, πρὸς τὸ πᾶν ὅσα, αὕτη, &c. which his honoured and very learned Tranſlator renders thus: *Immortalis quippe Dei vis, quæ per univerſum diffunditur, mihi nihil niſi hæc ipſa harmonia videtur.* He is alſo underſtood, by that excellent Perſon in his Annotations, to mean the Mundane Soul of the *Pythagoreans*, when in his 104th Epiſtle, which is to the Inhabitants of *Catana*, he ſays, εἰγεθείας τυχῆς, ὥσπερ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς φύσεως στοιχεῖα, &c. *Si enim Divinæ ſortis, quemadmodum cætera naturæ elementa*, &c.

And even *Ariſtotle*, though a great Oppoſer of the Platonic Soul (yet) being prevailed upon by irreſiſtable Experience (he) in a Paragraph quoted out of him by *Julius Scaliger*, in the 26th Exercitation againſt *Cardan*, comes ſomewhat near to my Opinion: For there he affirms, γίνεται δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ ὑγρῷ καὶ τὰ ζῶα κατὰ φυτὰ, διὰ τὸ ἐν γῇ μὲν ὑπαρχειν ὑγρὸν, ἐν δὲ ὕδατι πνεῦμα, ἐν

δὲ τῷ πάντι θερμότητα ψυχικὴν, ὡς τρόπον τινα πάντα ψυχῆς εἶναι πλεῆ· That *both Animals and Plants are produced in the Earth and in the Waters, for that there is, as in the Earth Moiſture, ſo in the Water Spirit, and throughout the Univerſe an animating* [*vivific*] *Heat; inſomuch that after a Sort* [it is true that] *all Things are full of Soul.*

To thoſe Philoſophers I will add the well-known Teſtimony of a philoſophical Poet, *Virgil, Æn.* 6.

Principio cœlum, ac terras, campoſque liquentes,
Lucentemque globum lunæ, Titaniaque aſtra,
Spiritus intus alit, totamque infuſa per Artus
Mens agitat molem, & magno ſe corpore miſcet.

Rendered by Eugenius Philalethes *thus:*

The Heavens, the Earth, and all the liquid Main,
The Moon's bright Globe, and Stars *Titanian*,
A Spirit within maintains, and their whole Maſs
A Mind, which through each Part infus'd doth paſs,
Faſhions and works, and wholly doth tranſpierce
All this great Body of the Univerſe.

I begin to be fatigued with the unpleaſant Drudgery of quoting and tranſcribeing; and therefore wholly omitting modern Teſtimonies, I will add but one more of the ancient, and that ſhall be from *Cicero*, who, *L.* 2. *de Natur. Deor.* introduces *Balbus* demonſtrating that all Things in the World are ſubject to a ſentient perceptive Nature, and are adminiſtred and governed by it. This he evidences by ſhewing, that particular Works of Nature have infinitely more of the Beauties of Art and Contrivance than the moſt noble Productions of human Skill, and yet that no particular Operation of Nature (for Example, the Production of a Vine, of a Tree, or of that of the Body of any *Animal*) can ſhew, as to Conformation, Order, and Situation of Parts, or as to Adjuſtment and Fitneſs of them for Ends and Uſes, that wonderful Sagacity, that Subtilty of Invention, or that wiſe Contrivance that ſhines with great Brightneſs in the general Frame of the World; whence he confidently but juſtly infers, that the whole World is under the Conduct and wiſe Adminiſtration of a ſentient and perceptive Nature, or elſe that nothing at all is ſo. *Aut igitur*, ſays he, *nihil eſt quod a ſentiente Natura regatur, aut mundum regi confitendum eſt.*

This laſt Teſtimony as it is an Evidence, ſo it is alſo an internal Argument; and being taken from the *Phænomena* of Nature, reminds me of what I undertook to do in the third Place, which was to ſhew that my Opinion had Reaſons for it in Nature, and grounded upon Things themſelves: And theſe I will now produce.

The firſt is taken from the Uniformity even in Deformity, the mutual Relation and the Harmony of Parts that is in the World in its general Fabrick, if it may be allowed to make a Judgment of the whole Frame by that of a particular

particular Syſtem, which we ourſelves belong unto: But I will not now inſiſt any longer on this Argument, becauſe it is ſet out at large in my Eſſay in many Inſtances, and the learned Reader will find more in *Nemeſius de Nat. Humana.*

Again, this *Hypotheſis* accounts for another *Phænomenon* that cannot be ſo well accounted for any other way, that whenever any Matter becomes diſpoſed for *Animal* Life, this is preſently afforded to it; which how it ſhould come to paſs, is eaſily conceived, on Suppoſal of a Mundane Soul, or a Principle of vital Energy diffuſed every where; but otherwiſe one muſt imagine particular Souls, and thoſe too to be Spirits (that are) always every where in waiting for an Office, which is hard to be admitted: I ſay [and thoſe too to be Spirits] for that it is certain that mere corporeal Souls (as ſome call them) ſuffice not for animal Operations, even though we ſhould conceive them (as thoſe do) to conſiſt of *Flame* for vital Actions, and of *Light* for the ſenſitive ones: For if Matter be not radically *vital*, and ſo there be no need at all of Spirit or Mind, and then there is no ſuch thing, it will be abſolutely inconceiveable how Flame and Light (which are onlyMatter under greater Comminution of its Parts of a particular Texture, and in rapid Motion) can of themſelves be vital and perceptive, or make other Things become ſo. But to return.

Mr. *Lewenhoec*'s Experiment of pepper'd Water, every Drop whereof affords (as he ſays) ſo many Thouſands of Animalcles, is a ſenſible Demonſtration of an omnipreſent vital Principle that acts as Occaſion is; and a ſenſible Demonſtration too of ſpontaneous *equivocal* Generations: For ſo I call the Productions of *Animals* that do not come from Seeds in the common Acceptation of this Word. I acknowledge it almoſt a Scandal but to name *equivocal* Productions at this time, they are now ſo generally diſbelieved and exploded; but for my Part, I am not aſhamed to confeſs that as yet I have not obſerved ſo much ſaid by the excellent *Redi*, or by any other Author againſt the Reality of them, as to oblige me to depart from a Sentiment that hath been the common Belief of moſt Inquirers into Nature, in all Ages before this laſt. And the *Hypotheſis* of a Mundane Soul will make Productions of that kind conceiveable; without which indeed it will be hard to apprehend how they can be.

Dr. *Cox*, in a Proceſs of extracting volatile Salt and Spirit out of Vegetables, which is deſcribed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, intimates this Obſervation; That many of the Herbs, putrefied and fermented after his way, did ſwarm with Maggots, eſpecially at the Bottom, and in the Middle, where (he tells us) Flies and other Inſects could have no Acceſs to depoſite their Eggs, and where (he tells us) Flies and other Inſectscould have no Acceſs to depoſite their Eggs, and where the Heat is ſo violent that they could not poſſibly ſubſiſt. Some Years after that learned Perſon, I find another, the experienced *Juncken*, in Proceſſes of much a like Nature, making the like Obſervation, that in the Putrefaction and Fermentation of the Vegetables, great Numbers of Inſects and little Animals were generated, though (as he ſays) the Veſſels were never ſo cloſe ſtopped: And indeed it is commonly obſerved, that Putrefactions do terminate in Animals of one Sort or another.

The Relations of Barnacles, that are ſaid to be Birds ariſing out of the putrefied Relicks of ſhipwreck'd Planks, which Relations have been confirmed to

me by an Eye-witneſs of unſuſpected Credit, are further confirmed by the Teſtimony of an Eagle-eyed Philoſopher, who tells us he hath ſeen a Creature of that Kind; for ſo I underſtand *Julius Scaliger*, when in his 59th Exercitation againſt *Cardan* he ſays, *In Oceano Britannico magis mireris ignotam Avem, Anatis Facie, Roſtro pendere de Reliquiis putridis Naufragiorum, quoad abſolvatur, atque abeat quæſitum ſibi Piſces, unde alatur: hanc quoque vidimus nos.*

To the former Story, *Scaliger* in the ſame Exercitation adds another, which he calls miraculous; it is of an *Oiſter-ſhell* not very great, that was preſented unto *Francis*, King of *France*, and contained in it a little Bird, almoſt finiſhed with Pinions, Feet, and the Bill, ſticking to the Extremities of the Shell. This Bird, he ſays, ſome learned Men believed a Transformation of the Oiſter: His own Words are theſe, *Singularis nunc Miraculi ſubtexenda Hiſtoria eſt, ubi de Aquis agimus. Allata eſt Franciſco Regi opt. max. Concha non admodum magna, cum Avicula intus pene perfecta alarum Faſtigiis, Roſtro, Pedibus, hærente extremis Oris Oſtraci. Viri docti mutatum in Aviculam* Oſtreum *ipſum exiſtimarunt.*

My Lord *Bacon*, in his Natural Hiſtory, Century *4th*, Exp. 228. tells us, That if the Spirits be not merely detained, but protrude a little, and that Motion be confuſed and inordinate, there followeth Putrefaction, which ever diſſolveth the Conſiſtence of the Body into much Inequality, as in Fleſh, rotten Fruits, ſhining Wood, *&c.* and alſo in the Ruſt of Metals; but if that Motion be in a certain Order, there followeth Vivification and Figuration, as both in living Creatures bred of Putrefaction, and in living Creatures perfect: But if the Spirits iſſue out of the Body, there followeth Deſiccation, *&c.*

In Experiment 339, his Lordſhip further tells us, that all Moulds are Inceptions of Putrefaction, as the Mould of Pyes and Fleſh, the Moulds of Oranges and Lemons; which Moulds afterwards turn into Worms, or more odious Putrefactions, *&c.*

And methinks the Production of *Plants* without Seed affords a very weighty Argument for the like Production of *Animals*. My Lord *Bacon* gives us many Inſtances of the former in the *6th* Century of his Natural Hiſtory, where he tells us, *Experiment* 563, that it is certain that Earth taken out of the Foundation of Vaults and Houſes, and Bottoms of Wells, and then put into Pots, will put forth ſundry Kinds of Herbs: But ſome Time is required for the Germination; for if it be taken from a Fathom deep, it will put forth the firſt Year; if much deeper, not till after a Year or two. And, in the 565th *Experiment*, he adds, that the Nature of the Plants growing out of the Earth ſo taken up, doth follow the Nature of the Mould itſelf; as, if the Mould be ſoft and fine, it putteth forth ſoft Herbs, as Graſs, Plantane, and the like; if the Earth be harder and coarſer, it putteth forth Herbs more rough, as Thiſtles, Furze, *&c.*

Scaliger, in his 323d *Exercitation* againſt *Cardan*, ſpeaking of the Production of Frogs, that ſometimes have been rained in great Abundance, of which there he gives ſeveral Inſtances, tells *Cardan*, who affirmed them to be bred of Frogs-Eggs or Spawn, that they were ſpontaneous or equivocal, as being Productions of a general Nature, and not ſeminal ones; which Kind of animal Productions he evinceth to be poſſible the ſame Way that I have, by ſhewing that there are the like in *Plants*. *Quid multa*, ſays he, *nonne quotidiana fatura cæleſtis Genii, quæ Natura eſt Potentiam declarant* Plantæ, *nullis ortæ Seminiis?*

My

My Lord *Bacon* assures us for a certain Truth, that *Toads* have been found in the middle of a Free-stone, where it cannot be imagined that an *Animal* of that Kind should come and lay her Eggs; and I have been credibly informed, that very lately a living Toad was found in the Heart or Middle of a large Oak when it was felled.

The *Animation* of Horse-hairs lying in the Summer-time in Pools, has been observed of many, some of whom I have discoursed concerning it; and an understanding Man of my Acquaintance assured me, that more than once he hath made an Experiment which very much confirms the Truth thereof. He takes a Hair with the Root, pluck'd from the Mane or Tail of a Mare that is proud, and in a warm Season puts it into a wooden Dish full of Water, where letting it lie two or three Days, the Hair in that Space will, for the most Part, become quickened with a strong Motion, and a Head like that of a Serpent grow out of its Root.

The infectious Water of the Showers that accompany the Tornadoes on the *African* Coast, standing any where, do (as Mr. *Terry* tells us in his Relation of a Voyage to *East-India)* presently bring forth many little offensive Creatures; which is likewise affirmed by Mr. *Herbert*.

The *Vermination* in human (as well as other animal) Bodies, of which there are innumerable Instances in medical Writers, as in *Bartholinus*'s Centuries, in *Borellus*'s, in *Tulpius*'s Observations, *&c.* is another weighty Argument for spontaneous Generations; but I will mention only one: A Worm of an unusual Figure, with the Head of a Serpent, found in the left Ventricle of the Heart of a Gentleman, whose Name was *John Pennant*. The Relation well attested, together with the Figure of the Worm, was in the Year 1639 printed at *London*, by one *George Miller*, to which Relation I refer the Reader. This *Phænomenon* of Vermination is a good Evidence of SPONTANEOUS GENERATION; and this, a weighty Confirmation of the Existence of a *Mundane Soul*.

Another Argument for it may be taken from the Difficulties that the Admittance thereof will remove, as to the Production of human Souls; which some conceive to come, as they express it, *ex traduce*; not indeed by way of Eduction from the Power of the Matter, for they acknowledge no such Power therein, but by Propagation. But others think them immediately created by God, either all at once, as those do who hold the Doctrine of Pre-existence, or (as most imagine) on Occasion, according to the Exigence of Matter.

As for the first Opinion, that of Traduction, I find it in *Nemesius*, *Lib. de Nat. Human. Cap.* 2. where he tells us, it was the Sentiment of *Apollinarius*, that Souls do propagate Souls, as Bodies do Bodies; and *Julius Scaliger* concurs with him, affirming that Souls may come from Souls, *ut Lumen de Lumine*, that is, that Souls do propagate one another, after the same Manner as Candles light one another. *Poiret* believes, as the two former, that Souls are propagated, but extends the Business of Propagation somewhat further than they do, and upon other Grounds: For in his *Cogitat. Rational.* l. 1. c. 5. *in Annotat.* he affirms, that all Things are prolific, and that as Matter produces Matter, and Motion is productive of Motion, so in like Manner one Soul or Spirit may generate and produce another.

But

But there are many Difficulties in this Opinion; of all which I will inſiſt on this only: That a Soul, if it be an immaterial Subſtance (as moſt conceive it to be) is as incapable of Propagation (otherwiſe than by a Metaphor) as it is of Diſcerption or actual Diviſion. For even the Propagation of Light is by Diſcerption; ſome *Effluvia* or Emanations of the enlightening Candle paſſing into that which is lightened. And for the Propagation of Motion, the Way thereof is ſo obſcure, it cannot afford Light to this Subject: Only this is certain, that in local Motion derived from Body to Body, ſo much of it as is imparted unto one, departs from the other; which (I ſuppoſe) will not be admitted in the Propagation of Spirits. And as to the Prolificknes of Matter, I ſhould think but few will allow thereof, who conſider that there is no more of Matter in the World now than ever was, and that Matter is ingenerable and incorruptible, being a *Subject* of all ſubſtantial Mutations, but not the *Term* of any: So that if the Generation of Souls has no other or no better Foundation than this, That Soul is productive of Soul, as Matter is of Matter, I conclude the Belief thereof will never become general with knowing Men.

As for *Creation* of Souls (an Opinion generally held by Divines, and among our late Philoſophers particularly embraced by *Des Cartes)* many Objections lie againſt it, of which I will touch but one or two, as ſticking moſt with me.

The firſt is, That it ſeems a little unphiloſophical to call in a ſupernatural Agent for a Buſineſs and Work of Nature, ſuch as is (if any is) the Propagation of Kind: My full Conſent is with *Julius Scaliger*, when he ſays, *Nihil quod eſt in Natura præter Naturam eſt*: Nothing is in Nature that hath not a Cauſe in Nature.

Again, it may be further argued, that if human Souls are immediately created by God, it muſt be admitted that thoſe of Beaſts are ſo too, ſince nothing can be clearer, even to Senſe, than that Men and Beaſts do propagate their Kinds the ſame Way, whether that Way be by Creation, by Traduction, or by any other whatever. There is in Mankind, as well as in the kinds of Beaſts, a Diſtinction of Sexes for the Buſineſs of Generation; a Furniture and Diſpoſition of Organs for it in both; and in both a like Uſe and Application of Organs. All Men and Beaſts are alike conceived in their reſpective Wombs, alike nouriſhed and augmented, and both come out in the ſame Manner: And therefore there being the ſame Evidence, it is but Reaſon to make the ſame Concluſion for both.

I know this Argument will have but little effect upon *Carteſians*, who, againſt the Teſtimony of Senſe, believing that Beaſts are only Machines, without any conſcious Perception or Knowledge, do not own them to have Souls as Men have, in the proper Senſe of the Word. But yet it cannot want its due Weight with all others, who, believing their own, refuſe not Senſes unto Beaſts; as thinking they have Reaſon to conclude that Beaſts ſee and hear, *&c.* as Men themſelves do, becauſe they have Eyes and Ears, *&c.* as Men themſelves have, and, to all Appearance, make the ſme Uſe of them upon Occaſion, as Men themſelves upon the like Occaſion would do. And all theſe will find the ſame Reaſon to infer that Men and Beaſts beget their like the ſame Way, becauſe there are the ſame Appearances to make us think they ſhould.

Theſe Appearances are obvious, and they ought to be conſidered; nor are they capable (I think) of being ſolved, or the other Difficulties, that do lie in both the Ways of Creation and Traduction, capable of being removed otherwiſe than on the *Hypotheſis* I have propoſed, by acknowledging a Mundane Soul, that, according to the Exigence and Diſpoſition of the *Matter*, is always ready with a Portion of itſelf to animate and actuate *it*; ſo that there is no Need of any new Creation, of Præ-exiſtence, or of any Traduction of particular Souls. But to proceed:

There is another *Phænomenon* very obvious, that is better ſolved on this Hypotheſis of a Mundane Soul, than it can be on any other; to wit, that certain *Animals* do move and ſtir, and give other Tokens of Life and Senſation, though cut in ſeveral Pieces, ſuch as Eels, Snakes, Earth-worms, Butter-flies, *&c.* This in the common Way is hard to be conceived, ſince it muſt infer either that there is a Diſcerption and actual Diviſion of Souls, of which, if Souls be immaterial, they are abſolutely incapable; or elſe that vital Effects may remain in Being after that the Soul, which is the next immediate Cauſe of thoſe Effects, is departed; contrary to the Maxim, *Sublata cauſa, tollitur Effectus.*

But the Reaſon of this *Phænomenon*, if we ſuppoſe an univerſal Mundane Soul, will be very plain: For ſince the Parts of thoſe divided Animals do retain for ſome time the ſame Qualities and Diſpoſitions that they had before their *Separations*, there not being in them, as in *thoſe* of other Animals, that ſudden Diſſolution of the Texture, or of the Spirits; it follows that they muſt receive the ſame Influences which they had before from the Mundane Soul, and conſequently, that for ſome Time they muſt continue to live, and in convenient Circumſtances would longer; for like Reaſons as the Parts of Vegetables do, which, though ſeparated from their Wholes, yet continue to live in Slips, in Buds, in Grafts, when inſerted into other *Wholes*. Nor do I ſee but that the Parts of *Animals* might be inoculated, or ingrafted into Animals, as well as thoſe *Vegetables* are into Vegetables, if the Qualities and Diſpoſitions of Animal Parts, when ſeparated, could be as well preſerved as thoſe of Vegetables, and a Coalition of them as well made: A Sentiment that is confirmed by the Experiment of *Taliacotius*, and by all the others that the *Chirurgia Curtorum* affords.

Thus I have inſtanced in a few *Phænomena* of Nature, to which I might have added many others of a higher Quality; but theſe ſufficiently confirm my *Hypotheſis*, againſt which I cannot imagine any Objection of Moment, capable of being raiſed, except this, that it does ſeem to render the Diſtinction between human and inferior Souls leſs conceivable, and in Conſequence the Immortality of the former.

But this Objection will ſoon vaniſh, if we but ſuppoſe there is a firm and indiſſolvable Union between the Spirit of God and its Vehicle in *Man*, and that there is not the like Union between it and its Vehicle in *inferior Animals*. And this Suppoſal is not without Ground: For ſuch a firm indiſſolvable Union betwixt the Spirit of God and its Vehicle, muſt be admitted to be in *Angels*, if they are (as they are) immortal; and then the Ligament or Bond of that Union, provided it be natural, muſt conſiſt in a natural, but a naturally immutable, Congruity. Now the Syſtem of Spirits, that in Man is the Vehicle of the Mundane

Mundane Soul, muſt be owned to have more Alliance unto that of Angels than the Vehicles of it in inferior Animals have, if we conſider the Advantage the human Underſtanding hath in Excellency of Operations, above the Imagination of Beaſts; and alſo conſider that the Souls of Men are capable of the Divine Image, which thoſe of Beaſts are not: For thence it will evidently follow that the former have more of a natural Congruity to the Spirit of God, which is the Soul of the World, than the latter have; thoſe as to their Vehicles being of a celeſtial, but theſe of a terreſtrial and elementary Matter. No wonder then if the Spirit of a Man, when he dies, goes upward, but that of a Beaſt goes downward.

Thus, Sir, I think I have evinced from the holy Scriptures, and from ſeveral *Phænomena* of Nature, that there is a Principle of Life diffuſed throughout the Univerſe; and I have likewiſe evinced that it was the Sentiment of many great Philoſophers: So that though I am not very fond of any Opinion, I hope I may ſay of this, without Injuſtice to Mr. *Keil*, that what he hath offered in Contradiction to it, does in no Degree impeach its Credit, or leſſen mine for aſſerting it. However, I do own I am obliged to that ingenious Gentleman for the Occaſion he hath given me of further explaining and confirming my *Hypotheſis*, and thereby too of profeſſing a ſecond Time before the World, that I am, with the greateſt Reſpect,

June 13, 1698.

SIR,

Your devoted humble Servant,

Rich. Burthogge.

From the Collection of Sir Thomas Robinſon, *Bart. of* Rookby-Park *in the County of* York.

An ESSAY towards the HISTORY of the laſt Miniſtry and Parliament, containing Seaſonable Reflections on *Favourites*, *Miniſters of State*, *Parties*, *Parliaments*, and *Publick Credit*. 1710.

Poſtquam Reſpublica in paucorum Potentium jus, atque dicitionem conceſſit, ſemper illis Reges, Tetrarchæ vectigales eſſe; Populi, Nationes, ſtipendia pendere; Ceteri omnes ſtrenui, boni, nobiles atque ignobiles, vulgus fuimus, ſine gratia, ſine auctoritate, his obnoxii, quibus, ſi Reſp. valeret, formidini eſſemus. Itaque omnis Gratia, Potentia, Honos, Divitiæ apud illos ſunt, aut ubi eſſe volunt: Nobis reliquerunt pericula, repulſas, judicia, egeſtatem. Quæ quouſque tandem patiemini?—Cum tabulas, ſigna, toreumata emunt, nova diruunt, alia ædificant; poſtremo omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt, vexant: tamen ſumma lubidine Divitias ſuas vincere nequerunt. Salluſt. *de Bello Catill.*

THE late Changes in the *Miniſterial* Part of the Government, and the *Diſſolution* of the laſt *Parliament*, having occaſion'd various Speculations and Cenſures; and the Party, who for ſome Time have ſtrenuouſly oppoſed theſe *Alterations*, infuſing now, with great Induſtry, ſtrange *Fears*

Fears and *Jealouſies* into the Minds of her Majeſty's Subjects: The Writer of theſe Papers, who had ever the true *Intereſt*, *Peace* and *Welfare* of this flouriſhing Nation in his View, thought it his Duty to beſtow ſome leiſure Hours on theſe important Matters, and to communicate to the Public the following *ESSAY*; wherein he hopes he has traced theſe *Changes* to their true Cauſes, and given ſufficient Reaſons for the ſame: Heartily wiſhing, that theſe his Endeavours, by ſetting Things in a *fair Light*, may, in ſome Meaſure, contribute to the allaying the preſent *Heats* and *Animoſities*.

It is a received Maxim that *Kings are the common Fathers of their Country*, and that *'tis below their high Dignity to be Kings of no more than one Half of their People*; which, at laſt, becomes the Caſe of Princes, that beſtow all their *Favours* on ſome Perſons only. Their paternal Care and Affection ought therefore to reach to all their Subjects; for as in a private Family the fond Partiality of Parents to one Child begets Envy and Hatred among the Brothers and Siſters; ſo in a Nation, to ſee a Set of Men engroſs all Places of Profit; enrich themſelves with the univerſal Spoils of the Publick; riot in Wealth; and raiſe ſumptuous, I had almoſt ſaid, *inſulting Palaces*, whilſt their Fellow-Subjects groan under heavy Burdens; cannot but raiſe the *Indignation* of a *Free People*, and produce *Murmurs* and *Diſcontent*.

Not that the People ſhould repine at the Prince's having ſome *Boſom Friends* with whom he may communicate his moſt ſecret Thoughts, and unbend his Cares; nor to ſee ſuch FAVOURITES the better for his Bounty: For in this, Princes do but enjoy the common Privilege of all Mankind; and this Practice of theirs is warranted by the Example of the beſt Kings and Emperors. But the People cannot behold, without a juſt Reſentment, two, three, or more Perſons exalted high above all the reſt; who abuſe the Prince's Favours, whoſe Ambition is not ſatisfied with any Honours, and whoſe Avarice is not ſatiated with multiplicity of profitable Places, nor with repeated Gifts and Grants; who keep an open Market of Civil and Military Employments; who by falſe Repreſentations traduce all others, that they may engroſs the Prince to themſelves; and who, in Return to his Kindneſs and Munificence, put continual *Slights* and *Affronts* upon him, and keep him in an inglorious Dependance on their Wills, in the Diſpoſal of All. 'Tis ſuch a Sort of *Favourites* and *Miniſters* that the People hate, and exclaim againſt; and whom Men of Birth and ſuperior Merits endeavour to get removed. They may, indeed, maintain their Ground, whilſt by a Multitude of Dependants they keep the Throne ſo cloſely beſet, that the Murmurings of the People cannot reach it; but when either the loud Cries, or his own Indignation at the Indignities that are put upon him, have awaken'd a good Prince, he does not think it derogatory from his Royal Dignity and Honour, to baniſh ſuch falſe and unfaithful Friends from his Preſence.

I own that Princes, whoſe Titles are *diſputable* and *precarious*, may fear *Idols* of their own making, and ſtand in awe of Men become terrible only by Greatneſs derived from them. They may be afraid of pulling down *Favourites* and *Miniſters* grown formidable by the united Strength and Counſels of their Faction, and ſo bear tamely *daily Inſults*, and let Male-Adminiſtration go on: But neither the *Cabals* of a *Party*, nor the *Difficulties* which their *combined Malice* may, for a while, bring upon his Affairs, will deter a *rightful* and *lawful*, wiſe and

ſtout Prince, who has the Hearts of his People, from vindicating his own Honour, and reforming Abuſes in the State. It was never heard that a Tumult was raiſed to reſtore an *inſolent* and *rapacious Favourite* in Diſgrace; on the contrary, to ſee ambitious Upſtarts engroſs all Favours, and invade all Offices and Employments, has been the Occaſion of many popular Seditions; which wiſe Monarchs have either prevented, or appeaſed by a juſt and *ſeaſonable Sacrifice*.

'Tis true, a Prince who for ſome Time has been kept in mean Dependance on a Party by *inſolent Favourites*, and who would ſet himſelf *Free*, and reform the State for the general Eaſe and Benefit of his Subjects, muſt expect to meet with ſome Difficulties, eſpecially if thoſe he would throw off have many Confederates: For the Fears of ſuch, as may be called to an Account, will make them ſet all Engines at Work, and lay all Sorts of Obſtacles in the Way. In the firſt Place they will ſet a high Value on their own Deſerts, and if a War has been ſucceſsfully carried on, aſſume to themſelves the whole Honour of it. They will extol the great Services of the GENERAL that upholds their Party, and under the Shadow of his Laurels make bold Advances towards the invading even Sovereign Authority and Royal Prerogatives; they will arrogate to themſelves the Merits of the many Millions which the whole Kingdom has freely granted; and propagate a wild Notion, That the CREDIT of the *whole Nation* reſides in themſelves, and muſt ſtand or fall with them. They will try to give all Things a falſe Turn, and to fill every Place with unfair Suggeſtions. Sometimes to prevent National Enquiries into their own *Miſmanagements*, they will impeach innocent Perſons; that ſo by raiſing an empty Clamour, and putting the People upon a wrong Scent, they may avoid the Purſuers, and go unpuniſhed: And thus, perhaps, an *unwary Divine* was lately accuſed, and proſecuted with uncommon Violence, with Deſign only to prevent Diſquiſitions, which might have ended in the Impeachment of a Great Miniſter.

Moreover, that the Knowledge of their ill Conduct may not reach the Prince's Ears, they will endeavour either to engroſs him to themſelves, or, if they cannot compaſs that, to blaſt the Reputation of all ſuch as are willing and able to adminiſter good Advice; inſinuating, That they are either Enemies to his Perſon and Government, or actuated by private Malice and ſelfiſh Ends: Thus the *beſt Patriots* have been branded with the odious Appellations of *Tories* and *Jacobites*, and charged with Deſigns of bringing in the *Pretender*, and with him, *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*; than which nothing can be ſuggeſted more monſtrous or chimerically extravagant.

At other Times, they will boaſt of the Number of their Friends and Adherents; fondly preſuming to awe the Court with an Opinion that their Party is too ſtrong to be oppoſed; and that they alone are able to carry on the Buſineſs of the Public: And thus we have ſeen what great Combinations have been made to prevent the Removal of a Lord *Treaſurer*.

But it is to our ſingular Happineſs, that we have now upon the Throne a QUEEN *willing* and *able* to aſſert her juſt Right, and reform the Abuſes of the State: *Willing*, from the Wiſdom of her Mind, the Goodneſs of her Temper, and the juſt Reſentment of the Slights offered to her Royal Perſon and Dignity; *Able*, from that Power which her undoubted *Hereditary Title*, moſt glorious Reign, mild Government, ſincere Piety, and other Political and Moral Virtues,

tues, have procured her in the Hearts and Affections of her Subjects. Such a Princeſs will not be terrify'd from the Proſecution of wholſome Counſels by the Proſpect of any Difficulties. She knows that a few may complain without Reaſon, but that there is Occaſion for Redreſs, when the Cry appears to be univerſal; and that no Military Services, or other Merits, can give a Man a juſt Title to ſcreen *any*, no not his *neareſt Relations*, who forget themſelves ſo far as to inſult their Royal *Miſtreſs* and bountiful *Benefactreſs*.

Tho' 'tis certain that we are *tenacious*, *even to Madneſs*, *of our Liberties*, yet no Nation pays a more ſincere and dutiful Reverence to their lawful Monarch than ours: And as the Generality naturally love and reſpect the Throne; ſo they compaſſionate a Prince, whom they think in Danger to be enſlaved to the Will and Caprice of thoſe about him, well knowing that they remain miſerable, till he reaſſumes the Exerciſe of the regal Authority into his own Hands. It was therefore no Wonder to ſee, of late, the People ſo willing to join themſelves with thoſe who appeared moſt zealous to defend and ſupport the juſt Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown: For how can any true *Briton* not be warmed with *Indignation*, when he beholds his Sovereign ſo far *abuſed*, as to be denied even the *Nomination* of a PROVOST of a COLLEGE, and the *Diſpoſal* of a *Regiment?*

Theſe inſolent Denials were attended with odious and aggravating Circumſtances: For the Royal Soul not brooking ſuch Inſults, and her Majeſty inſiſting on her uncontroulable Right, the Folly of the Faction went ſo far as to get an Addreſs drawn up, and ready to be offered to, or rather impoſed on the Houſe of Commons, for the removing from her Majeſty the moſt *dutiful*, *affectionate*, and *aſſiduous* of all her menial Servants; and all this to gratify the Spleen of the moſt *arrogant*, *imperious* and *ungrateful*. This intended Violence was indeed timely prevented: But her Majeſty juſtly reſenting this and other Indignities, which Decency will not ſuffer to be mentioned; and a Gentleman of great Abilities, Probity, and Spirit, having, notwithſtanding the Brow-beatings of the *Junto*, found Means to approach the Throne, and acquainted her Majeſty with the general Diſcontent of the Nobility, Gentry and People, at the exorbitant Power and Greatneſs of one Family, and at the Adminiſtration of Affairs, in Relation both to PEACE and WAR, her Majeſty reſolved to exert the QUEEN; upon which ſhe was wittily ſaluted as ſuch by a *Noble Duke*.

It may be ſaid indeed, That a wiſe and juſt Prince will not puniſh many, for the *Errors* and *Follies* of a few; nor make a *thorough Change* of his Miniſters, becauſe *One* or *Two* have done amiſs. To be ſure, 'tis not without *Reluctance* that he conſents to part with ſome Perſons, whoſe *Wiſdom*, *Integrity*, and *Abilities* he has often experienced and entirely approves: But yet when theſe very Perſons grow *ſullen* and *reſty*, and obſtinately reject a COALITION with others, for the Sake either of an *overgrown Miniſter*, or of an *inſolent Favourite*; in ſuch a Caſe, a Prince, that hath any Spirit, will employ *another Set of Men:* For he well knows, that Parts, Uprightneſs, Knowledge and Experience in Affairs, are not confined to this or that Party, and rightly conſiders, *That Miniſters or Favourites, who ſhould be able to protect themſelves by a CABAL, might firſt preſume to think they ſubſiſt by their proper Strength, and ſo advance, at laſt, either to ſlight or defy his Authority.*

Moreover, it has been juſtly obſerved, That *Partiality, which is the Weakneſs of private Men, is unbecoming the Greatneſs of a Sovereign, whoſe Favour ſhould ſhine on the whole Body of his People: And therefore a wiſe and good Prince ought to make it his principal Care, and uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to root out FACTION.* But if the Diſeaſe be too inveterate to be entirely removed, he muſt try, *by Turns*, the Perſons moſt eminent for their Abilities in *both Parties*, in order to beget a *virtuous Emulation*, which may produce good Effects: For by that Means both Sides will be at Strife, which ſhall do the Prince and the Nation the moſt honeſt and the moſt faithful Service, with the feweſt ſelfiſh Deſigns.

The *main Objection* againſt the preſent *Changes* is, that as all Seaſons are not proper for Phyſic, ſo all Times are not fit for purging the Body Politic; and that the War having been ſucceſsfully carried on by the late Miniſtry, it had been Prudence not to ſhift Hands before a Peace was concluded. To this it may be anſwered, that as in Caſes of Neceſſity Phyſic is adminiſtred at all Times; ſo, for the ſame Reaſon, a Reformation in State is never out of Seaſon; that though it muſt be acknowledged, that the *War* has hitherto been proſecuted with wonderful Succeſs under the late Adminiſtration, yet it cannot be denied, that ſome Parts of it, particularly the moſt eſſential, *Spain*, have been notoriouſly * neglected, either with Deſign to ſpin out the War, or, at leaſt, to give the whole Honour *of it* to the *favourite General*; and therefore it was neceſſary to put the Management of the TREASURY in the Hands of ſuch Perſons as will impartially give Attention to all the Parts of the War; which, certainly, is the moſt effectual Means to procure a ſpeedy Peace. That the *Debts* of the Nation, particularly thoſe of the *Navy*, being immenſe, it is highly neceſſary to inquire, how the Moneys appropriated to thoſe Uſes have either been diverted or imbezzled: Which *Inquiry*, before *unſucceſsfully attempted*, would undoubtedly have been once more *evaded*, if the *late Miniſtry and Parliament* had been continued. That the People, at this Time, groaning under a great Variety of old and new Taxes; the Neceſſities of the State being ſtill more preſſing than ever; the Public lying under many Engagements; the Honour of the Nation being at Stake to make good ſeveral Deficiencies; and the late Miniſtry having exhauſted their Stock of Projects, it was neceſſary to call for the Aſſiſtance of another Set of Men, to find out *new Ways and Means*. That a free Nation, abhorring to ſee a few private Men accumulating to themſelves vaſt Riches in this general Poverty of the Public, the univerſal Voice of the People ſeemed to call for this Change. And in the laſt Place, that the *High-Church Party*, or the *landed Gentlemen*, having borne the chief Burthen of the War, it was but juſt and reaſonable to give them an Opportunity, in ſome Meaſure, to repair their Fortunes, by admitting them into Places of Profit.

And indeed this laſt Reaſon is, of itſelf, ſufficient to juſtify the late *Alterations:* For *profitable Employments in the* Political *Body* are *like the Blood in the* Natural: Which while it circulates regularly, the whole Body is in Health; but when it ſtagnates in one Part, it occaſions there dangerous Tumours, which muſt be prudently removed, before they rankle and feſter.

It

* *See Dr.* Freind's *Account of the Earl of* Peterborough's *Conduct in* Spain.

It is to be wondered, that the ingenious Author of a polite Paper has not yet filled one of his *Lucubrations* with the *Vision* of a great Receptacle of Water, placed on the Top of a Hill, which by ſeveral Rivulets and Pipes diffuſes the neceſſary Moiſture to the adjacent Fields: He might have feigned a Goddeſs preſiding over the Perſons employed in the opening and ſhutting the Sluices of this Receptacle, who taking notice that ſome Meadows had received a ſufficient Quantity of Water, ſhould ſay, with *Virgil* (in his third Paſtoral)

Claudite jam Rivos, Pueri, ſat Prata biberunt.

Now dam the Ditches, and the Floods reſtrain,
Their Moiſture has already drench'd the Plain.

DRYDEN.

He might have ſuppoſed that this wiſe Goddeſs had afterwards beſtowed Fertility and Plenty on the other Fields; which, in ſome Meaſure, would have adumbrated her Majeſty's Character, in the equal and ſeaſonable Diſtribution of her Favours among her Subjects.

But, beſides, when Neceſſity compels the Prince to make Alterations among his Miniſters, which becomes unavoidable when neither the Ties of Gratitude, nor the Bands of Allegiance, are any longer a Reſtraint to the Ambition, Rapacity, Inſolence, and Arbitrarineſs of thoſe he has raiſed to the higheſt Degrees of Power, Honour, and Riches; in ſuch a Juncture, a wiſe Prince will certainly lean that Way, where he thinks his own Dignity *ſafeſt*, and the Public Welfare *moſt conſulted:* Which is our preſent Caſe.

To ſet this in a clear Light, we may obſerve, that when the Arbitrary *Junto* perceived that the daily Inſults they offered to the Crown had incenſed the Royal Breaſt, and rouzed the innate Spirit of Loyalty of the Nation; and that an *Inquiry* into their Adminiſtration, though once or twice before unſucceſsfully attempted in Parliament, might again be preſſed and inſiſted on by *good Patriots*, they reſolved, if not to ſhake the very Throne, at leaſt to keep it in a ſtricter Dependance on their own Intereſt and Power, by reviving the drooping Spirits of a *baffled*, *inconſiderable*, and *expiring* ANTIMONARCHICAL PARTY. Nor did they want a Handle for their Deſign: For a raſh Divine, having aſſerted the wholeſome and chriſtian Doctrine of *Obedience* to the *higher Powers*, though perhaps with too great a Latitude; and at the ſame Time inveighed with unbecoming Bitterneſs and Vehemence againſt the *Diſſenters*, and expoſed the Male-Adminiſtration of ſuch Men in Power as favoured them; this indiſcreet Sermon was made the Pretence and Subject of great Clamour. Hereupon the Friends and Emiſſaries of the late Miniſtry publickly avowed Principles almoſt diametrically oppoſite to our happy Conſtitution in Church and State; cried up the Power of the People; tried the Queen's *Title*, and made it almoſt *precarious*, and dependent on the Caprice of the giddy Multitude; advanced the *Toleration* to an Equality with the legal Eſtabliſhment of the Church of *England*; and extolled the Merits and Services of the great *General* and *Treaſurer* to ſuch a Degree, as if the whole Succeſs of the Adminiſtration

ſtration was ſolely to be attributed to them; and the QUEEN herſelf had nothing but the bare Name of Sovereign.

Not contented with this, the *Junto* propoſed an Impeachment againſt Dr. *Sacheverel*; which, however, was at firſt oppoſed by ſome of their more diſcreet and diſcerning Friends, who plainly foreſaw the Effects of ſuch a *ſolemn Proſecution*, againſt a *Son of the national Church*, for a Piece of Pulpit Oratory, which both Parties agreed to be only the Reſult of an *extravagant Zeal*. But as that very Sermon contained ſhrewd Reflections on the late Lord Treaſurer, characteriſing him by his vulgar Nickname of VOLPONE, that Miniſter's moſt ſervile Dependents reſolved to bring the unwary Divine to Puniſhment: Into which Counſel the other Friends of the late Miniſtry went the more readily, when they conſidered, that the Length and Formality of ſuch a parliamentary Trial would divert the Commons from inquiring into the Diſpoſal of the public Monies.

But ſuch is the Folly of human *Wiſdom*, that this Accuſation had an Effect contrary to what the Projectors of it expected; and turned at laſt to their *Deſtruction*, for whoſe *Security* it was firſt entered upon: For the Queen, who began to ſee clearly into the Deſigns of the *Junto*, having been preſent at this ſolemn Trial, and taking notice that the *Whigs*, who managed this Proſecution, advanced Poſitions derogatory from the Royal Prerogative; ſet up the *Revolution*, if not above, at leaſt on the ſame *Level* with the *hereditary Right*; treated with Indecency and Contempt the Sons of the Church; and ſpoke with all Tenderneſs and Reſpect in Favour of the Diſſenters: Her Majeſty could not but entertain Suſpicions, that ſome wicked Deſigns were on Foot to alter the Conſtitution in Church and State. And on the other hand, the High-Church-Men, who defended Dr. *Sacheverel*, having, with great Loyalty, aſſerted the juſt Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, and with Zeal maintained the ſound Doctrines of the Church of *England*, her Majeſty could not but think well of this Party; and her Royal Perſon and Dignity ſafer in the Hands of the true Profeſſors of the eſtabliſhed Religion, than with thoſe who mix and join themſelves with *Fanaticks* and *Republicans*.

At the ſame Time, the Eyes of the whole Nation were opened by this unpolitic Trial; and the *Ferment* it occaſioned in the capital City, inſtead of abating, ſpread and increaſed throughout the Kingdom. Hereupon the Bulk of the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, ſubſtantial Freeholders, and good Citizens, declared themſelves loudly in the Cauſe of their lawful Monarch; embraced the Government more warmly, and by their loyal and zealous Applications to the Throne, ſought ſhelter under her Majeſty's Royal Prerogative, againſt the impending Invaſions of our happy Conſtitution in Church and State; which made an *Alteration* in the Miniſtry, and a *Diſſolution* of the laſt Parliament, unavoidable.

Thus Dr. *Sacheverel*'s Trial, though not the *true Cauſe*, was yet the *occaſional Means* of the late Changes: The more diſcerning and impartial Men, even of the *Whig* Party, early ſaw through the Deſign of that violent Proſecution, and from whence that Engine was played; and, at laſt, the whole Nation began to be alarmed. It is well known that the late Mr. *Dolben*, who appeared the moſt zealous and forward in that Buſineſs, was an intire Depen-

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dent on the *T——r*; and therefore it is not to be wondered that such a strained Impeachment first kindled a Flame in the House of Commons, where the late Male-administration had already gathered so much combustible Matter; and that it afterwards revived old Grudges and Animosities, and occasioned Distractions, which were fomented and inflamed by mercenary and ignorant Scribblers on both Sides; and by the triumphant Progress of the same indiscreet Divine, who lay under a parliamentary Censure: But which, however, happily ended in the Removal of the arbitrary *Junto*, and the *Dissolution* of a Parliament that was entirely at their Devotion. And indeed, it had been imprudent to commit the Healing of our late Distractions to those who were the principal and original Cause of them; and who, instead of curing, would, undoubtedly, have exasperated the Distemper. Thus when a Storm arises at Sea, if the Steering of the Ship happen to be in unskilful Hands, abler Pilots are immediately called to supply their *Places*. And indeed as those who began that violent Procedure, which occasioned so great a *Hurricane* in the State, are alone accountable for any ill Consequences of it; so it was but Justice they should first suffer for it.

But before the Blow was given, the *Junto* fondly believed they might still support themselves by representing the common Interest of *Europe* as inseparable from theirs. In the first Place it was industriously whispered about, not without a fair Shew of Popularity and public Spirit, that after so many Victories gained by her Majesty's Arms, in Conjunction with those of the Allies; after the Reduction of so many fortified Towns, and the regaining of the *French* King's earliest Conquests, which seemed to open to our Troops an easy Entrance into the very Heart of the Enemy's Country; and after the *French* Court had a second Time sued for *Peace*, and sent their Plenipotentiaries to *Gertruydenberg* to negotiate, it was reasonable to believe that a Treaty would soon have been concluded. And, indeed, it was hardly imaginable, when, by maintaining a War so long and so expensive, *England* shewed Marks of an unwearied Constancy, and that we had a Spring of Wealth not easily to be exhausted: And when on the contrary the *French* were so sore with the Wounds they had received at *Vigo*, *Blenheim*, *Ramelies*, *Turin*, *Barcelona*, *Oudenarde*, *Lisle*, *Mons*, and *Tournay*; so exhausted of Wealth, and so diminished in People both by Famine and the War, that they should think of breaking off the Conferences at *Gertruydenberg!* It was therefore speciously suggested, that our late Distractions, unjustly charged upon those who appeared in Favour of Dr. *Sacheverel*, gave the Enemy a Prospect of a Turn of Affairs here, in Favour of the *Pretender*: Which, considering the wrong Estimate the *Jacobite* Party ever made of their own Strength, and the false Informations they give to the *French* Court, is not altogether improbable. But then, may they not have been fortified in that fond Expectation by the Supineness and Ill-management of our late Ministers? May they not flatter themselves to succeed in a *second* Attempt to invade *Scotland*, when notwithstanding the Provision made by the Parliament, towards the Security of that Part of *Great-Britain*, the Forts and Garrisons there are scarce in a better Condition than they were two Years ago? May they not from the long *Anticipations* on our old public Funds, the Deficiencies of some new ones, and the immense Debt of the Navy yet unprovided for, believe us involved in Difficulties, which they think impossible for

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us to wade through? And may they not conceive our Affairs to have been so perplexed by a long Series of Male-Administration, that they had no Reason to fear abler Hands, and wiser Heads, would either run the Hazard of meddling in our Business, or be in a Capacity to prosecute the War with Vigour? And, indeed, the selfish rapacious Temper of the late Ministry and our intestine Divisions, industriously fomented by the Emissaries of those, whom nothing but *Confusion* can no longer protect; and the scandalous Negligence which has been shewn in inspecting and stating the Accompts of the Fleet and Army; must needs have lessened our Reputation Abroad, encouraged the *French* to think us now no dangerous Enemy, and made them expect to see the great Band of the Confederacy dissolved.

When the QUEEN had, at last, resolved to resume the Exercise of her Royal Authority, and to vindicate herself from the Insolence and Arbitrariness of the *Junto*, she thought fit to begin with the Person, who advised and promoted the Address, for taking that Privilege from her Majesty, which the meanest of her Subjects enjoy, *viz.* the having by her Royal Person a *Trusty*, *Assiduous*, and *Affectionate Servant*. The *Junto* were indeed alarmed at the Removal of the Earl of *S*——, but not entirely daunted, and having recovered Spirit, they resolved to try new Expedients to support their tottering Power. In order to that, their Emissaries propagated a wild Notion, that the *public Credit* of *England* wholly depended on the late Lord Treasurer, and the Continuation of the last Parliament: So that the whole Confederacy seeming to be concerned in their *Preservation*, some Members of the Bank of *England*, and some of the Allies, were unwarily drawn in to interpose in their Behalf with her Majesty: Than which, a greater Affront was, perhaps, never offered to the Crown of *England*, either by Subjects or Friends. All that can be said to palliate the Fault of the first is, That in their Applications to the QUEEN about Matters of the highest Importance, and above their Sphere, they acted by the Instigation of some great Men; without the Knowledge and Privity of the Body of which they were Members. To be sure the *Bank* is too wise to dare, *uncalled*, to advise her Majesty, and lay down to her Rules of Government; and if they should, the Parliament would, undoubtedly, think it necessary to check such a Presumption, and to abridge the Power and Influence of a Corporation, which, in Time, might believe themselves independent on the Government, and even able to dictate it.

As for the *Interposition* of some of the *Allies*, although it be *more excusable*, because they are engaged with us in a long and expensive War, upon Measures concerted with the late Ministers; and because there seems to be a parallel Case of the QUEEN's interposing at the Court of *Vienna*, in Favour of the Protestants of *Silesia*; and of the Parliament's Desire, that Application should be made to the Emperor for sending Prince *Eugene* to command in *Spain*: Yet there is scarce any Instance of a Sovereign's intermeddling so far in the Affairs of another, as to advise him about the Choice of his Ministers; unless the latter was a *Tributary* to, or mean Dependent on the other. However, we ought not to pass too hard a Censure on this wrong Step; but ascribe it either to a mistaken Zeal for the common Cause; or, rather, to the *crafty Suggestions* of the Emissaries of the late *Junto*, who infuse *Abroad false Notions* of our Do-

Domeſtic Affairs, with the ſame Impudence as they vent their Spleen and Malice at home. Witneſs the pretended Letter from Mr. *Pettecum* to Monſieur *Buys*; and the Letter ſaid to have been found in *Douay*: Both which ſpurious Pieces were firſt printed and with great Induſtry diſperſed in *Holland*.

This *prepoſterous* (not call it by a worſe Name) *Interpoſition* proving ineffectual, the *diſcarded Miniſters* and their Dependants endeavour now to deceive and poiſon the Vulgar, and even ſome of the better Sort, with groundleſs Fears and falſe Suggeſtions; giving wrong and ſcandalous Characters of thoſe who have ſtrenouſly aſſerted our excellent Conſtitution both in Church and State; and inſinuating, as if under Pretence of maintaining the legal Prerogatives of the Crown, they aimed at bringing in the *Pretender*. A Deſign which, as was hinted before, may with more Reaſon be charged on thoſe that raiſe that wild Apprehenſion.

But as *great Changes* in the *Government* are often preceded, ſo are they, almoſt unavoidably, attended by a *Ferment* in the Kingdom: For thoſe who, for many Years, had the Management of Affairs, and the abſolute Diſpoſal of all Employments, have thereby ſo fortified themſelves by a numerous Party, that it is almoſt impoſſible to remove them without great *Convulſions*. It is therefore no wonder to ſee what Clamours have been raiſed, and what Art and Induſtry have been uſed, to caſt an *Odium* on the late *Alterations*, and not only to miſrepreſent the *Cauſes*, but alſo to blacken thoſe who have appeared to be the *Inſtruments* of them: For they who in all their Proceedings never had but their private Intereſt in view, will not fail making the ſame Judgment of others; and will endeavour to perſuade the World that all is ſwayed by ſelfiſh Ends, private Malice and Revenge.

I hope, I have already ſufficiently accounted for her Majeſty's *Juſtice* in the late Changes; nor was her *Wiſdom* leſs conſpicuous in the *Choice* of her *new Miniſters*.

It may be thought either Preſumption by ſome, or interpreted *Flattery* by others, to give Characters of *Men in Power*: But yet, I hope, the *malicious Aſperſions* that have been caſt on the *new Miniſters* (particularly in a ſcandalous Paper called the *New Scheme*, and in *a Letter to the Freeholders*) will on this Occaſion juſtify my Endeavours to do them Juſtice, by a fair and candid Repreſentation of their Principles and Merits.

I will not enlarge on the Character of the Perſon, who may juſtly be ſuppoſed to have been a great *Inſtrument* in the late Changes: His Parts and Abilities are too well known to need an Encomium. However, ſince the Malice of the Faction ſeems to have been principally levelled at him, I ſhall only ſet down here the moſt remarkable Paſſages of his Life, which if drawn out in their proper Length by a more ſkilfull Hand, would, I am ſure, give the World a compleat Idea of a *true Britiſh Patriot*.

His firſt Entrance into the World was remarkable, by his appearing earlier than any of his Countrymen in the late happy REVOLUTION; having, for that Purpoſe, raiſed at his own Expence, a gallant Troop of Horſe, at the Head of whom he joined the (then) Prince of *Orange*. Being, by his own Family Intereſt, choſen a Member of the Houſe of Commons, his Sagacity and Diligence were conſpicuous in the Detection of the ſcandalous Bribery uſed in the *Orphans*

Bill; insomuch that Sir *John Trevor*, then Speaker, being thereupon expell'd the House, the Commons, out of a grateful Sense of this Piece of public Service, would have advanced Mr. *Harley* to the Chair: But being then both a young Man and a young Member, and desiring to be more thoroughly acquainted with all the Methods of parliamentary Proceedings, he most industriously declined it, and, by an uncommon Piece of Generosity, resigned his Interest to his Uncle Mr. *Foley*, who thereupon was chosen Speaker, and even in Competition with Sir *Thomas Littleton*, who had the whole Weight of the Court Interest to no Purpose. Mr. *Harley* made himself still more popular, by bringing into the House of Commons and stickling for the Bill for TRIENNIAL PARLIAMENTS, the firmest Bulwark of the *British* Liberties. On the other hand, his Zeal for the Good of the Nation made him very active in the *Commission* for inspecting and stating the *public Accounts*, in which he was always *foremost*: So that being the Scourge of an unthrifty Ministry, they resolved to keep under and brow-beat so prying and so upright a Patriot; notwithstanding which he pursued with great Courage the true Interest of his Country, and constantly sided with the Party whom he thought prefer'd it to their own private Advantage. Upon the ASSASSINATION-PLOT, he shewed his Abhorrence and Detestation of it, being one of the most forward to sign in the House of Commons the ASSOCIATION in Favour of King *William*; even to the apparent Danger of his own Life, being then hardly recovered of a Fit of Sickness. Some Time after he was one of those that opposed the Bill of Attainder against Sir *John Fenwick*, being persuaded, *they had most* Moderation *who least pretended to it*. Some Time after, Mr. *Harley* got into the Confidence of King *William*, who was more than once heard to express his Regret, *That he had not sooner been acquainted with a Man of his Merit and Abilities*. Being chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, he first proposed to King *William* the Act for settling the SUCCESSION in the most illustrious House of HANOVER, which received the royal Assent in that Session; and upon the Calling of a new Parliament, being again chosen Speaker, he acted with his usual Zeal for the Public Good; so that by his Means the Act *For the further* Security *of the* Protestant Succession had a quick and easy Passage: All which demonstrates his entire Affection to the House of HANOVER. He also was the Person, who, in a Committee on *Ways* and *Means*, moved the making good the DEFICIENCIES; and carried it, notwithstanding the Opposition made principally by those concern'd at that Time in the Revenue; whereby the PUBLIC CREDIT was restored. His Abilities and Merit were further acknowledged, when he was a *third Time* chosen SPEAKER of the House of Commons, in the first Parliament summon'd by Queen *Anne*. In the second Session of that Parliament he used his utmost Endeavours to allay the unhappy Differences that had arisen between the two Houses, on account of the Miscarriage of the *Occasional Bill*, the Examination of the *Scotch* Plot, and some other Matters, that might have obstructed the public Affairs: For which seasonable Piece of Service he was made one of the Secretaries of State, with universal Applause. He signalized his first Entrance upon that Office, by stifling an *Insurrection* that was ready to break out in *Scotland*; and, not long after, saved the Lord *Treasurer* from being *impeach'd*, on account of the *Act of Security* passed in *Scotland*. Such signal Services, one would have thought, would have

have been requited with all poſſible Marks, if not of *public*, at leaſt of *private Gratitude*; but on the contrary, obſerving that Mr. *Harley* diſcharged his Office of Secretary of State with uncommon Zeal, Affection and Punctuality, that having free Acceſs to her Majeſty he acquainted her with many Things which others endeavoured to have kept from her Knowledge, particularly ſome Advances made by *France* towards a general Peace, after the Battle of *Ramillies*; and that her Majeſty entertained a particular Eſteem for ſo uſeful and diligent a Miniſter; the *arbitrary Junto* not only exerted all their Power to get him removed, but afterwards, by an unparallel'd Piece of *Ingratitude*, uſed all ſiniſter and ſcandalous Methods to deſtroy their *Benefactor*.

From this ſhort Account of Mr. *Harley*'s Actions, and the Tenor of his whole Conduct, ſince the *Revolution*, it is no difficult Matter to judge of his *Principles*: And I am ſure that all *impartial Whigs* will be apt to believe him to be on their Side. But then they ought, with the ſame Frankneſs and Partiality, to acknowledge, that ſince he has performed all the great Things beforementioned in Company with the *Tories*, the latter are no ſuch Enemies to our happy Conſtitution as they are repreſented by the hot Men of the *Whig Party*.

This *great Patriot* having, with undaunted Courage and equal Addreſs, found Means to lay before the Queen the true State of Things, and given her convincing Inſtances of the Danger with which her Authority was threatned, her Majeſty did not immediately proceed to the *Shifting of Hands*, but, with great Wiſdom, reſolved to conſult the ableſt Stateſmen in her Kingdom. In order to that, and to give a free Admiſſion to ſeveral Perſons conſpicuous in former Reigns for their deep Skill in Matters of Government, and whom the ſupercilious Arrogance of ſome Miniſters had driven from the Court, her Majeſty thought fit to give the *Key* and *Staff* of Chamberlain to the Duke of *Shrewſbury*, a Perſon who borrows leſs Splendor from his illuſtrious and heroic Anceſtors, than he repays to them by his ſhining Qualities and political Virtues. This Nobleman having confirmed to her Majeſty the Informations already given by Mr. *Harley*, and, in concert with him, and ſome other Perſons of conſummate Abilities and untainted Honour, framed a *Scheme* to reſtore her Majeſty to the Exerciſe of her royal Authority, and to allay the Fears of the Members of the eſtabliſhed Church, 'tis no Wonder his Grace has almoſt an equal Share with Mr. *Harley*, in the Spleen and Malice of the diſcarded Miniſtry: But no Arrows that are ſhot from that impotent Quiver can make an *Impreſſion* on ſo *ſolid a Merit*, or deface ſo bright a Character. His Grace, in the moſt difficult Times, appear'd a zealous Aſſerter of the Liberties of his Country, and a warm Stickler for the Proteſtant Intereſt: For obſerving how furiouſly the late King *James*'s *Popiſh* Counſellors were driving, he not only reſigned the Office of Lord Chamberlain, but quitted a Regiment of Horſe he then commanded, mortgaged his Eſtate, went over to the (then) Prince of *Orange*, and drew with him ſo many Perſons of Honour and Eſtates, that he may juſtly claim the largeſt Share in the late HAPPY REVOLUTION, of which he was afterwards the MAIN SUPPORT. For both on the account of his ſignal and never-to-be-forgotten Services, and of his diſtinguiſhed Abilities, he was, upon King *William*'s Advancement to the Throne, made Principal Secretary of State, which Office he diſcharged with univerſal Applauſe; till an Accident (a Fall off his Horſe) having rendered him in-

capable to undergo the Fatigue of it, his Majesty, who had before made him a Duke, and Knight of the Garter, gave him an easier Employment, *viz.* the same her Majesty was lately pleased to bestow upon him. To demonstrate what Thoughts his Grace entertains of our present *Settlement*, it is sufficient to repeat what he solemnly declared at Dr. *Sacheverel*'s Trial: *That as he bore as great a Part as any in the late Revolution, so he would ever go as far as any to assert it, and to vindicate the Memory of our glorious Deliverer.* Is not this enough to remove all the Jealousies that the most industrious Malice can suggest?

Besides these two great Men, her Majesty thought fit, on this important Occasion, to call to her Assistance some other Persons, equally eminent by their high Birth, consummate Wisdom, and Experience in Affairs; and, among others, the Earl of *Rochester*. I own their steady Zeal for Monarchy and the established Church has, at divers Times, exposed them to the Slanders and Defamations of the Enemies of both; as their Integrity and public Spirit have to the Envy and Malice of ambitious and rapacious Ministers: But nevertheless their Characters ever shone bright, even through the Clouds that were industriously raised to obscure them.

The *fanatical* and *antimonarchical* Party have all along, in a particular Manner, shewn their Inveteracy against the noble Earl before-mentioned: For notwithstanding the Demonstration he gave of his firm Adherence to the Protestant Interest, by his chusing to resign the Treasurer's Staff, rather than to strike in with King *James*'s Design; and his near Relation to the late Queen and our present Sovereign, which intitled him to the highest Trusts, they infused such groundless Jealousies to King *William*, as made that Prince shy of confiding in him, till, as was hinted before, Mr. *Harley* had removed those sinister Impressions. However, they had not the Power to stifle in his royal Consort's Breast the natural Affection and real Esteem she had for the Person and Merit of her Uncle, whose Retirement she endeavour'd to make easy by the Grant of a pleasurable Country-Seat; * where his Lordship has erected a Monument of her Bounty, and his own Gratitude. His Lordship was possess'd of the Government of *Ireland*, and of the present Queen's Favour, upon her Majesty's Accession to the Throne; but those who design'd to engross all to themselves did not rest till they had removed a Person whom they foresaw would have opposed any Encroachments on the Royal Authority. His Lordship's Enemies did not fail renewing their base Aspersions, as often as he was like to return to Court; but their malicious Endeavours were, at last, defeated by the same Person who had done him Justice in the late Reign, and who is satisfied, that neither his Lordship, nor any of the High-Church-Party, who have been taken in, will ever propose, or pursue any Measures, that may any way weaken the present Settlement, or give the least Uneasiness to the *Dissenters*.

Her Majesty, after repeated Consultations with these and other able Statesmen, having resolved to change Part of the Ministry, it seemed but just to begin with the Person who had refused to come into the Secretary's Office before Mr. *Harley* was removed from thence, and who was supposed to have been the Promoter

* The late Queen gave the Earl of *Rochester* Part of *Richmond* Park, where his Lordship has made extraordinary fine Gardens, and erected there her Majesty's Statue, with this Inscription: *Semper Honos, Nomenque tuum, Laudesque manebunt.*

Promoter of the before-mentioned Addreſs for removing Mrs. *M*—— from her Majeſty's Bedchamber. His Place was, at firſt, deſigned for a noble Perſon, who declining ſo fatiguing an Employment, the ſame was beſtow'd on the Lord *Dartmouth:* A Peer who inherits the Loyalty, Zeal for the eſtabliſhed Church, and public Spirit of his noble Father; and whoſe Probity and Application to Buſineſs had already been tried in another Employment.

The Lord Treaſurer being removed, notwithſtanding the great Struggle of his Faction to ſupport him, her Majeſty thought fit to put that important Office in the Hands of Commiſſioners; and beſides Mr. *Harley*, who was placed the ſecond in that Commiſſion, and as ſuch made Chancellor of the Exchequer, her Majeſty pitch'd upon four other Perſons, no leſs diſtinguiſh'd by their natural *Abilities* than by their *Integrity*, whoſe large Fortunes in Land will certainly induce them to conſult the Intereſt of a Kingdom, where they have ſo great a Stake; and are a Security to the Nation for their clear and juſt Adminiſtration: And who, having no particular Tie with any of our Generals, or Allies abroad, will impartially take care of all the Parts of the War.

The Choice of theſe four Perſons cannot but be applauded by all unprejudiced Men: For in the firſt Place the Earl of *Powlet*, who is at the Head of the Commiſſion, is a Nobleman of ſolid Judgment and Underſtanding, polite Learning, virtuous and exemplary Morals, unblemiſh'd Reputation, moderate Principles, and a true Son of the Church, without any Bitterneſs or fiery Zeal againſt the *Diſſenters*.

Sir *Thomas Manſel*, who ſome Years ago generouſly reſign'd his Place of Comptroller of her Majeſty's Houſhold, on account of his Friend Mr. *Harley*'s being removed from the Secretary's Office, and is now with him in the Commiſſion of the Treaſury, is a Gentleman of a very ancient Family, moſt ample Fortune, generous and affable Temper, publick Spirit, and clear Underſtanding. Mr. *Paget*'s bright Parts, and his Knowledge of the Buſineſs of the Navy, make him a very fit Perſon to be in the Commiſſion of the *Treaſury*. And in the laſt Place, Mr. *Benſon*, Brother-in-Law to the Lord *Dartmouth*, is a Gentleman of quick natural Parts (improved by Study, Travel, and polite Converſation) ſound Judgment, and well vers'd in the Laws and Conſtitution of this Kingdom.

The Event has already juſtify'd her Majeſty's Choice of theſe five Commiſſioners: For notwithſtanding the great Difficulties they have hitherto labour'd under, occaſioned chiefly by the Endeavours of the Friends of the late Miniſtry to ſink the *Public Credit*, and embroil the Affairs of the Bank (of which Notice may be taken in a more proper Place) and though they found the Treaſury and Exchequer not only entirely exhauſted, but alſo clog'd with new-ſtruck Tallies and Anticipations, yet by their Credit and Reputation they have found Means to ſupply the Armies in *Flanders*, *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, till the End of the Campaign; and at a cheaper Rate than the late Treaſurer ever did.

Another Gentleman having ſome time after reſigned his Place of Secretary of State, the Seals were immediately given to Mr. *St. John*; who, like Sir *Thomas Manſel*, had formerly choſen to ſacrifice his Place of Secretary of War, rather than abandon ſo worthy a Friend as Mr. *Harley*. Nor is any Man in the

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Three Kingdoms better qualified for that high and busy Employment: Whether we consider his natural Talents, Vivacity of Wit, Penetration and Judgment; or his Mastery of Languages, flowing Eloquence, Affability, and Address: So that her Majesty cannot have a more useful Minister, either with respect to the Public Business in the House of Commons, or in relation to the Management of the Affairs abroad: And I dare prophesy, that he will never be guilty of such a *false Step* as was made in the Business of the *Muscovite* Ambassador, or expose the *Crown* and *Nation* to so *inglorious a Submission to retrieve it.*

Some other Persons, too far engaged in the late Measures, having been necessarily removed; and others having voluntarily resign'd their Employments; perhaps, through a *false Punctilio*, lest they should be thought to change Sides: Their Places were supply'd by Men of equal Merit, Parts, and Abilities; and, at least, as zealous to advance the true Interest of their Country, and the Good of the Common Cause. I shall not enlarge upon their Characters; because it is foreign to my present Design to enter into such Particulars, any farther than seems absolutely necessary to account for the late Alterations.

But in order to trace them up to their true Causes, we may still observe, that only Two new Persons have been put in the Commission of the Navy; and that no Man could, with more Justice, be placed at the Head of it, than Sir *John Leake*, whose successful Expeditions and Enterprizes have carried the Honour of the *English* Navy as far as any Sea-Commander that can be brought in Competition with him.

We may likewise observe, That one of the Secretaries of State, and some other Persons, have been continued in their Places; and that the Reason of Mr. *Smith*'s Removal from the Chancellorship of the *Exchequer*, being only because that Place belongs, of Course, to the second Commissioner of the Treasury, her Majesty was pleased to shew the Continuance of her Favour to him, by bestowing upon him another profitable Employment in the *Exchequer.*

These few Hints and Instances shew, at the same Time, the main *Scope* of the *late Changes:* Which is not to cramp or streighten the Government, by *turning out* one *Party*, and *taking in* another; but rather to strengthen it, *by enlarging its Foundation:* It being the Queen's fix'd Design and Resolution, to encourage and reward all such, who with honest and virtuous Principles shall embrace and promote her Majesty's and the Nation's Service, without any Regard to *invidious Distinctions.* *Usurpers*, or *incroaching Favourites*, and *ambitious Ministers* may, for a while, support themselves by a *Faction*; but our rightful and lawful QUEEN has nothing more at Heart, than that the Names of *Tory* and *Whig* may be buried in Oblivion; she thinks it below her Royal Dignity to make use of the mean Arts of indulging any of her Subjects in *Follies* and *Animosities*, to themselves fatal, and injurious to her Power. As she has a Right to govern all, so she scorns to be Queen of no more than half her People: And as she is able to judge whose Merits are the greatest, and who are the fittest Objects to be shined on; so she will, for the future, impartially distribute her Rewards, and countenance the best Patriots; which cannot fail of strengthening her auspicious Administration with the Hearts and Hands of all her Subjects.

And

And here we may curſorily take notice, That her Majeſty has already began to redreſs *Military* as well as *Civil Grievances*. Thus we ſee the *glorious Victor* at WYNENDALE, the brave General *WEBB*, to whom we are principally indebted for the Conqueſt of *Liſle*; but whoſe *Laurels* were like to have been fix'd on the Brow of another, and his Services depreciated; advanced to an important Government: Thus we ſee that valiant and experienced Commander, the Earl of *Portmore*, whoſe *involuntary Idleneſs* was lamented by all the *Well-wiſhers* to the Common Cauſe, at laſt, ſent to *retrieve* the Affairs of *Portugal*; and, 'tis to be hoped, to compleat the Conqueſt of *Spain*. Thus a *noble Lord*, who, ſome Years ago, had a fine *Regiment of Horſe* taken from him (either for not voting in the Houſe of Commons according to the Deſire of a certain Great Man, or for oppoſing the Election of his near Relation) was lately reſtored to her Majeſty's Favour, and advanced to a high Military Title. Thus we may expect to ſee e're long *Juſtice* done to the illuſtrious Duke of *Ormond* and the Earl of *Peterborough*, whoſe great Atchievements will ever live in the Memory of all grateful *Engliſhmen*. And thus the *Argiles*, the *Orreries*, the *North* and *Greys*, and all other brave *Britons* in the Army, who have either been poſtponed or diſregarded, whilſt all Favour was ſhewn to *Hibernian* Officers, may, with Reaſon, hope to be taken notice of, and promoted in their Turns.

To return to our preſent Buſineſs: The *diſcarded Miniſters* having, by their vaſt Wealth, and numerous Dependants, formed a *ſtrong* and *formidable Party*, were not without Hopes, if not of regaining their Power, at leaſt, of avoiding a National Enquiry into their Adminiſtration, by ſuggeſting Dangers from the calling a *new Parliament*; and by ſtarting Difficulties in the ordinary Method of *Diſſolution*: But her Majeſty being fully convinced of the abſolute Neceſſity of it, wiſely exerted her *Royal Prerogative*, and ordered a Proclamation to be publiſhed for that Purpoſe.

It has, with great Induſtry, been whiſpered by the Emiſſaries of the late *Junto*, how ungracious it was to diſſolve ſo good a Parliament, which had ſo readily voted the neceſſary Supplies for the War: But beſides the Reaſons for this *Diſſolution* hinted at before, it may be obſerved, that the ſame Motives, that prompted her Majeſty to change her *Miniſtry*, were ſufficient to induce her to call a *new Parliament*.

It is with a *Mixt-Government*, as ours is, as with a Piece of *Clock-work*; where, unleſs the *Springs* be fitted to the *Wheels*, and *vice verſa*, the *Wheels* to the *Springs*, let the *Pendulum* be ever ſo *regular* and *ſteady* in its Motion, the whole Work will never produce the Effects intended by the Artiſt. Thus in our *Political Conſtitution*, if the *Springs* or the *Miniſterial Part* of the Government, do not exactly agree with the *Wheels* or *Parliament*, nothing can be expected from them but continual *Jars* and *Miſunderſtandings*, each contending to put the other in the wrong, and obſtructing what the other moves for the Public Good: Whereas, on the contrary, when both concur in Opinion and Deſigns, all good Counſels, Proſperity and Succeſs, attend ſo excellent an *Harmony*.

Some of our Princes have, indeed, been juſtly cenſured for *diſſolving Parliaments*: But 'twas then only, when they ſeem'd reſolved to govern without them. Wherefore it cannot be thought ungracious in her Majeſty to part with the

the *laſt* (though to do them Juſtice, they ſupplied the Neceſſities of the War with all imaginable Zeal and Readineſs) ſince another was immediately ſummoned, to meet about the uſual Time: So that *Foreign Affairs* can ſuffer no prejudicial Intermiſſion by this *Diſſolution*; and, on the other hand, 'tis not to be doubted that *proper Remedies* will be applied to our *inteſtine Diſtempers*.

Parliaments are the very *Heart* of our Conſtitution: While that Vital Part of it is *free*, *vigorous*, and *ſound*, no Danger from *abroad*, no *Diſtractions*, *Factions*, or *Combinations* at *home*, can hurt us. Our Sovereign is no where ſo ſafe, or appears with ſo great Splendor, as when he ſits in his Throne, at the Head of his Parliament; the Peers no where veſted with ſo great Authority, as when they ſit ſupreme Judges in their Houſe; and as the Commons are the Guardians of the Liberties of the People, ſo the latter cannot loſe their Rights, ſo long as we preſerve Parliaments: The Felicity of our Conſtitution being ſuch, that we cannot be undone, but by ourſelves, and by our own Conſent.

But 'tis Matter of Grief to reflect, That, of late Years, not a few Men, conſiderable for their Birth, Abilities, and Eſtates, inſtead of bending their Thoughts how to ſerve their Country, have meanly contrived how to advance their own Fortunes, either by a ſlaviſh Dependance on a *Favourite General*, or by ſupporting a Great *Miniſter* at the *Helm*; and whilſt they were attending *Levees*, and cringing for *Civil* or *Military* Preferments in *Anti-Chambers*, they either left to their Relations the Care of managing their *Elections* in the Country, or which is worſe, of making Intereſt for ſuch as were recommended by the *Two Rulers*. By theſe Means moſt of the *Elections* were carried for *Officers* or *Monied Men*; which is not to be wondered at, ſince *Gentlemen* had taught their Tenants and Dependants to ſell their *Votes*, by their Practice of bringing their Voices to Market in the Parliament-Houſe. Such Members never believed it went ill with the Nation, as long as it went well with themſelves: The *Landed Intereſt* was not ſo much the Object of their Care, as by what obſequious Arts they might be advanced to better Poſts; and if they had but their Share of the Public Money, they took little Thought of the Application of the Remainder. Thus by the beſtowing of Regiments on proper Perſons, though to the notorious Diſcouragement of Officers who had merited by their long Services; by bribing other Members by Penſions, or Civil Offices; and by winking at the immenſe Gains which ſome private Men made out of the Kingdom's Treaſure, the *Junto* had bid fair for the largeſt Share of the *Legiſlative* Authority.

Armed with this Power, and having, as they fondly believed, entirely ſecured to themſelves the *bounteous* and *indulgent* QUEEN, it is no wonder that inſtead of bringing the vaſt Profits, accruing from *Safe-Guards* and *Contributions*, into the Public Treaſure, as the *Romans* did heretofore, and as it is now practiſed by the thrifty *Hollanders*; inſtead of accounting for the ſeveral Regiments taken Priſoners, or incorporated in *Spain*, and elſewhere; which were not new-raiſed in two or three Years after, and the beſt Part of the Pay whereof was ſunk; immenſe Grants were procured, both out of the *Crown-Lands* and *Revenues*, for the Favourite General: And whereas, in former Times, *Trophies* only were erected out of the Spoils of the Vanquiſhed, a magnificent *Caſtle*, ſhall I call it, or a ſtrong *Citadel*, has been raiſed for our Leader,

moſtly

moſtly out of the Public Treaſure; whilſt *Whitehall*, the ancient Manſion of our Kings, remains in *Rubbiſh*; and whilſt her Majeſty is contented to take up with a ſcanty Accommodation in an old patcht-up Houſe, eclipſed by a ſumptuous and regular *new Palace*, built by the late *Favourite Lady*. 'Tis no wonder, that when an honeſt Party in the Houſe of Commons had preſs'd an Enquiry into the Miſmanagement of our Affairs of *Spain*; and when it appearing, that of the 28000 Men, voted and provided for by the Parliament, there were not actually 9000 employ'd in that Country; an Addreſs was carried to repreſent to the QUEEN a Miſcarriage too notorious to be paſs'd over in Silence: The Majority of that Houſe were, however, ſatisfied with a palliating Anſwer, jumbled up by the *Junto*. 'Tis no wonder, that other Inquiries into the Diſpoſal of the Monies appropriated to the Navy, have ſince been unſucceſsfully attempted. 'Tis no wonder, that an *Act of Indemnity* was procured to ſkreen a Great Man, who is ſhrewdly ſuſpected of having laviſh'd away near a Million *Sterling*, to bring about the *Union*; with no other Deſign than to retrieve a falſe Step, for which he might have loſt his Head. In ſhort, 'tis no wonder that the *Junto* had form'd the towering Project, of getting a GENERAL for LIFE; who might, in Time, have gained as abſolute an Authority, as that of a *Roman* perpetual DICTATOR, or of a *Britiſh* PROTECTOR; and ſo have governed arbitrarily both QUEEN and NATION.

But, Thanks be to God, that fond and fantaſtic Deſign is vaniſhed into Air, by the timely *Diſſolution* of the laſt *Parliament:* And although the *Britiſh* Spirit has of late been much abaſed and depraved, yet there is good Reaſon to hope it is not yet quite extinguiſhed. Though the late *Junto*, and their Supporters, the *Monied Men*, were, and ſtill are able to *bribe many*; yet was it not, (and 'tis now leſs) in their Power to corrupt All. They found, indeed, a baſe Compliance among a Party, who left no ſervile Arts unpractiſed to get into profitable Employments: But then they met in their career a Set of Landed Men, Proof againſt Bribery, ſtiff and ſtaunch in the Principles of Honour, heartily zealous for the Support of our happy Conſtitution in Church and State, and whom Profit could not allure, nor Power intimidate. Now, as the *Arbitrary Junto* had Reaſon to dread the Induſtry, Frugality, Vigour, Sagacity, and Courage of theſe Patriots, ſo all ſiniſter Methods were uſed to keep them under, by branding them with *odious Appellations*, and charging them with unnatural Deſigns againſt their lawful Sovereign and native Country: Well knowing, that if ever this ſound Party ſhould prevail, their Corruptions and Miſmanagements would be animadverted upon.

'Tis therefore no wonder to ſee, that the ſame Artifices are now practiſed to thwart the *High-Church* or *Landed-Men*, in the new Elections: But, by this Time, the Charm is broke; ſome Boroughs were formerly corrupted, but are not yet, thank God, bought out; and the *true Patriots*, having gain'd the Day at *Court*, it is not to be doubted but they will have a Majority in the enſuing *Parliament*.

And, indeed, as there cannot be a Circumſtance more dangerous to the Liberty of a Nation, than to have the real Right, Intereſt, and Property of Lands in one Hand, and the Power of being choſen into Parliament in another;

ſo, to preſerve the Rights of this Nation, we ſhould be repreſented by ſuch as have the greateſt Share in Property.

From hence it naturally follows, That the *new Whigs*, who, as they themſelves boaſt, are the *Monied Men*, having for theſe many Years paſt enjoyed all the Places of Profit, and made up the Majority of the Houſe of Commons; it was but a Piece of Juſtice, and generous Condeſcenſion in her Majeſty, to hearken to the general Voice of the Nation, that called for a *new Parliament*. This gives her Majeſty's Subjects an Opportunity of being repreſented by Men of Eſtates; whereas, had the late Parliament been continued, it might have happened that thoſe, who never conſulted the Landed Intereſt, having exhauſted their Stock of *Ways and Means*, might, at laſt, have given into the Project of making *Land a perpetual* Fund; than which nothing could, in Time, prove more fatal to our Conſtitution. For thereby, the real Property of Land would belong to the Bankers and Uſurers; and we ſhould be, in a great Meaſure, repreſented by ſuch as, having only the Name and Shew of Eſtates, would be in an intire Dependence on the Court for Preferments. Nor would there be any Fence againſt ſuch *Corruption*; for a Parliament that would conſent to continue *Land-Taxes* beyond the Duration of the War, would give up all our Liberties at once.

From all this it is plain, That Men of good Eſtates, untainted Honour, unſhaken Loyalty to the Crown, and independent on the late Miniſtry (call them by what *Name* you pleaſe) are the proper Perſons to repreſent this *Free Nation* at this critical Juncture. 'Twas they who, ſince the *Revolution*, in which they had as great Share as any, ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the Rights of the People, and procured us the two ſtrongeſt Bulwarks of *Britiſh Liberty*, viz. the *Treaſon Bill*, and the *Act for Triennial Parliaments*; 'twas they who have always been for ſaving the Public Money, and, as far as in them lay, check'd Depredations, by calling every Seſſion for the Accounts and Eſtimates of the Army and Fleet; 'twas they who, after the Peace of *Ryſwick*, inſiſted on the *diſbanding* of the Army, and reſumed *exorbitant Grants* to pay Public Debts; 'twas they who made the Nation ſenſible of the dangerous Conſequences of the *Partition-Treaty*, and had the Courage to attack in Parliament, Men of great Figure, whom they thought Authors of that pernicious Counſel; 'twas they who, about the Beginning of the Year 1701, (Mr. *Harley* being then Speaker) made the *Act for the further Limitation of the Crown in the Proteſtant Line*; and who juſt before the late King's Death (Mr. *Harley* being ſtill in the Chair) paſſed two other *Acts*, viz. one *for the Attainder of the pretended Prince of* Wales *of High-Treaſon*; and another *for the further Security of the Succeſſion in the Proteſtant Line, and extinguiſhing the Hopes of the pretended Prince of* Wales, *and all other Pretenders*; 'twas they who firſt entered into this neceſſary War, and therefore they ought, in Juſtice, to have the Honour of *ending* it; 'twas they who, upon the Queen's Acceſſion to the Throne, made good the *Deficiencies* of the laſt Reign; which ſhews they will ever be tender of the HONOUR of PARLIAMENTARY Engagements. And, in the laſt Place, 'twas they who oppoſed the Miſmanagements of the late *Junto*, and are therefore the fitteſt Men to inquire into the Diſpoſal of the Public Moneys; which the immenſe Debt that now lies upon the Navy, renders abſolutely neceſſary. Nor is it to be doubted

that

the *Landed Gentlemen* will readily grant and provide the neceſſary Supplies for carrying on the *War* with the utmoſt *Vigour:* For as they have ſtill borne, and are ſtill like to bear the greateſt Weight of Taxes; ſo will they, in their own Defence, exert their utmoſt Endeavours to procure a ſafe, honourable, and laſting *Peace*, in order to eaſe themſelves of their Burden. Therefore if, as has been ſuggeſted, the Court of *France* ſpun out, and at laſt broke off the late Conferences at *Gertruydenburg*, upon a Proſpect of a Turn of Affairs in this Nation, in Favour of the *Pretender*, they will certainly find themſelves as miſerably diſappointed in that fond Expectation, as they have often been in others of the like Kind; and, it is to be hoped, pay very dear for their laſt *Legerdemain:* For, in all Probability, our *New Miniſtry*, and the *New Parliament*, will inſiſt on the Reſtitution of the *whole Monarchy of* Spain; and on better Terms for all the *Allies* (particularly for the trading Part of this Nation) inſtead of offering an *Equivalent* for the 37th Article of the late Preliminaries.

On the other hand, it is not to be doubted that as the *Moderate Tories*, and *Old Whiggs* jointly oppoſed, in the late Reign, the Miſmanagement of the *New Whiggs*, who, to maintain themſelves and their Friends at Court, ever winked at a looſe and unprovident Adminiſtration: So they will on this Occaſion unanimouſly concur in all proper Meaſures for the Allaying of our late Feuds and Animoſities; and the Advancement of the Public Good. It is true, ſome of the High-Church-Party, miſguided and inflamed by *buſy Tantivies*, or by *licentious*, *mercenary*, and *ignorant Scribblers*, have lately ſhewn more than ordinary Warmth, and expreſs'd both their *Zeal* for the eſtabliſhed *Church*, and their *Loyalty* to the *Crown*, with too *unchriſtian Bitterneſs* againſt their Proteſtant Brethren on the one Side, and with a *Latitude* inconſiſtent with a *limited Monarchy* and the preſent *Settlement* on the other. Thus we have ſeen *incoherent Addreſſes*, aſſerting her Majeſty's *hereditary*, and ſlighting her *parliamentary* Title, as if ſhe could now enjoy the one without the other; and, while they lay ſo great Streſs on the former, profeſſing their firm Adherence to the illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover*, which in all Probability will never have any Claim but by Act of Parliament: We have ſeen others acknowledging an *irreſiſtable Power* in the Crown, and in the ſame Breath avowing *vigorous Reſiſtance:* And moſt of them full of bitter Invectives and Outcries againſt republican, anti-monarchical, and rebellious Principles, when (except an inconſiderable Party of notorious *Jacobites* and *Non-jurors*) the whole Nation, notwithſtanding our unhappy Diviſions and Diſtractions, join and concur in their Duty, Loyalty, and hearty Affection to her Majeſty and her Government. On the other hand, ſome Pamphlet Writers, either, as they expected, to ingratiate themſelves with ſome great Men, or with leſs juſtifiable Deſigns, have not only ſaucily inſulted the *Authority of Parliaments*, but expoſed the *Revolution*, undermined * the *Succeſſion*, and given ſuch broad Hints of an intended *Reſtoration*,† as could not

* *Leſley*, in a Pamphlet call'd, *The Good Old Cauſe*, for which he was order'd to be taken into Cuſtody and proſecuted, and thereupon abſconds, has this Expreſſion: *Hereditary Right, and the national Allegiance due to it, is a ſtubborn Thing, and will not bend even to an Act of Parliament, nor to a thouſand Uſurpations!* Page 35. Where 'tis plain, that by the Word *Uſurpation*, the Author means our *preſent Settlement*.

† The Author of a Pamphlet call'd *An impartial Account of what paſt moſt remarkable in the laſt*

but raiſe Indignation and juſt Alarms in the Well-meaning, who make up the Bulk of the Nation. But as theſe inſolent Scribblers are now ſo far from being countenanced by any Men in Power, that, on the contrary, Orders have been iſſued out for their Proſecution; ſo it is to be obſerved, that moſt of the late High-Church Addreſſes were drawn up in a Heat, with more Zeal than Caution; and generally calculated for the undiſcerning Multitude, in order to influence future Elections in favour of the landed Gentlemen, who have too great a Concern in the Welfare of the Nation to give up their Rights and Liberties to the arbitrary Will of a Prince, and are too good Proteſtants to bring in a *Popiſh* Pretender.

As for the Spirit of Tumult and Riot raiſed by Dr. *Sacheverel*'s Trial, which ſpread through ſeveral Countries, particularly during his Progreſs, and was lately revived on occaſion of the *new Elections*, it cannot, with any Juſtice, be charged on the High-Church Party; at leaſt not on the ſober and ſubſtantial Part of them: But rather, as was hinted before, on thoſe who began that violent Proſecution, who, as they were the primary Cauſe of thoſe Diſorders, ſo did they in ſome Meaſure encourage them, by not giving them a timely Check; which it was in their Power to do. 'Tis well known, that the Day when ſeveral Meeting-houſes were pull'd down, Mr. *Burgeſs* applied himſelf in the Morning to a great Man, acquainting him, that the Night before, ſome of the Rabble had attempted his Meeting-houſe, and had ſet a Guard upon it, in order, he doubted, to pull it down that Evening; which might be eaſily prevented by cauſing ſome of the Queen's Guards to patrole that Way: But no Notice was taken of this Intimation, thoſe who deſign'd to lay the *Odium* of theſe Tumults on the High-Church Party being willing to let them grow to a Head; nor would they perhaps have quell'd them ſo ſoon, had not ſome of the Mob threatned to go to the *Bank*. As to Dr. *Sacheverel*'s triumphant Cavalcades, and the ſolemn Honours paid to him by ſome Magiſtrates as indiſcreet as himſelf, while he lay under a *parliamentary Cenſure*, bating the unthinking Multitude, they received no Countenance but from a few Country Gentlemen, who took that Occaſion of making themſelves popular, and thereby ſecured a great many Votes againſt the enſuing *Elections*; nor is the Doctor's Conduct in that Particular juſtified by any body, unleſs it be by mercenary Scribblers and *Incendiaries*. That Divine had but too much Reaſon given him to think himſelf a very conſiderable Perſon; but he is greatly miſtaken, if he believes that ſober Men, even of his own Party, entertain the ſame Opinion of his late Behaviour.

We may therefore reaſonably expect, that when the *moderate Men* of both Parties, who, in the main, mean the ſame Thing, ſhall come together in the Houſe of Commons, they will unanimouſly purſue the moſt prudent, moſt effectual, and gentle Methods to heal up our inteſtine Breaches, and remove all Fears and Jealouſies: *Firſt*, by *vindicating the* PARLIAMENTARY AUTHORITY, rather by *providing* againſt future, than *puniſhing* paſt Offences: By juſtifying the late *happy* REVOLUTION, and the neceſſary Means by which it was accompliſhed: By giving a timely Check to ſuch licentious Sermons, Books and Pamphlets,

laſt Seſſion of Parliament, &c. having toward the End of it quoted a Paſſage out of the Earl of *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory, relating to King *Charles*'s Reſtoration, concludes with this pious and loyal Ejaculation: *May it alwa s happen thus! May the ſame good Providence ever watch over us, to ſave and deliver the Church and Monarchy from the Hands of their Enemies!*

phlets, as tend to ſtir up Diſcord or Sedition; to unhinge the preſent Settlement, either in Church or State; or to weaken the *Proteſtant* SUCCESSION: By maintaining the Act of TOLERATION, and avoiding giving the *Diſſenters* any juſt Ground of Uneaſineſs: By retrieving PUBLIC CREDIT, and, in order to that, making good all PARLIAMENTARY FUNDS and ENGAGEMENTS; and by granting her Majeſty effectual SUPPLIES to carry on the War with freſh Vigour, in order to obtain a *ſpeedy*, *ſafe*, *honourable* and *laſting* PEACE.

Of all the ſiniſter Methods by which the late *Junto* have endeavoured to maintain themſelves, none was either more *crafty* or *plauſible*, and at the ſame time more *dangerous*, than the *falſe Suggeſtion*, That the PUBLIC CREDIT was nearly concern'd in the Continuance of the late Lord Treaſurer, and in a manner muſt *ſtand or fall with him*. This extravagant Notion being propagated with more than ordinary Induſtry by their Emiſſaries both at home and abroad, gain'd ſo far upon the Minds of ſome monied Men (who generally are the moſt ſuſceptible of Fears and Alarms) as to have occaſion'd the *Fall of the public Funds:* Which being a Caſe ſomewhat particular, and not eaſily to be parallel'd in Hiſtory, it will be neceſſary for a Writer, who ſets about the Tranſmitting to Poſterity the Account of the late Changes, to inquire into the true Cauſes of the preſent Diminution of theſe Funds; and whether or no the CREDIT of the Nation was really affected by the Removal of that great Miniſter?

In order to proceed in that *Inquiry* with Regularity and Succeſs, it is neceſſary to ſettle the Signification of the Word CREDIT, which, in ſome meaſure, carries its *Definition* with it, ſince it may be explained and underſtood by its *Synonyma's* CONFIDENCE and HONOUR; and is, indeed, *the Opinion or Confidence we have in another's Ability*, *Honour*, and *Punctuality*, *to diſcharge or pay a Debt*. Thus *Credit* among private Men and Traders is a full Aſſurance, grounded on the tried Honeſty and reputed Ability of thoſe we deal with, that within ſuch a Time, agreed on, ſuch a Man or Men will make ſuch and ſuch Payments, for Commodities ſold or Monies lent. And PUBLIC or NATIONAL CREDIT is the ſame *Opinion* or *Confidence*, with reſpect to the State or Government, founded on the Experience of its *Ability*, *Honeſty* and *Punctuality*.

If there was no ſuch Thing as Credit, Men would be obliged to content themſelves with what they poſſeſs; or to exchange Part of what they have for what they want; or to pay *ready Money* for the latter.

But becauſe it was found by Experience, that either the Exchanging of Goods, or the paying for them ready Money, reduced *Trade* to a very narrow Compaſs, and cramp'd it with many Difficulties, it was therefore wiſely agreed in all trading and civilized Nations to ſet up CREDIT; which effectually removes all thoſe Difficulties.

Thus CREDIT is become the very *Heart* and *Soul* of all *Trade* and *Commerce*, either *private* or *public*. By his Credit, a Merchant, for Example, takes up great Quantities of Commodities at home, and exports them to foreign Markets, from whence he expects a profitable Return; or makes Remittances abroad for Goods he buys there, to import them home, and ſell them with Profit. And in like manner, by its Credit a Government fits out Navies, maintains Armies, and anſwers the other Neceſſities of the State.

From hence it appears, that to hurt or ruin a private Man's *Credit*, is to do him

him an almoſt *irreparable Injury*, for which the Law has provided a *Remedy*; and that to leſſen the *public Credit* is a *Crime* againſt the State; which, though not yet provided againſt, comes little ſhort of the Enormity of *High-Treaſon*.

As *public* or *national Credit* depends on the Confidence private Men have, that the State or Government will, at ſuch and ſuch Seaſons, make good ſuch and ſuch Engagements, we ought in the next Place to inquire, whether this *Confidence* relates to the STATE itſelf, or to the Perſons entruſted with the Management of the State Revenues?

It is apparant that it reſpects wholly the State, whether it be an abſolute or limited Monarchy, or a Commonwealth; for as CREDIT is founded on the good Opinion the *Lender* entertains of the *Ability* of the *Borrower*, to perform ſuch and ſuch Engagements; it cannot be imagined, that the Public would truſt any private Miniſter with ſeveral Millions of Money, when they know he is not worth, and conſequently cannot anſwer the Payment of many Thouſands. It is therefore PUBLIC SECURITY that *creates* PUBLIC CREDIT; and this SECURITY in this Kingdom is the *whole Nation*, or their Repreſentatives in *Parliament* aſſembled.

It muſt indeed be owned, that a careful and frugal Management of the Treaſury and Exchequer, and an exact Payment of Aſſignments made by *Parliament*, will beget ſuch an Opinion of the Honeſty and Punctuality of the Government, as may very much advance *public Credit*; and ſo far, the latter may be concerned in the prudent Choice of able and faithful Managers of the Revenues: Which *Choice* is one Branch of our Sovereign's *Prerogative*.

Theſe undeniable Axioms being laid down, let us apply them to our preſent Inquiry.

It is certain from the Experience of all Times paſt, and from the general Concernment of *public Funds*, that a Parliament legally convened, will make good all *national* or *parliamentary* (which indeed are their own) *Engagements*; elſe the NATION muſt turn BANKRUPT: Which is impoſſible, as long as it continues to be a Nation under our preſent *happy Conſtitution*. The not anſwering thoſe Engagements, would be a downright *public Robbery*; and therefore to ſuggeſt (as it is ſaid, ſome of the Friends to the late *Junto* have done) that the next *Parliament* will make uſe of a SPUNGE to quit all Scores, is no leſs than to make them *Public Robbers*, and *Betrayers* of the Intereſt of thoſe they are to repreſent: But as ſuch a Surmiſe cannot be entertained by any Men of common Senſe, it deſerves no further Animadverſion.

And as all future Parliaments cannot want the WILL, neither can they be reaſonably ſuppoſed to want the ABILITY to anſwer all *national Debts*: Elſe we muſt ſuppoſe that the *Nation cannot pay the Nation*, which implies an Abſurdity.

The PUBLIC or NATIONAL SECURITY being, by this invincible Argument, proved to be as good as ever, the PUBLIC CREDIT, which, we ſaid before, is principally and originally founded upon it, ought in Reaſon to have remained *intere*. But ſince the contrary ſeems to have happened, by the *Fall of the Public Funds*, we muſt further inquire into the Cauſes of this *Fall*.

And

And here we must again recur to the *Definition* of CREDIT, which shews it not to be founded on *Reason*, or on the *real Honesty*, *Ability*, and *Punctuality* of those we deal with, but rather on the *Opinion* or *Confidence* we have, that they are really Honest, Able and Punctual. Thus the *Excellency of Credit* rests on a slippery Bottom, I mean, OPINION; which being nice, tender, and easily affected and biassed, so *Credit* either rises or falls with it.

It has before been laid down as a Maxim, that the frugal Management of the Treasury, and the punctual Payment of parliamentary Assignments, contribute very much to the good Opinion private Men entertain of the Honesty of the Government, and consequently to the Advancement of Public Credit: Wherefore as it is the Part of the *Parliament* to provide *sufficient Funds*, so it is the Part of the Sovereign to place able, honest, and faithful Officers in the Government of the Treasury and Exchequer. Thus the *Public Credit* depends primarily on the *Parliament*, secondarily on the *Queen*; or which is almost the same, it centers where the Government centers, that is, the *Queen* and *Parliament*, and not in any particular Man employed by her Majesty; otherwise the *Public Credit* would not be *national*, but *personal*: Which might prove of most fatal Consequence to such a free State as ours is, and in Time give a private Man an Opportunity of setting himself above the Government, that is, the *Queen* and *Parliament*.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that as *Public Credit* secondarily depends on the Queen's preferring Men of Honour and Probity in the Management of her *Treasury* and *Exchequer*; so the displacing of Officers in those Trusts, of whom the Public entertains a good *Opinion*, may, in great Measure, occasion the Loss of *national Credit*; especially if the People are before-hand possessed with Fears and Jealousies, that the new Ministers shall not be equally zealous for the public Interest.

This being the strongest, most popular, and indeed most specious Argument, the late *Junto* could make use of to maintain their *Authority*; it is no wonder their Friends and Dependents laid so great a Stress upon it: Industriously extolling the Merits of the late *Lord Treasurer*, and infusing strange *Alarms*, upon the Report of his being like to be removed. Wherefore, to wind up the present Inquiry, it is necessary to consider, whether the *Praises* bestowed on that great Minister, the Fears infused into the Minds of the People, and the Aspersions cast on the new Ministry, were justly grounded.

It must be owned, that during the two or three first Years of her Majesty's auspicious Reign, the public Revenues were managed with a great deal of Care and Frugality, and the current Payments made in the Treasury and Exchequer with Exactness and Punctuality: Which contributed very much to the retrieveing of *Public Credit*. But without derogating from the Reputation of the late Lord Treasurer, it may be affirmed, that it was primarily and principally owe-ing to the Parliament's making good the *Deficiencies* of the last Reign, and providing sufficient Funds for the growing Exigencies. Which Proof of *national* Honour and Justice, gave new Life to *Public Credit*; and made the People so easy, as to think their Money safer in the Hands of the Government than in their own. Nay, so eager were they to bring it in, notwithstanding the Lord Treasurer had reduced the Interest to five *per Cent.* upon most of the short

Funds,

Funds, that with great Wiſdom he ordered, that Lenders ſhould not as formerly be admitted to bring into the Exchequer all their Money at once, but only by Degrees, whereby conſiderable Sums of Intereſt were ſaved: And the *Public Credit* being thus *retrieved*, the Circulation of the *Species* began to be free and eaſy.

But theſe Steps, in the Path of Frugality and Oeconomy, were ſoon deviated from, and contrary Meaſures purſued: Inſtead of that generous Contribution which her Majeſty gave out of the Civil Liſt, towards the Expence of the War in the firſt Year of her Reign; great Profuſions were made of the Crown Lands and Revenues, by Grants and Donatives; great Sums of Money were laid out for ſecret Services, particularly to bring about the Union; and theſe, together with the Loſſes ſuſtained by employing unreſponſible Perſons in the Collection of Taxes, and the Deficiency of ſome Funds, vaſtly increaſed the Debts of the Nation. On the other hand, high Intereſts were again introduced; the public Revenues either almoſt entirely ſold, or anticipated for many Years to come; moſt of the Branches of our Foreign Trade ſo overcharged with new Duties, as to amount to a Prohibition; and not only the profitable Expeditions to the *Weſt-Indies* propoſed from Time to Time, by public ſpirited Perſons, laid aſide, but our own Plantations either abandoned or neglected, and the Enemy ſuffered to carry away great Riches from thence; and the public Deſign of the *Union* with *Scotland*, *viz.* an *Union of Intereſts*, which alone can reconcile Affections, ſtifled and ſuppreſſed: Inſomuch that the old Diſcontents of that Part of *Great-Britain* are, at preſent, rather increaſed than abated.

Theſe Abuſes, which, unknown to the Queen, had by degrees crept into the Adminiſtration, were about a Year ago laid before a great Man, who either did not think himſelf able, at that Juncture, to reform them, or feared, by attempting it, to lay himſelf too open: Thus the former Methods were purſued, till her Majeſty being acquainted with the Dangers that threatened her royal Authority, and the main Support of it, and of the State, the PUBLIC CREDIT; and taking notice, at the ſame Time, that her Houſhold had not been paid for a Year and a Half paſt, her Majeſty reſolved to put the Treaſury and Exchequer in the Hands of Perſons, on whoſe Abilities, Probity, Frugality, and Exactneſs, ſhe could entirely rely: And thereupon pitched upon the five Gentlemen whoſe Characters have before been enlarged upon.

Let now all impartial and unprejudiced *Perſons* judge, whether the great Praiſes beſtowed upon the late Lord Treaſurer, and the Aſperſions caſt on the new Miniſters, are juſtly grounded? And whether Mr. *Harley*, who, in the Beginning of her Majeſty's Reign, was the main Inſtrument of the Reſtoration of PUBLIC CREDIT (as was hinted before) is not the moſt proper Inſtrument her Majeſty could have pitched upon, to *retrieve it* at preſent?

I own that the Miſmanagements of the late *Junto*, being either kept from the Knowledge of the People, or artfully extenuated and palliated by their numerous Dependents; and, on the contrary, their ſucceſsful Services, and former good Adminiſtration extolled, and ſtill in the Memories of all Men, the Suggeſtion that the *Public Credit* would be affected by their Removal, ſeemed at firſt plauſible enough; but, however, it is certain it would never have had the intended

tended Effect, had not their Emiſſaries at the ſame time infuſed Fears of the higheſt Nature into the Minds of the Well-affected to the *Revolution*, and the preſent Settlement of the Crown in the Proteſtant Line: To which Apprehenſions the late Tumults in favour of Dr. *Sacheverel*, the Public Avowing of the high-flown Doctrine of *unlimited paſſive Obedience*, and the Adhering to the *Hereditary*, and the renouncing the *Parliamentary* Title, gave ſome Air of Probability.

I hope theſe ill-grounded Fears and Jealouſies are by this time pretty well over, and doubt not but they will be fully removed by the *new Parliament*; who, for the Reaſons before enlarged upon, will certainly maintain the preſent happy Settlement both in Church and State; raiſe Money to carry on the War with the utmoſt Vigour; and make *good all parliamentary Funds and Engagements*, in order to RETRIEVE PUBLIC CREDIT; which has received the moſt dangerous Shocks from thoſe very Men who would ſeem to be moſt tender of its Proſperity.

For beſides the ſiniſter Infuſions of the Emiſſaries and Dependents of the late *Junto*, before animadverted upon, we may alſo take notice of the *Practices* of ſome of their private Agents in *Exchange-Alley*; who upon the Removal of the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the Report that the Lord Treaſurer would ſoon follow, brought all the *Stocks* they or their Friends had by them to *Market*; ſo that there being more *Sellers* than *Buyers*, the Stocks fell gradually, that of the Bank in particular, from 123½ to 107.

It is true, it had perhaps never been in the Power of any Party of Men here to ſink the Stocks ſo low, had not the Merchants in *Holland*, who have conſiderable Sums of Money in our *public Funds*, too eaſily taken the Alarm, and thereupon ſent Orders to their Correſpondents to ſell their Stocks; which very much contributed to the *Fall:* But, however, as the great Blow was firſt given, ſo was it purſued here with great Induſtry and Application, by the Friends of thoſe who, placing their Safety in Confuſion, endeavour to embroil the Affairs of the Nation.

It was, in a particular Manner, obſerved by ſome Gentleman at *Garraway*'s, that when upon the News of the firſt Victory in *Spain*, the Stocks began to riſe again, and might, in Courſe, have returned to their former Value, the ſame Party of Men renewed their former Practices to keep them low; and when notwithſtanding their Endeavours, and the Removal of the Lord Treaſurer, the STOCKS got up again (the Bank in particular, from 109 to 115) upon the Confirmation of the Victory of *Saragoſſa*, they redoubled their Efforts to ſink them; in which they could not fail of Succeſs.

For we may tranſiently obſerve, That beſides the *Combinations* and *Practices* before-mentioned, too ſecret and clandeſtine to be fixed on any particular Perſons, ſeveral other natural Cauſes muſt have contributed to the Fall of the Stocks.

1ſt, As they roſe upon the News of the *French* Plenipotentiaries coming to *Gertruydenberg*, the Bank, in particular, from 110 to 129, and continued ſo till it ſettled at about 124, ſo it was natural for them to fall back to their former Value, upon the News of the Conferences being broke off,

2*dly*, The great Numbers of new-ſtruck Tallies, Exchequer-Bills, Navy-Bills, *&c.* with which Trade is clogged, put a great Damp on the Circulation of Money, and conſequently contributed very much to the lowering of the Stocks, Annuities, *&c.*

3*dly*, The Blank Lottery Tickets, which about the Beginning of *October* were ſold for ſeven Pounds, bearing an Intereſt of 10 *per Cent.* for 32 Years, which is a far greater Advantage than any other Funds yet ſettled yield, many Perſons ſold their Stocks in order to buy thoſe Tickets, which was another natural Cauſe of the Fall of the ſaid Stocks.

4*thly* and *laſtly*, The Bank (for what Reaſons is beſt known to themſelves) neither making the uſual Dividend of four *per Cent.* nor paying it in *Specie*; but on the contrary calling in ten *per Cent.* and inſtead of circulating *Exchequer Bills*, according to their Contract, giving out Bonds for them payable in one Year, with Intereſt at ſix *per Cent.* beſides the Diſcount of about three *per Cent.* gave thereby a plain Indication that their Affairs are not in ſo good a Condition as they were thought to be: Which has been the main Reaſon of the late great Fall of their Stock, and of the other Funds in Proportion: For it is very remarkable, that before the Bank called in the 10 *per Cent.* before mentioned, their Stock was ſtill at 109, beſides the Dividend of 3 ½ *per Cent.* That is 2 ½ *per Cent.* higher than in the Month of *January* laſt, long before there was any Rumour or Surmiſe of the late Lord Treaſurer's being removed. Thus I hope I have plainly ſhewn, that his being *in* or *out* could not, in Reaſon, affect PUBLIC CREDIT; and that it is only in the Power of the QUEEN and PARLIAMENT to RETRIEVE it; which was *all I intended*, and was in this Place *neceſſary to prove*.

A LETTER from a Foreign Miniſter in *England*, to Monſieur *Pettecum*: containing the true Reaſons of the late Changes in the Miniſtry, and of the calling a New Parliament; and therefore fit to be peruſed by all the Electors. 1710.

Tranſlated from the French *Original.*

SIR,

I FIND by your Letter of the 8th Inſtant, that the Deputies of the States-General for foreign and ſecret Affairs had held ſeveral Conſultations about the preſent Poſture of Affairs in *England*; and that upon their Report their High Mightineſſes ſeem'd inclined to ſend hither Monſieur *Buys*, Penſioner of *Amſterdam*, Embaſſador extraordinary to the Queen of *Great-Britain*, to take care of the Intereſts of your Republic. You deſire me, at the ſame time, to give you ſuch Lights into the true State of Things here, as may ſerve towards Mr. *Buys*'s Inſtructions, in caſe that Embaſſy ſhould be fully reſolved upon: Which I ſhall do the more readily, becauſe my Maſter being himſelf embarked

in

in the Grand Confederacy, of which *England* is the main Pillar, it is our common Intereſt to watch the Meaſures of this Court, that we may regulate ours by them.

I muſt in the firſt place freely tell you, that I was ſomewhat ſurpriſed, when I heard that ſo wiſe a Body as the States could ſeem alarm'd at her *Britannic* Majeſty's Deſign to make ſome Alterations in her Miniſtry, and to call a new Parliament. But I was perfectly amazed, when I was informed that they had interpoſed in Favour of the old Miniſters: a Thing which they never took upon them to do, even in the late King *William*'s Reign, when their High Mightineſſes might reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have a greater Share in the Counſels of the *Britiſh* Court. However, I will not paſs a harder Cenſure upon this Step, than her *Britannic* Majeſty herſelf, who has only look'd upon it, either as the Effect of a miſtaken Zeal for the Common Cauſe, or the crafty Suggeſtion of the Friends and Emiſſaries of the late Lord Treaſurer: For having ſet all Engines at work, in this Country, to keep him in his Place and Power, and found them ineffectual, they at laſt endeavour'd to perſuade ſome of the Allies, that the PUBLIC CREDIT of *England* depended upon him; ſo that the whole Confederacy ſeem'd to be concerned in his Preſervation.

This I take to be the moſt favourable Conſtruction that can poſſibly be put on the Interpoſition of their High Mightineſſes; but leſt any falſe Suggeſtions, or Repreſentations of Things here, ſhould lead that wiſe Aſſembly into any other impolitic Meaſures, I ſhall diſcover to you the TRUE Reaſons and Motives of the late Alterations in this Court.

I muſt in the firſt place rectify the confuſed and falſe Notion which is generally entertain'd abroad, and even by many here, of the different Parties in this Nation. You comprehend all in *Holland* under the common Appellations of TORIES and WHIGS, who indeed are the moſt numerous and moſt powerful; but, beſides theſe two Parties, there are two others, of leſs Conſideration, *viz.* the JACOBITES and the REPUBLICANS.

Tho' it be far more difficult to *define* in *Politics* than in *Metaphyſics*, I ſhall endeavour to give you a right Idea of theſe *Four Parties*; which, if my Obſervations, for theſe 21 Years paſt, deceive me not, is as follows:

I. The *Tories* are thoſe who firmly adhere to the Monarchical Government, under its legal Limitations and Reſtrictions, and to the Doctrine and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, and who, upon old Grudges and Animoſities, look on the *Diſſenters* as their declared Enemies.

II. The Party of the *Whigs*, or *Low-Churchmen*, is made up of ſuch Churchmen, as have a Brotherly Tenderneſs for the *Diſſenters*, and of the *Diſſenters* themſelves: And both theſe are alſo for Monarchy, tho' perhaps in a more reſtrained Senſe than the other.

III. The *Jacobites* conſiſt of ſome Members of the Church of *England*, and of all the *Roman* Catholics of the Kingdom, the firſt of whom upon a Principle of *Conſcience*, the others of *Duty*, *Inclination* and *Intereſt*, did conſtantly adhere to the late King *James*, and as far as in them lay promoted his *Reſtauration*, as they now do that of the *Pretender*. This *Party* is of itſelf hardly *conſiderable* enough to be mention'd, or taken notice of, but that on all public Occaſions they intrude themſelves upon, and mix with the *High-Churchmen*; who, though they

differ in Principle, and are firmly zealous for the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, yet in *Elections* do not ſcruple to accept their Votes; the rather, becauſe their Competitors the *Whigs* do alſo fortify themſelves by the *Fourth Party*, viz.

IV. The *Republicans*, or *Commonwealth-men:* This Party, a Spawn of the old *Oliverians* or *Cromwelliſts*, conſiſts of a few *Presbyterians* and all the *Independents* of this Nation, who would make no manner of Figure by themſelves, but that they join themſelves with the true *Whigs*; tho' with as ſmall Encouragement from them, as the *Jacobites* receive from the *High-Churchmen*, and as little Conformity to their Political Principles.

From theſe INTRUSIONS it comes to paſs, that upon any *Contentions* and *Diſputes* that ariſe between the two *Great Parties* of this Nation, the *Tories* and *Whigs*, they mutually aſperſe one another with the odious *Appellations* of the *Minor Party* which ſometimes lurks amongſt them; ſo that the *Tories* call the *Whigs Republicans*, and the *Whigs* call the *Tories Jacobites*.

But, *Sir*, you muſt obſerve, that theſe Diſtinctions of *Tory* and *Whig* do properly belong to the *Second Claſs* or *Inferiour Rank* of Men: For Perſons of the firſt Rank, who either by their *Birth* or *Abilities* are intitled to govern others, do not really liſt themſelves in theſe *Parties*, but only put themſelves at the Head of either of them, as they judge it moſt ſubſervient to their private Ends and Deſigns; which being premiſed, it will not be difficult to trace up the late *Alterations* in this Country to their true *Cauſes*.

The Nobility and Gentry of this Free Nation, bearing with Indignation and Impatience the exorbitant Power invaded by the Duke of *M*——— and the late *Lord Treaſurer*, whoſe Families engroſs'd the moſt profitable Places, and accumulated vaſt Riches to themſelves, whilſt the Generality groan'd under the Weight of heavy Taxes; and who abſolutely diſpoſed of all Civil and Military Employments, with viſible Partiality to their Dependents; a Deſign was laid to *remove* the one, and by that means *reſtrain* the *Authority* of the other. In order to that, ſome diſtant Attempts were made in the Houſe of Commons towards an Inquiry into the Management of the Treaſury; for which the apparent NEGLECT of the War in *Spain*, and the immenſe Debt of the Navy, gave but too juſt a Pretence. But the Lord Treaſurer having ſecured a great Party among the *Whigs*, who made up the Majority of that Houſe, that Inquiry, which was preſs'd by the *Tories*, was over-ruled, and laid aſide.

However, the Lord Treaſurer, ſtill apprehenſive of being called to an Account the laſt Winter, dexterouſly laid hold of a favourable Opportunity to divert the Attention of the Parliament, by cauſing a *Hot-headed* Divine to be impeach'd, and proſecuted with all the Solemnity and Formality of Parliamentary Trials, for a *Sermon*, which both Parties agreed to be a *Piece of Nonſenſe*, and the Reſult of an *Extravagant* and *Ignorant Zeal*; but which contain'd a *Crime*, in the Opinion of the Lord Treaſurer's Friends, *unpardonable*; for it bitterly inveigh'd againſt his *Male-Adminiſtration*, characteriſing him by his Nickname of VOLPONE.

But, *Sir*, mark the *Folly* of Human *Wiſdom*! This very Trial of Dr. *Sacheverel*, which was principally contrived for the Lord Treaſurer's *Preſervation*, has proved the main Handle of his Deſtruction: For the Queen having been preſent at this ſolemn Trial, and taking notice that the *Whigs*, who managed this Proſecution, advanced ſome Political Poſitions that invaded the Royal Prerogative, which the

the *Tories*, who defended him, aſſerted with great Loyalty and Zeal, her Majeſty was thereby naturally inclined to entertain better Thoughts of the latter.

On the other hand, an inſolent great Lady, who had long entirely poſſeſs'd the Queen's Favour, being intoxicated with Power, and not behaving herſelf with that *grateful* and *reſpectful* Carriage to her *Miſtreſs* and *Benefactreſs*, which ſuch high Obligations and her Duty exacted from her, the Queen began to be reſerved with her, and to take into her royal Confidence another Lady, a near Relation of the Ducheſs of *Marlborough*.

The Credit of the latter, and of all the *Whig Party*, whom ſhe protected, declined conſiderably laſt Winter, upon a Contention about the Diſpoſal of the late Earl of *Eſſex*'s Regiment of Dragoons, which her Majeſty would have beſtowed on Colonel *Hill*, Brother to the growing Favourite, as a juſt Reward for his eminent Service at the Battle of *Almanza*, where he was very inſtrumental to the preſerving the broken Remains of the Infantry. This was oppoſed by thoſe then in Power about the Queen, who inſiſting on her Prerogative, the *Struggle* went ſo far, that a Deſign was laid by one of the Ducheſs's Sons-in-law, in a great Poſt, to procure a Vote of the Houſe of Commons for the Removal of Mrs. *M*———. This intended Violence was timely prevented, by the Colonel's throwing himſelf at her Majeſty's Feet, and begging ſhe would be pleaſed to beſtow that Poſt upon another Officer; which her Majeſty granted: But juſtly reſenting this, and other Indignities that had been offer'd her; and at the ſame Time a Gentleman of great Parts, Probity and Addreſs, having the Opportunity of acquainting her Majeſty with the general Diſcontent at the exorbitant Power and Greatneſs of one Family, and at the Management of Affairs in relation to ſome Part of the War and the Navy, her Majeſty reſolved to make ſome Changes in her Miniſtry, and thereupon began with the Perſon who had propoſed the Removing of Mrs. *M*——. The Lord Treaſurer was the next: Nor can Mr. *H*——*y* be blamed for having contributed to the Fall of a Perſon, who, after he had been ſaved by Mr. *H*——*y* from an Impeachment (on Account of the *Act of Security* paſſed in *Scotland*) by an uncommon Piece of Ingratitude, bore him an inveterate Hatred; and not ſatisfied with having removed him from the *Secretary's Office*, uſed afterwards all imaginable, and indeed ſcandalous Methods to deſtroy him. The Lord Treaſurer's Fall was attended by the Removal of ſeveral other Perſons, whoſe Places are ſupplied by Men of equal Merit, and no leſs zealous to advance the Intereſt of their Country, than to promote the Good of the *Common Cauſe*: And I am confident, that if the Court of *France* broke the late Conferences at *Gertruydenberg*, upon a Proſpect of the Turn of Affairs in this Country in favour of the *Pretender*, they will be as miſerably diſappointed in that fond Expectation as they have been in many others of the like Kind on this Side the Water, and perhaps pay very *dear* for their Miſtake: For in all Probability this *new Miniſtry* will inſiſt upon better Terms for *all the Allies* than the old would have been contented with.

The Treaſury in particular, which is both the *Nerve* of the *War*, and the *Spring* of PUBLIC CREDIT, is now in the Hands of five Perſons, no leſs conſpicuous for their *Abilities* than for their *Integrity*; and whoſe great Eſtates in Land is a Security to the Nation for their clear and juſt Adminiſtration. That

you

eſtabliſhed in the Hearts and Affections of her Subjects, would throw up her Crown; and Men of *Eſtates*, and *Proteſtants*, ſet up arbitrary Government and Popery.

I own the *violent Trial* of Dr. *Sacheverel* on the one hand, and the *Inſults* put on the *parliamentary Authority* on the other, have cauſed a great Ferment in the Nation, the hot Men of both Parties laying hold on this Occaſion to vent their Spleen and Malice againſt each other: But as thoſe who began this unlucky and impolitic Procedure are only accountable for the fatal Conſequences of it, ſo I can affirm to you, that the prevailing Party at Court have made no other Uſe of theſe Diſtractions than to bring their *Scheme* to bear, by ſtriking in with the general Deſire of the High-Church Party; who in their Addreſſes, far more numerous than thoſe of the *Whigs*, have inſinuated the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament; a *new* one being abſolutely neceſſary, not only to ſupport the *preſent Miniſtry*, but alſo to inquire into the *Adminiſtration* of the *laſt*.

It is impoſſible to tell you for certain how the enſuing Elections will go: But conſidering the Influence of the Court, and the Intereſt of Men in Power, beſides ſome other Circumſtances hinted at before, it is very probable that the *High-Churchmen* will have the Majority in the Houſe of Commons: And indeed, as they began the War, ſo it ſeems reaſonable that they ſhould have the Honour of ending it. In ſuch a Caſe all Things will go on with all the Smoothneſs imaginable; and as upon the Death of the late King *William* 'twas they that made good the *Deficiencies* of that Reign, there's no doubt but they will be now as tender of the Honour of *Parliamentary Engagements*. Let the Parliament be what it will, I am informed from good Hands, that the Queen in her firſt Speech will recommend to them, 1*ſt*, The better ſecuring, if poſſible, the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*. 2*dly*, The ſupporting the *Public Credit*. And 3*dly*, The maintaining the *Toleration*. And that the preſent Miniſters will uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to have her Majeſty's Deſires effectually complied with.

I heartily wiſh, that this ſhort Account I have here given you of the true *political State* of this Court and Nation, at this critical Juncture, may be of ſome Uſe to our Friend the *Grand Pen——ry*, and contribute towards the maintaining a fair Correſpondence among the Maritime Powers, who are the main Support of the Grand Confederacy.

I am, &c.

A LETTER formerly ſent to Dr. *Tillotſon*, and for want of an Anſwer made publick, and now Reprinted; with the ſaid Doctor's Letter to the Lord *Ruſſel*, a little before his Execution.

By CHARLWOOD LAWTON, *Eſq*;

To the READER.

THE Author of the following Letter *ſent the Original to Mrs.* Tillotſon *for her Huſband, and a Copy of it to my Lady* Derby, *for the Princeſs of* Orange, *ſeveral Months ago; and when he writ it, he hoped the Members of Parliament would have been, againſt the Seſſions, awakened by their Diſappointments and Taxes, to conſider aright, what is the preſent State of this miſerable Nation, and how much worſe is our future Proſpect; and had he found them in that Temper, and acting ſteddily for their Countrey, he had Thoughts to have preſented with his own Hands, his Reaſons, why he thinks they have wronged King* James, *over-rated their Diſeaſe, and miſtaken their Cure; and he would alſo have given in Propoſals, how the King may be reſtored, without Hazard, either to our Religion or Property; and this the Author would have done, becauſe he thinks, that if either Reaſon or Religion would prevail, ſuch an Offer muſt have had ſome Weight; but whilſt the Whigs as much ſacrifice their Underſtandings to ſupport this Change, as the Tories did their Conſciences to make it, a Man would be reckoned mad that attempted in ſuch a Manner to reclaim ſuch a Sett of Men, as have no more publick Spirit, than what lies in wrangling for their particular Parties; or common Senſe, than what is proper to get into Penſions and Places, that, as the witty Sir* Charles Sidley *once ſaid in the Houſe,* They may charge in Armour. *How wild a Project too, would it be to offer Reaſon to Men that ſo little know their own Minds, that are ſo inconſtant, as that what they paſs unanimouſly one Seſſions, they throw out the next, as they have done the Judges Bill? The Author would venture himſelf againſt great odds, if it was but an even Wager, that* England *might reap Good by ſo bold an Undertaking; for he ſees Slavery coming on ſo faſt, that he thinks Life would be a Burden to an honeſt and free Spirit; yet nothing that* Cato *(were he here) could do, or ſuffer, would repair our broken Conſtitution, unleſs God teaches our Senators more Wiſdom, or is pleaſed to teach the People that a Houſe of Commons may as ſcandalouſly abuſe the Truſt they repoſe in them, as ſome of his Miniſters did King* James; *which that he may, is the hearty Prayer of the Author, both for the Sake of the* Engliſh *Liberties, and Proteſtant Religion; for the Sake of the very Being of the one, and the Honour of the other.*

The LETTER.

SIR,

I Shall Preface what I am about to ſay, with an Aſſurance, That I have formerly had the greateſt Veneration for You, as well for your Piety as good Senſe and Learning; That my Notions of Government are ſo large, that the firſt Thing that I ever doubtfully examin'd, that had your Name affix'd to it, was *the Letter to my Lord* Ruſſel: but your Actions ſince do leſs quadrate with that Opinion I had of your Sincerity, and ſeriouſly make me addreſs my ſelf to You, to know how you reconcile your preſent Actings to the Principles either of natural or revealed Religion; eſpecially, how you reconcile them to the Poſitions and Intentions of that Letter; and conſequently, whether you have a Belief of *God*, and a *World to come*.

Sir, I think it a very extravagant Maxim in Government, to affirm all Inſurrections which are only levell'd at Reformation, and deſigned to correct Mal-adminiſtration, and the Authors of them, and thereby (when the common Methods are at a Loſs) to let the King know, what are the Meaſures of his Government, the *Voice* and *Intereſt* of his People, that ſo *Juſtice* and *Mercy* may prevail againſt *illegal Courſes* and his *flattering Minions*, and that the *Rights* of his Crown and the *Privileges* of his People may be adjuſted and preſerved. I ſay, I think it an extravagant Poſition, to affirm, That what may be ſo conducive to publick Peace, and the Maintenance of a Conſtitution, and the general Ends of all Government, is Illegal: Yet I have often thought, that the Oath that expects a Man ſhould ſwear it *unlawful, upon any Pretence whatſoever, to riſe in Arms againſt the King, or any Commiſſioned by him*, intended to eſtabliſh this wild Civil Article; and I thought your Lordſhip writ upon ſo ſolemn an Occaſion, deſigning to juſtify the Purport and Doctrine of that Oath, which was carrying Loyalty to a higher Pitch than I ever thought neceſſary to make a good Man, or a good Chriſtian.

But, *Sir*, to lay your *Letter* aſide at preſent, give me leave to examine this Revolution with the moſt impartial Deſire of being informed; for I ſolemnly invoke God Almighty to atteſt, That my Non-Compliance with K. *William* and Q. *Mary*'s Title and Adminiſtration, is founded upon Scruples of Conſcience, to which I yet want ſatisfactory Anſwers. I am a Proteſtant of that Size, that I hope God would enable me to undergo all the Perſecution that the Malice of Men and Devils can invent, rather than one Moment proſtitute my Conſcience ſo far, as to give any reaſonable Umbrage for Proteſtants to ſuſpect, or Papiſts to hope, I could be made a Convert to the Church of *Rome*. I love my *Country* better than my *Wife* and *Children*; and certainly therefore ſo much, that I would for no Intereſt in the World diſquiet the preſent Settlement, if I thought it was fit for an honeſt Man to comply with it.

I have no Perſonal Obligations to King *James*; and I thank God I have an obſtinate Honeſty, that will ſcarce allow me to be acceptable to any King. Whatever I have done, or ſhall do, for the *Exil'd Prince*, is upon mere Motives

Motives of Conſcience. I have no Reaſon to believe my ſelf uncapable of being forgiven, or perhaps employed, under the preſent Government; my Relations and Friends are many of them *violent*, and almoſt all *at leaſt for it*. But let us begin with the Revolution: I acknowledge King *James*'s Miniſters gave great Provocations; I could have joined with any but a *Foreigner* to have reſcu'd our Liberties; and yet I muſt as freely declare, I ſaw nothing done that would have been too hard for a Parliamentary Redreſs, or at leaſt for the intrinſick Power of this Iſland, the natural Weight of thoſe who are ſenſible of their Religion and Property: but I cannot tell how any Provocations that were given the People of *England*, can juſtify the Invaſion of a Nephew and a Son in-law. I cannot tell by what Diſtinctions in Morality the *Dutch* could ſalve their Denial, by their Ambaſſador, that thoſe Forces were deſigned for *England*; I cannot imagine what Diſpenſation gave them and the Subjects of *England* Liberty to tell ſo many Things that were notoriouſly untrue, that *they* knew them to be untrue, and that have been much more apparently proved ſo by the Sequel of Things.

Sure the Morality of the Decalogue is not aboliſhed: Let us ſee how many of the Commandments are broken; Has not *Mammon* been made a *God*, and a *Crown* an *Idol*, to which the Prince of *Orange* and his Adherents have ſacrific'd the Lives of many thouſands of Men, as well as the Reputation of our Religion, beſides a vaſt Treaſure; tho' it is not fit to be named after the other two Immolations? Have they not taken God's Name in, when they conſecrated to the Preſervation of Religion the Injuries and Violations of it, of which they have been guilty? I do not know whether you are a ſtrict *Sabbatarian*; I believe not, and will acknowledge I am none: But I think the Nation groſly perverts the Ends of Humiliations and Faſtings, and appointed Days for God's Worſhip, whilſt they pray to God to proſper any immoral Enterprize. For God's ſake, and the Sake of your Soul, and the Sake of *your* Queen's Soul, *ſtudy the fifth Commandment*; tho' the Performance of it has the Promiſe of Length of Days in this Life, the Breach of it (if any Religion be true) will plunge her into Miſeries of a longer Duration: *She* has partaken with *Thieves* and *Liars* againſt her own *Father*; *She* is a Receiver of what has been *by them* from him *wrongfully* taken away, unleſs it can be proved that the Crown of *England* is Elective, the Kings of it puniſhable and depoſable. If this is right, *you* know, Sir, all our Law-books are in the Wrong, for they ſay, *The King can do none*; *That he is not accountable to the People, collectively or repreſentatively*; *and that the Monarchy of* England *is Hereditary*. This is all in the Original Contract of our Statute-Books and Law-Caſes.

Sir, You know theſe Things, you cannot plead Ignorance, nor can you believe *Abdication*: You know the Treatment the King had from the Prince of *Orange* and his own Subjects, and cannot believe he voluntarily reſigned. *Are not then our Judges, our Juries, our Fleets, and our Armies, guilty of Murther, in oppoſing King* James's *Return? Don't your Queen liſt ſo many Aſſaſſins, whilſt ſhe Commiſſions them for that Purpoſe*; *Is it not as unlawful to ſteal a* Crown *as a* Trifle? *And till they have recanted all the falſe Accuſations*

which were countenanced by the Prince of Orange *and his Princeſs, and were inſtrumental towards the getting of theſe Crowns, do they not violate the Ninth Commandment, as well as covet their Neighbours* (their Fathers) *Goods?* The civil and natural Obligations the *Prince and Princeſs of Orange* have to King *James*, aggravate their Crime; and, if it were not almoſt Levity to ſay ſo here, I would add as another Aggravation, their having coveted too many of King *James*'s Servants.

The King of *England* does every thing by his *Officers*; they are impeachable, they are puniſhable: The King (who we always ſaid *was not ſo*) is dethron'd, whilſt thoſe are employed in *this* Government, who were the Diſgraces and Inſtruments of the *laſt*. But I don't intend a Libel, and therefore will not enter into an Account of ſuch Matters; I will neither give the preſent Miniſters their Characters, nor ſhew how little, as meer Men and Subjects, we are the better for the Change. But I fear, whoever reflects without Heat or Byaſs upon what I have ſaid, will find we have loſt at leaſt Nine of the Ten Commandments, which is exceeding Popery in our *Index Expurgatorius* with a Witneſs.

But, to come to your more particular Caſe, I beſeech you to publiſh ſome Diſcourſe (if you can clear Things) to demonſtrate *either your Repentance of what you writ to my Lord* Ruſſel, *or the Reaſons that make* that, *and what you* now *do, conſiſtent*; *and that you, with the uſual Solidity with which you treat upon other Subjects, juſtify the* Proceedings, *and explain the* Title *of King* William. I know no body has a ſtronger and clearer Head; and if you have Truth on your ſide, you can write unanſwerable. *God's Glory, the Reputation of the Proteſtant Religion is at ſtake*; your own good Name calls for it; and more eſpecially, becauſe you have accepted a Moſt Reverend and Devout Man's Archbiſhoprick; a Man that has given Teſtimony how unalterably he is a Proteſtant! a Sufferer formerly for the Laws and Church of *England*; a Sufferer for thoſe very Principles upon which that *Letter to my Lord* Ruſſel was writ; for thoſe very Principles which you diſputed for (when he was about to communicate) when he had ſo ſhort a Time to live, nay, you remembred him of even upon the Scaffold, *with the dreadful Commination of Eternal Woe.*

Really, Sir, if there be any Truth, if there be any Virtue, if there be any Religion, What ſhall we ſay to theſe Things? What will you ſay to them? You muſt be at the Pains to clear this Matter, that we may not believe the Boundaries of *Right* and *Wrong*, the Meaſures of *Violence* and *Juſtice* quite taken away, that we may not be tempted to *Speculative*, and from thence to *Practical Atheiſm.* This Change has made many ſober Men *Sceptical*, and gone farther towards eradicating all the Notions of a Deity, than all the Labours of *Hobbes* and *Epicurus*; and your Part in it has, I muſt confeſs, more ſtagger'd me than any one Thing elſe; I have been ready to ſuſpect that Religion it ſelf was a Cheat, and that it was a Defect in my Underſtanding, that I could not ſee through it; for, I think, if I can know my Right Hand from my Left, our preſent Government ſtands upon Foundations that

that contradict all those Discourses which *you*, as well as *others*, have lent to *Passive Obedience*.

The excessive Value I have for *you*, for *your Knowledge*, *your Judgment*, *your Largeness of Spirit*, *your Moderation*, and many other great *Qualities* that have signaliz'd your Name, once made you one of the greatest Ornaments of the *Christian Church*, one of the greatest Exemplars of sound Morality, and all that Philosophers call Virtue, make what seems to me an Apostacy from what you Preached and Writ, pretended to believe, and would have others to believe, shake me so violently in the first *Credenda* of Religion, that I beseech you, if you think it necessary upon no other Account, that you will publish such a Discourse, at least, for the Satisfaction of mine, and the Consciences of many others, who I can assure you of mine own Knowledge, lie under the same Scruples with my self, have the same Scruples in relation to the Government, and the same Temptations to question Religion it self upon *your* Account: It is the Interest of the Government to satisfy such Men; and if you think that we ought particularly and privately to apply our selves to you, our Number is so great, that it would be too constant a Trouble for any one Man to undergo; nor can we safely debate a Point of this Nature; nor can you expect Men should trust themselves under the Protection of *your Honour*, whilst they think you have in the Face of the World, so grosly prevaricated both from that and what ought to be a Principle of a higher Nature, the Dictates of your own Conscience.

We would as soon deliver our Reasons at the Door of a House of Commons; and I am not sure that the same Spirit of Integrity, which has hindred me from succumbing under what we think an Usurpation, will not the next Time there is an Assembly there, carry me that Length, (if I don't in the mean Time publickly hear from you.) I beg of God Almighty (in whose Being, I bless his Name, I yet believe) to lay a happy Constraint upon me, to do what may be most for his *Glory*, and the Good of these *Nations*; and I earnestly supplicate him, that he will enable me to suffer whatever may be necessary for those great Ends, and that he will incline you either to publish *your* Reasons or Repentance. To his blessed Guidance and Protection I heartily recommend you.

ADVERTISEMENT.

*** *Since Dr.* Burnet's *Pastoral Letter is burned by the common Hangman, according to the Order of the House of Commons; it's therefore now far more necessary, that you or he should explain King* William's *Title, and what you have now to say against the following Letter to my Lord* Russel.

Dr. Tillotson's *Letter to the Lord* Russel.

MY LORD,

I Was heartily glad to see your Lordship this Morning in that calm and devout Temper at Receiving the blessed Sacrament; but Peace of Mind, unless it be well grounded, will avail little: And because transient Discourse many

many Times hath little Effect for want of Time to weigh and conſider it; therefore in tender Compaſſion of your Lordſhip's Caſe, and from all the good Will that one Man can bear to another, I do humbly offer to your Lordſhip's deliberate Thoughts theſe following Conſiderations concerning the Point of Reſiſtance, if our Religion and Rights ſhould be invaded, as your Lordſhip puts the Caſe; concerning which I underſtood by Dr. *Burnet*, that your Lordſhip had once received Satisfaction, and am ſorry to find a Change.

Firſt, That the Chriſtian Religion doth plainly forbid the Reſiſtance of Authority.

Secondly, That tho' our Religion be eſtabliſhed by Law, (which your Lordſhip urges as a Difference between our Caſe, and that of the Primitive Chriſtians,) yet in the ſame Law, which eſtabliſhes our Religion, it is declared, *That it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatſoever to take up Arms*, &c. Beſides that, there is a particular Law, declaring the Power of the *Militia* to be ſolely in the King. And that ties the Hands of the Subjects, though the Law of Nature and the general Rules of Scripture had left us at Liberty; which, I believe, they do not, becauſe the Government and Peace of human Society could not well ſubſiſt upon theſe Terms.

Thirdly, Your Lordſhip's Opinion is contrary to the declared Doctrine of all Proteſtant Churches; and though ſome particular Perſons have taught otherwiſe, yet they have been contradicted herein, and condemned for it by the generality of Proteſtants: And I beg your Lordſhip to conſider how it will agree with an avow'd aſſerting with the Proteſtant Religion, to go contrary to the general Doctrine of Proteſtants. My End in this is to convince your Lordſhip, that you are in a very great and dangerous Miſtake; and being ſo convinc'd, that which before was a Sin of Ignorance, will appear of a much more heinous Nature, as in Truth it is, and call for a very particular and deep Repentance; which if your Lordſhip ſincerely exerciſe upon the Sight of your Error, by a penitent Acknowledgment of it to God and Men, you will not only obtain Forgiveneſs of God, but prevent a mighty Scandal to the Reformed Religion. I am very loth to give your Lordſhip any Diſquiet in the Diſtreſs you are in, which I commiſerate from my Heart; but am much more concerned, that you do not leave the World in a Deluſion and falſe Peace, to the Hindrance of your eternal Happineſs. I heartily pray for you, and beſeech your Lordſhip to believe that I am with the greateſt Sincerity and Compaſſion in the World,

MY LORD,

Your Lordſhip's moſt faithful,

and afflicted Servant,

JOHN TILLOTSON.

Dr.

Dr. TILLOTSON's *Laſt Prayer at the Execution of the Unfortunate Lord* RUSSEL.

O Almighty and Merciful God, with whom alone live the Spirits of Juſt Men made perfect, after they are delivered from theſe Earthly Priſons; we humbly commend the Soul of this our dear Brother into thy Hands, as into the Hands of a Faithful Creator, and moſt Merciful Saviour; humbly beſeeching thee, that it may be precious in thy Sight: Waſh it, O Lord, from all its Guilt in the Blood of the immaculate Lamb that was ſlain to take away the Sins of the World; that whatſoever Defilements it may have contracted in the midſt of this wicked World, by the Luſts of the Fleſh, or the Wiles of Satan, being purged and done away by a ſincere and unfeigned Repentance, through thy infinite Mercy and Goodneſs in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, it may be preſented pure and holy, and without Spot before thee. O Lord, we humbly beſeech thee to ſupport thy Servant, and ſtand by him in this laſt and great Conteſt; Deliver him from the Pains of Eternal Death, and ſave him, O Lord, for thy Mercies Sake; and grant that all we who ſurvive, by this and other Inſtances of thy Providence, *may learn our Duty to God and the King*; and that by this, and other like Spectacles of our Mortality, we may ſee how frail and uncertain our Condition is in this World, that it is all but Vanity; and teach us ſo to number our Days, that we may ſeriouſly apply our Hearts to that holy and heavenly Wiſdom while we live, which may bring us to Life Everlaſting, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord: In whoſe holy Name and Words we conclude our Prayers.

Our Father, &c.

It being credibly and confidently reported, That you, Sir, immediately after the Execution, went to viſit that excellent Lady my Lady *Ruſſel*, and aſſur'd her, amongſt other Expreſſions to comfort her, *That you wiſh'd your Soul might go to the ſame Place whither my Lord's was gone*: I beſeech you to make Mankind underſtand that Expreſſion, or vindicate your ſelf from the Imputation wherewith this Story charges you.

To

To the Right Honourable the LORDS and COMMONS, assembled in Parliament; the humble Remonstrance and Petition of *English Protestants*, against *English* and *Irish Papists*.

IT is not a Time now to Dispute, but Act, and that vigorously too, or *England*'s lost. POPERY, that Enemy to God, by setting up *Idols*; to Christ, by its New-found *Mediators*; to the Holy Ghost, by putting a *Pope* in his Place; to the Scriptures, by its *Legends* and *corrupt Traditions*; to Reason, by its imposed *Absurdities*; to common Sense, by its most foolish, but most *Idolized Transubstantiation*; to all tender dissenting Consciences, by *Fire* and *Faggot*; and to all Civil Government that refuses to be subject to it, by *Plots*, *Assassinations*, and *horrid Massacres*, its usual and notorious Steps to worldly Advancement. This monstrous *Popery*, this common Enemy to Mankind, that hath so often contrived our Ruin, and several Times been at the very Point of effecting it, has once more attempted us, and with that Violence and Design, that it looks like the last Time: Nay, the great Sticklers of it are got within our Works, and promise themselves the Garrison, because they say they have Friends in Disguise among us. 'Tis true, they have lost some Men in the Attempt, but they are not much daunted at that; for the whole Papal World they brag have conspired their Success, and the Air rings with the Thousands of Masses that are daily said for the Prosperity of the Design, as if their Intention were to convert the World, and not to *Kill* the King, *Garble* the Parliament, *Shamble* all good and sober Protestants of every Party, *Fire* and *Plunder* Cities, and finally, *Change* the Government and Religion of the Kingdom, which is the *Plot*.

Nor will the more impudent of them deny the Thing in general, but much the contrary, insulting us with *Tertullian*'s *Implavimus omnia* against the old *Pagans*, We fill your Courts, your Armies, your Navies, it must take, you can't avoid it; 'tis a just Cause to extirpate Hereticks Root and Branch.

But one (and may be the worst) part of the Plot has fail'd them, they resolv'd to surprize you, to make a Night Work of it, to let you and yours never see Day more (for such Deeds become Darkness) as they did in *France* and *Ireland* in those most Bloody Massacres of poor harmless Protestants. But God, the infinitely good and gracious God, that hath always watcht over this poor Island (an hundred Times designed to Destruction) and whose Eye pierceth through the Secrets of Men, hath notwithstanding the Greatness, as well as Multitude of our Sins (not to be equalled by any Thing but his Patience and Compassion) discovered this impious Conspiracy, we hope too early for the Plotters Purpose: He has beaten up our Quarters, and given us the Alarm, if we will take it; methinks we should, where the Noise of Fire and Sword is in our Ears; when we cannot walk the Streets without Danger of being stabbed, nor Sleep in our Houses for fear of being Burned, witness the

dreadful Fire at *London*, the Fire of *Southwark*, and that the other Day of *Limehouſe*, where three poor Souls were burned quick, to ſay nothing of forty Attempts they have made in other Places. To which let me add the Deſign in general, of Maſſacring all the beſt People in the Kingdom, begun and amply confirmed in the moſt barbarous Murder of that Worthy Knight and Judicious Magiſtrate, Sir *Edmundberry Godfry*; and here I muſt ſtay a while. Murder is a great Sin againſt God and our Neighbour; but alas! what induced them to it here? Sir *Edmundberry Godfry* was one of the mildeſt Men to theſe Bloody Papiſts that was in Commiſſion for the Peace; for though he hated Arbitrary Power and Popery, as the Cauſe or Effect of it, yet a Man for a due Liberty to all ſober People, pretending Tenderneſs of Conſcience, and ſaved them from many a Pinch on that Score, hoping, as many more did, that after an hundred Years Experience, Intermarriages, Converſation, and large Indulgence, they were grown wiſer, if not more Chriſtian, than to cut their Way to Government through Blood, and Kill for Religion, (pardon me the uſe of the Word about Popery, that has nothing of Religion but the Name) but Gratitude reſtrains not Men of this Stamp, their Principle knows no Kindred, no Obedience, no Obligation that ſtands in the Way of their conſpired Dominion. Well! but was it that they would be revenged of him, for having Courage (Courage I ſay, as the World goes) to take Depoſitions upon Oath of their Deviliſh Plot? But where's the Crime here, which can properly give their Act the Term of *Revenge*, ſince Examination is neither Judgment nor Execution? Even a Saint is not injur'd to be Examin'd, much leſs a *Papiſt:* Innocency gets on Tryal, if falſly accuſed; but that's not the Caſe; for Truth ſeeks no Corners, nor yet Ditches to lay a Murder'd Man in after having ſtrangled him in a Houſe for the Purpoſe: What then can be the plain *Engliſh* of the Buſineſs but this, that they concluded his former Kindneſs thus abuſed, would for ever diſingage him for the future; and that ſince he could not be prevail'd upon to ſtifle the Evidence, he had and might yet have produced (for he acknowledg'd to ſome, he had been both Tamper'd with and Menac'd) they would ſtrangle him; which is ſuch a Demonſtration of their Folly as well as Malice, that it hath given Proof of the whole being true; that none can now deny it to be a Plot but thoſe that are of it, or will loſe by the Diſcovery.

But ſome ſay, *He killed himſelf.* That's a likely Buſineſs indeed; for what I pray? a *ſober*, *charitable*, *judicious Man.* O but he was Melancholy, that is, he was a ſerious Man; but why now more Melancholy than ever, becauſe he had wronged the innocent Papiſts? Is that it? Where's the Wrong? Is it, That he heard what Perſons upon Oath declared of the moſt horrid Conſpiracy that ever was on Foot in the World, but the Murdering of the Son of God? But be this Depoſition true or falſe, it was his Duty and Place to take it, he was Sworn to do it, it was a great and the beſt Part of his Office; he had deſerv'd a Plotter's Puniſhment to have refuſed the Thing. Here is no Virulency, Suborning of Evidence, Condemning or Murdering them in all this: Where's the Sin then that ſhould trouble his Conſcience? But they that will murder, will lye to cover it.

Beſides, 'tis plain that he was ſtrangled, and his Neck broke before ſtabb'd, becauſe he could neither ſtrangle himſelf, nor break his Neck after he was ſtabb'd through the Heart, nor ſtab himſelf after he was ſtrangled, and his Neck broke: Moreover had he been ſtabb'd before dead, or ſoon after, Blood would have appeared on the Hilt of his Sword on which he lay, or on the Ground, it being a dry Place, or on his Cloaths; but no Blood was to be ſeen; and when the Sword was drawn out of his Body, which his Murderers put in to palliate the Butchery, nothing iſſued from him but a dark Water, as is uſual where Blood is coagulated, as his doubtleſs was before he was ſtabb'd; for we are of Opinion there was a good Time betwixt Strangling and Stabbing him, and that the latter was upon great Deliberation, and that on Purpoſe to hide the Actors, and caſt the Murder upon himſelf. O Lord God! that ever Men ſhould be ſo much the Children of the Devil; as firſt to Murder, then charge it upon the innocent Soul murder'd. But the Devil was ever a Fool, and ſo in this. For beſides what we have obſerved, this further is to be ſaid, they that killed him would have us think 'twas himſelf, becauſe neither Cloaths, nor Money, nor Rings were taken away. True, but though they that are concerned in the Plot, wanted neither his Cloaths, nor Money, nor Rings, to carry it on, yet they took what they wanted, and they wanted what they took with a Witneſs, and that was his Pocket-Book of Depoſitions and Examinations, which puts it out of doubt, that they that were ſo much concerned in them, both murdered him, and took it; for none can think that *Father Coniers*, the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Confeſſor, taking the Air over Hedge and Ditch to *Primroſe* Hill, dropt juſt upon him and pickt his Pockets of the Book: Well, but *why may not he have hang'd himſelf, and his Kindred to ſave his Eſtate, ſtabb'd him afterwards, and carried him thither?* This is deadly cunning; but why was his Pocket-Book only wanting, wherein the Plotters were concerned? Tricks won't do here: Furthermore, why did they not keep his Gold, Silver and Rings that were found in his Pocket, but expoſe them? Why not ſtrip him in ſome degree, make wound in his Sword Arm, and hack, bend or break his Sword, that it might look like Robbery? But laſt of all, why ſhould they carry him out exactly as he uſed to go quite dreſt, and want a Band, eſpecially ſince they were ſo punctual as to take his Sword, Belt, Gloves, and Stick with them. He went out in the Morning with a great lac'd Band, none was found, as well as the Book of Examinations; of that we have already ſpoke; for the Band 'tis a plain Caſe they ſtrangled him, and being a long-neck'd Man, and wearing an high ſtrong Collar, he ſtrugling to ſave himſelf, and they ſtriving to diſpatch him that Way, the Band was torn in the Fray, and to have let it go ſo, had been to have told the Story too plainly, that is, that the Man was ſtrangled to Death by Violence, and that the Stab of his own Sword was an after trick to cover the Buſineſs.

Thus this poor Gentleman, but worthy and brave Patriot, ended his Days by the aſſaſſinating Hands of Papiſts, whoſe Butchery made him the common Martyr of his Religion and Country, and his Death is to us the Earneſt of their Cruelty; in him they have maſſacred us all, we muſt take it to our ſelves,

ſelves, and can no more be unconcerned in his Death, than diſintereſſed in the Cauſe of it.

The Plot is opened, the Tragedy is begun, our Wives are frighted, our Children cry: no Man is ſure of his Life a Day; the Choice is only, what Death we ſhall dye, whether be Stabbed, Strangled, or Burned. This Conſternation and Inſecurity muſt needs obſtruct all Commerce, ſcare People from following their lawful Occaſions, deter all Officers of Juſtice from their Duty, and in fine, diſſolve human Society, and reduce the World into its firſt Chaos.

For the Lord's Sake let us conſider our Condition, let us all turn to the Lord with unfeigned Repentance, let us look and cry to him for Help, that he who has diſcovered, would confound this bloody Conſpiracy, and ſhew Mercy, and bring us Deliverance, that we may yet ſee his Salvation, and ſerve him all the Days of our Lives; and in order to our Security, theſe Things are earneſtly requeſted of you.

Firſt, Take effectual Care to preſerve the King; they ſay, and we believe he is not for their Turn; we would not have him for his Sake and ours: In order to this, pray find out the *Achitophels*, the dangerous Men about him; you know who they are: Be free and bold, prize your Time, the Conjuncture is great.

Secondly, Vote an Addreſs to the King to Baniſh all *Iriſh* Papiſts out of the Army, Navy and Kingdom by ſuch a Day, and all Papiſts out of the City of *London*, whoſe groſs Ignorance and baſe Deſperateneſs, renders them the fitteſt Men for Aſſaſſinations. Beſides, it is a Shame that the Children and Kindred of *Iriſh* Rebels, nay, ſome of them the very Men themſelves that were Actors in that horrid Maſſacre in the Year 1640. about thirty-ſeven Years ſince, in which above Three Hundred Thouſand Proteſtants were murder'd in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, without regard to Age or Sex, ſhould be employed either in the *Engliſh* Army or Navy; but more ſcandalous is it, that St. *James*'s ſhould be their Head Quarters, and the Park turned into an *Iriſh Walk*. What do ſo many *Iriſh* Papiſts Teagues and Rebels do ſwarming there? No good to be ſure; their Parts, Courage, and Skill, can invite no Man to entertain any of them; it muſt only be their Ignorance and Cowardly Cruelty, which make them Inſtruments of Miſchief, and fit to be uſed by thoſe that love foul Play. But that poor diſſenting Proteſtants ſhould be daily moleſted and pillaged for the Sake of their peaceable Conſciences, whilſt Teagues and *Iriſh* Rebels go by whole Droves under the Noſe of King and Duke in their Royal Park, and Walks of Pleaſure, is almoſt inſupportable. Is this to maintain Proteſtant Religion and diſcountenance Popery? *Expede Herculem.*

Thirdly, For God's Sake call for the Plot, look thoroughly and ſtrictly into it; fear nor favour no Man; *Fiat Juſtitia:* But fear God, do what you do as in his Preſence, to whom you muſt render an Account. 'Tis the great Action of your Life, diſcharge your Truſt, and quit your ſelves now like Men. This has been the perpetual Troubler of our *Proteſtant-Iſrael*; as you would ſee God with Comfort, and ſecure your Poſterity from civil and ſpiri-

tual Tyranny, ſlip not this Opportunity God has ſo wonderfully caſt into your Hands; be not found Deſpiſers of his Providence, neither be you careleſs or fearful of improving it; Now or Never: had they you on this Lock, and at this Advantage, you nor yours ſhould ever ſee Day more. What once you could not have ſo well done before, they have now made eaſy and neceſſary for you to do; and what before you ſcarcely might do, is now become your Duty. Be not cheated by a Sacrifice; let not the Lives of two or three Plotters be the Ranſom of the reſt, or your Satisfaction: 'tis not Blood but Security, proſpect future Safety, an eternal Prevention of the like Miſeries for the future; otherwiſe we ſhall only ſit down with the Peace and Joy of Fools, and fat our ſelves Sacrifices with more Security againſt their next Slaughter. Therefore,

Fourthly, Raiſe the Train'd Bands, and let them be put not ſo much as into the Hands of Men *Popiſhly* affected; for thoſe Men that would pull off the Vizard in caſe *Popery* prevailed, that otherwiſe keep their Credit by not diſcovering themſelves, are the moſt dangerous to be truſted; I fear Popery thus entring more than any other Way: examine the Counties well, for ſome of baſe Principles are entruſted.

Fifthly, Let there be Power given to raiſe Auxiliaries, that ſuch honeſt *Proteſtant* Gentlemen as are willing at their own Charges voluntarily to ſerve their Country, by raiſing Troops or Companies, or ſerving in them, may be permitted and encouraged ſo to do.

Sixthly, Let every Proteſtant Family be well armed, and every Popiſh Family be utterly diſarmed, they have tried our Uſage of Arms with Eaſe, we theirs with Cruelty enough.

Seventhly, Let there be an Act with a ſtrict Penalty, that after ſuch a Day, no Gun-Smith ſhall ſell Guns or Piſtols; Cutlers, Swords or Daggers; and Dry-Salters, Gunpowder or Bullets, without Licence of the Aldermen of the Ward, in *London*; or ſome chief Officer, if in any other Corporation; and that the Perſon ſo buying them ſhall, before the ſaid Officer, ſubſcribe a ſufficient Teſt againſt *Popery*; but more eſpecially, that no Papiſt be ſuffered to make or ſell any ſuch Implements of War.

Eighthly, That Care be taken to prevent fraudulent Conveyances of Eſtates by Papiſts, to eſcape the Law where they have done Miſchief: for this is to cheat the Government, and invalidate the Law.

Ninthly, That it ſhall be Treaſon for any Papiſt to entertain a *Prieſt*, *Jeſuit*, or *Seminary*, in their Houſe, becauſe mortal Enemies by Principle and Practice to the civil Government. Conſider of the *Swediſh* Law, or a better Way to clear the Land of all of them; let's buy them out to be ſafe.

Tenthly, That in all Schools, particularly in Univerſities, Care be taken to educate Youth in a juſt Abhorrence of *Romiſh* Principles, eſpecially the *Jeſuits* immoral Morals; ſhewing the Inconſiſtency thereof with human Nature, Reaſon, and Society, as well as pure and meek *Chriſtianity*; of which there has been great Neglect.

Eleventhly, That our Youth be not ſuffer'd to travel abroad, but between Twelve and Sixteen, and that under the Conduct of approved *Proteſtants*; for

for the preſent Way of Education is chiefly to Pleaſure and Looſeneſs, which makes Way for Atheiſm or Popery, no Religion, or falſe Religion.

Twelfthly, That ſpeedy Care be taken to releaſe all oppreſſed *Proteſtants* in this Kingdom; and ſince the Papiſts mark all *Proteſtants* out for one Fate, and eſteem them one Body of *Hereticks*, that they may be as one Body of *Proteſtancy* againſt that common *Enemy*. This is the Language of God's preſent Providence, thoſe that withſtand it, are ſuch as love *Rome* better than *London:* every *Proteſtant*, Diſſenter or not, has the ſame Thing to ſay againſt *Popery*. Agree then ſo far, and let a general Negative Creed be concluded upon, and from thence let ſome general poſitive Truths be conſidered of, in order to a better Underſtanding among them: For this Purpoſe, let there be a *ſelect Aſſembly* of ſome out of *All Perſuaſions*, in which theſe two *Propoſals* may be duly weighed, that whoſoever *Believe* and *Own* what ſhall be therein contained, ſhall be reputed and protected as true *Proteſtants*.

Laſtly, and more eſpecially, Let all the Laws in Force againſt Immorality be ſpeedily and effectually executed: 'Tis *Sin* which is the Diſeaſe and Shame of the Nation; we have forgotten God, and caſt his *Law* behind us, and we deſerve not this Beginning of Deliverance: Our Pleaſures have been our Gods, and to them we bow, and have little or no Religion at Heart; therefore 'tis that Iniquity abounds, and in that Variety too, and to ſuch a Degree, as no Kingdom can parallel. Bluſh, O Heavens, and be aſtoniſhed, O Earth, a People loved of God, and ſo often ſaved by his wonderful Providences, are become the *Tyre* and *Sidon*, the *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* of the World. Let us repent in Duſt and Aſhes; let us turn to God from the Bottom of our Hearts, with the fervent Love and good Works of our martyr'd Anceſtors, or their Life, Doctrine and Death, will riſe up in Judgment againſt us, and God will yet ſuffer their and our Enemies to ſwallow us up quick. And be aſſured, as Looſeneſs and Debauchery were deſign'd by the Papiſts as a State trick to diſpoſe the Minds of the People to receive, at leaſt ſuffer Popery (that to ſay true, cannot live with better Company) ſo the Diſcouragement of it, and cheriſhing of all virtuous Perſons, with a ſerious and hearty Proſecution of the forementioned *Propoſals*, will ſtop and in Time wear it out of the Kingdom; for Popery fears nothing more than *Light*, *Inquiry*, and *ſober Living*. Hear us, we beſeech you, for Jeſus Chriſt's Sake, take Heart, we will never leave you, don't you leave us: provide for the King, provide for the People, for God alone knows when we lie down, if we ſhall ever riſe, or when we go forth, if we ſhall ever return. Remember the Maſſacre of *Paris*, in which ſo many Thouſands fell, and with them that brave Admiral *Coligny*, Infamy enough one would think to ſhame the Party, did they know ſuch a Thing; but inſtead of that, 'twas meritorious, yea, 'tis ſubject of Triumph; look into the *Vatican* at *Rome*, and among the other rare Feats performed by Chriſtian Kings againſt Infidels; this Maſſacre of *Paris*, now about 100 Years old, is to be found; and ſo careful was the Deſigner to do it to the Life, that he has not omitted to ſhew us how the Noble Admiral was flung dead out of the Window into the Street, to be uſed as People uſe Cats and Dogs in Proteſtant Countries, but good enough

for

for an Heretick, whom the worſe they uſe, the better they are. But to ſhew they own the *Plot*, and glory in the *Action*, and for fear one not read in the Story ſhould take *Coligny* for *Jezabel*, they have gallantly explained the Action upon the Piece, and writ his Name at large.

But there is a Cruelty nearer Home, no leſs barbarous, the *Iriſh* Maſſacre in 1640; nay, it exceeded: Firſt in Number, there were above Three Hundred Thouſand murdered: Next, in that no Age or Sex was ſpared: And, laſtly, in the Manner of it, 'twas general throughout the Kingdom; and as they were more ſavage, ſo more cruel, they ſpared not either Sick or Lying-in Women; they kill'd poor Infants, and innocent Children, toſſing ſome upon their Swords, Skeens, and other Inſtruments of Cruelty; flinging others into Rivers, and taking ſeveral by the Legs, daſh'd their Brains out againſt Walls or Rocks. O Lord God avenge this Innocent Blood, it ſtill cries: But that theſe Actors of this Tragedy, or their Bloody-minded Off-ſpring, ſhould ſwarm in *England*, be Penſioners here, as if they were the old Soldiers of the Queen, Men of Eighty-eight, Cripples of Loyalty, laid up for their good Services, and St. *James*'s their Hoſpital; this ſcandalizes us; we think them the worſt Cattle of their Country, and pray that there may be an Exchange, that you would prohibit their Importation inſtead of more uſeful Beaſts. For the bloody Maſſacre of *Piedmont*, you have it at large deſcribed by Sir *S. Morland.*

But we muſt never forget the horrid Murder of *Henry* the Third, and of *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, our King's renowned Grandfather. And would to God our King would conſider, that all his Humanity to them can never ſecure him from their ſtroke; they were both Catholicks, and yet both aſſaſſinated; the firſt a bred Papiſt, yet becauſe he would not murder all the *Hugonots* or *Proteſtants* of his Kingdom, and his own beſt Subjects, they did as much for him: The laſt was their Convert, all they ſeem'd to deſire of him, and all they can expect from our King, yet how did they uſe him? They did twice aſſaſſinate him, and the laſt Time kill'd him. What Security then can any Prince promiſe to himſelf from Men that make not the Profeſſion of the ſame Religion, a Protection to them that own it; but upon Humours or Suſpicions of their own, or to introduce another Perſon or Family, more immediately under their Influence, and diſpoſed to their turn, will make no ſcruple of killing him? What Slaves are Kings with ſuch Men, and under ſuch a Religion? Let not the Mildneſs of our Prince be thus abuſed; ſhow your ſelves his great and beſt Council in this Conjuncture, and deliver him from theſe Men of Ingratitude: Men that will never be contented but with that which they muſt not have; of ſuch Qualifications, that what may be eſteemed Ambition, Revenge or Intereſt in all other Parties, is a ſettled Principle with them: This their greateſt Doctors tell us, and to excite Men in the Purſuit of it, they declare all ſuch Acts more than ordinarily meritorious: But what hold can we have of ſuch Men that have no Conſcience? this Concluſion looks hard, and beſides their Practice (for if that were always to caſt the Scale, it would go hard with many Proteſtants too; 'tis their avowed

avowed Doctrine, they glory in it, and make it our Reproach to have any ſuch Thing. I ſay, that *Papiſts* have no Conſcience, or no Uſe of Conſcience in their Religion, which is the ſame Thing; for what is Conſcience but the *Judgment a Man makes in himſelf of Religious Matters; according to the Knowledge given him of God?* But this is out of Doors with them, 'tis Hereſy; *Authority* rules them, not *Truth*; as if a Man were to be credited for his *Age*, not his *Reaſon*. *Conſcience* is a domeſtick and private Judge, dangerous to the *Chair*, the *Pope*, for it rather hinders than helps Subjection, the leſs there be of it, the ſooner Men turn Captives to their Myſteries. So that putting out the Eyes of our Mind, and a Blind before our Underſtandings, beſt fit us for Popiſh Religion: as if Religion had not ſo great an Enemy as Reaſon, nor Faith as Knowledge. 'Tis ſtrange that a Man cannot be a Papiſt, without renouncing the only Diſtinction of a Man from a Beaſt: Therefore it is we pray to be ſecured from Papiſts, becauſe at beſt they unman us, and are not their own Men. 'Tis true, as *Proteſtants* don't always live up to their good Principles, neither do Papiſts to their bad Ones: Breeding, good Humour, Generoſity (and a better Principle they know not of) may biaſs ſome of them to worthy Things, but this is not according to their Principles; for if they will be true to them, they muſt abandon Choice, and obey their Superior, right or wrong, and every Immorality he commands, is Duty upon Damnation; the more contrary to their Reaſon, and averſe to their Nature, the greater the Merit. Heſitation is Weakneſs; Diſſent, Schiſm; Oppoſition, Hereſy; the Conſequence, Burning: From this Religion, *O Lord God deliver us, O King and Parliament protect us:* 'Tis your Duty to God, and your Obligation to the People. We beſeech you excuſe us, and take all in good Part; our Fears are great, we fear juſt, and our Deſires reaſonable: Remember our dreadful Fires, conſider this horrid Plot, and think upon poor, yet worthy Sir *Edmondberry Godfry*; let not God's Providence and his Blood riſe up in Judgment againſt you, God of his great Mercy animate you by his Power, and direct you by his Wiſdom, that the Succeſſion of his Deliverances from Queen *Elizabeth*'s Days may not be forgotten, nor his preſent Mercy ſlighted: Let us do our Duty, and God will give us that Bleſſing which will yet make *England* a glorious Kingdom, the Joy of her Friends, and Terror of her Enemies, which is the fervent and conſtant Prayer of yours, *&c.*

An

An Order of the LORDS Spiritual and Temporal, aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, in the Houſe of LORDS, *December* 22. 1688.

PRESENT,

Lord Archbiſhop of *York*.
Duke of *Norfolk*.
Duke of *Somerſet*.
Duke of *Grafton*.
Duke of *Ormond*.
Duke of *Beaufort*.
Marqueſs of *Hallifax*.
Earl of *Oxford*.
Earl of *Shrewſbury*.
Earl of *Kent*.
Earl of *Bedford*.
Earl of *Pembroke*.
Earl of *Dorſet*.
Earl of *Northampton*.
Earl of *Devonſhire*.
Earl of *Bolingbrooke*.
Earl of *Mancheſter*.
Earl of *Mulgrave*.
Earl of *Rivers*.
Earl of *Stamford*.
Earl of *Winchelſea*.
Earl of *Thanet*.
Earl of *Scarſdale*.
Earl of *Clarendon*.
Earl of *Craven*.
Earl of *Burlington*.
Earl of *Suſſex*.
Earl of *Macclesfield*.
Earl of *Radnor*.
Earl of *Yarmouth*.
Earl of *Berkeley*.
Earl of *Nottingham*.
Earl of *Rocheſter*.
Earl of *Abington*.
Lord Viſc. *Fauconberg*.
Lord Viſcount *Mordaunt*.
Lord Viſcount *Newport*.
Lord Viſcount *Weymouth*.
Lord Viſcount *Hatton*.
Lord Biſhop of *London*.
Lord Biſhop of *Dureſme*.
Lord Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.
Lord Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*.
Lord Biſhop of *Ely*.
Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.
Lord *Delawarr*.
Lord *Grey* of *Ruthen*.
Lord *Eure*.
Lord *Wharton*.
Lord *Paget*.
Lord *North* and *Grey*.
Lord *Chandos*.
Lord *Montague*.
Lord *Grey* of *Warke*.
Lord *Maynard*.
Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick*.
Lord *Jermyn*.
Lord *Vaughan Carbery*.
Lord *Culpeper*.
Lord *Lucas*.
Lord *Delamere*.
Lord *Crew*.
Lord *Lumley*.
Lord *Carteret*.
Lord *Oſſulſtone*.
Lord *Godolphin*.
Lord *Churchill*.

THE Lords Spiritual and Temporal aſſembled in this Extraordinary Conjuncture, conſidering the great Miſchiefs that have happened unto, and do ſtill threaten this Kingdom, by the evil Deſigns and Practices of the Papiſts, in great Numbers reſorting unto and abiding in the City of *London*, and Places adjacent to the ſaid City; for the better Preſervation of the Peace and common Safety, have thought fit, and do Order and Require, That all Papiſts and Reputed Papiſts do, and ſhall, within Five Days after the Date hereof, depart from the ſaid City, unto their reſpective Habitations; from which they are not to remove above Five Miles Diſtance.

Except ſuch as now are in the Actual Service of the Queen Dowager; and Except all Ambaſſadors, and Foreign Miniſters, with their Domeſtick Servants, being Foreigners; and all other Foreigners, being Merchants or Factors, or who are come into, or do reſide in this Kingdom upon the Account of Trade only. Except alſo all ſuch Perſons as have been Houſholders, or have

have exercised any Trade within the said City of *London*, or within Ten Miles o the same, by the Space of Three Years last past (other than such as do sell Arms,) so as such Housholders shall, within Eight Days from the Date hereof, leave an Account in Writing with the Lord Mayor, the Recorder, or some Alderman, being a Justice of Peace within the said City, or other Justice of Peace, of their respective Names, and Places of their Habitations.

Except also all such Popish Officers as shall within Six Days from the Date hereof, give good and sufficient Bail before the Lord Mayor, the Recorder, or some Alderman, being a Justice of Peace within the said City, for their Appearance in the Court of *King's Bench*, the First Day of the next Term, to answer such Things as shall be there objected to them; and in the mean Time for the keeping of the Peace. And it is hereby ordered, that such Popish Officers as shall not within the said Eight Days give such Bail as aforesaid, shall be committed into Custody; and be detain'd and kept in some publick Inns, by the Trained Bands or Militia of the said City or Counties adjacent respectively, until further Order.

Signed by their Lordships Order,

FRANCIS GWYN.

WE, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal assembled in this Extraordinary Conjuncture, Do appoint Francis Gwyn, *Esquire, for Us, and in Our Names, to Sign and Subscribe such Orders as shall be from time to time by Us made.* Dated at the House of Lords in *Westminster* the 22*d* Day of *December*, 1688.

Tho. Ebor.	Bolingbrooke.	Fauconberg.	Grey.
Norfolk.	Manchester.	Mordaunt.	Maynard.
Somerset.	Rivers.	Newport.	T. Jermyn.
Grafton.	Stamford.	Weymouth.	Vaughan Carbery.
Ormond.	Thanet.	Hatton.	Tho. Culpeper.
Beaufort.	Scarsdale.	W. Asaph.	Lucas,
Northumberland.	Clarendon.	Fran. Ely.	Delamere.
Hallifax.	Burlington.	La-warr.	Crew.
Oxford.	Suffex.	R. Eure.	Lumley.
Kent.	Maclesfield.	P. Wharton.	Carteret.
Bedford.	Radnor.	Paget.	Offulstone.
Pembrooke.	Berkeley.	North *and* Grey.	
Dorset.	Nottingham.	Chandos.	
Devonshire.	Rochester.	Montague.	

A Remonſtrance and Proteſtation of all the Good Proteſtants of this Kingdom, againſt Depoſing their Lawful Sovereign King *JAMES* the Second. 1689.

With REFLECTIONS thereupon.

——— Ubi non eſt pudor,
Nec cura juris, ſanctitas, pietas, fides,
Inſtabile regnum eſt. ——— Sen. Thyeſt.

Better is a poor and a wiſe Child, than an old and fooliſh King, who will no more be admoniſhed. Eccleſ. iv. 13.

READER,

AMONG Gameſters, if the Winner may by an ancient Proverb be juſtified to Laugh, I ſee no Reaſon why a Loſer may not have the Liberty of Grinning. 'Tis the preſent Caſe. The whole Body of the Nation is ſet free indeed from Tyranny and Popery, and clear'd from the Fear of it for the future, and are therefore with great Reaſon tranſported with Joy at this Deliverance; but this not having been feaſible without defeating the vile Deſigns of ſome few wretched Fellows, who were to make their Fortunes by the Slavery of their Country; theſe Men ſet up for Reaſon, Right, and Honeſty, who were the Betrayers of all; and under ſeveral ſilly and thin Pretences, would advance Notions utterly inconſiſtent with the trueſt Rules of Reaſon, the Examples of Scripture, the Laws of the Land, and the common Good. Among theſe few our Author ſeems to be one. The Wit, the Honeſty, the Modeſty, the Love of his Country, which appear in this Paper, would make one think him one of thoſe wiſe, honeſt, valiant, free-born Engliſh *Spirits which compoſed a late Court. And this I am yet the more inclin'd to believe, becauſe (tho' I know 'twas ſent in Penny-Poſt-Letters to ſeveral Reverend Divines of the Church of* England) *I am certainly inform'd it came from that Forge, where for Years by-paſt all the moſt ſcurrilous Invectives againſt the Reform'd Religion were hammer'd, even the late* Nat. Thompſon's *Printing-Houſe; and probably was written by that Scribler of his who penn'd* The Teſt of the Church of *England*'s Loyalty; *and this ought to be one Reaſon why all good Proteſtants and honeſt* Engliſhmen *ſhould have a Care of this and the like Pamphlets which would banter us out of our Happineſs. But let him be who he will, his Honeſty and Modeſty he manifeſts in the Title, which he gives this Libel,* A Remonſtrance in the Name of all good Proteſtants. *Who impower'd him to make this? Who choſe him the Repreſentative of* all good Proteſtants? *Is the Convention or Parliament ſhrunk into his Skin? If it be, he ill-favour'dly betrays his Truſt, and talks contrary to the Intereſt and Meaning of his Principals. But ſince it is nothing ſo, and he only*

only with a neceſſary Confidence arrogates to himſelf the Office of a Prolocutor, we'll hear him, and be free with him.

SINCE it is evident to the whole World, that the preſent State of this Kingdom is a *State of Force*; and that after all the Pretence of *Property*, there is no *Law* in *England* but the *Long Sword*; and that upon that Foundation our preſent *Architects* are raiſing the Fabrick of their *New Government*: We who profeſs ourſelves to be *True Proteſtants*, and *Tenderer* of the *Honour* of our Religion, than of our Lives; do think ourſelves obliged, *in Conſcience*, to vindicate our Reputation to Mankind, by declaring our *Diſſatisfaction* to the preſent Proceedings, and making a *publick Proteſtation* againſt the Authors of them.

Reſl. *His Title, one would think, had been an Affront great enough for once upon* all good Proteſtants *and every Friend of Truth; but this Paragraph gives the Lie to our Senſes. He tells us* 'tis evident to the whole World, that the preſent State of the Kingdom is a State of Force. *What can he mean: In the* whole World *I ſuppoſe he includes* England, *and all* England *know, that there never was a Parliament choſen more fairly, or whoſe Privileges and Freedoms of debating and reſolving were more punctually preſerved to them. On the contrary, We are delivered from that which was indeed a State of Force and Slavery. Whither was true* Engliſh *Liberty agoing, when in the late Reign at* Northampton *the Soldiers at the Choice of Parliament Men, were drawn up at the Place of Election, and commanded to load with Ball, in order at leaſt to terrify, if not to compel, the Free-holders to give their Votes contrary to the common Intereſt of their Country. This was a* State of Force *with a Vengeance. The latter Part of this Paragraph begs a Queſtion which has been ſufficiently teiz'd, but never clearly made out, by ſome of our* Jure-Divino-*Men; and till they can prove their Principles, it concerns not us to regard their fulſome and ſlaviſh Concluſions. We cannot believe our excellent Religion has any Thing in it of ſuch ſervile Tendency, as to incline us to part with our civil Liberties and rightful Properties. We do not believe that Chriſtianity ſhould un-man us, or* that *Proteſtancy can make us Slaves and Beggars. But go on.*

It is true, The *Fears* and *Jealouſies* we have had of the coming in of *Popery*, by the Influence ſome Great Men of that Religion had upon *his Majeſty*; improv'd by the daily Reflections that were made, and the *ill Turn* that was given to every Act of State, by ſome *malignant* Spirits among our ſelves; made us, we confeſs, very *cold* and *indifferent* in his Majeſty's *Defence*, againſt a *Prince* of the *Blood*, of our *own* Religion, whoſe *Errand* (as we are told) *was to preſerve our Religion and Laws, and the juſt Succeſſion of the Royal Line.* This only could have made us endure an Action we ſhould elſe have hated; preſuming our *King's Loſs, ſhould have been his Gain; and our Yielding, our Victory:* But ſince we behold, to our unſpeakable Grief, that our *Condeſcenſion* is *Treacherouſly* abuſed to private Ends; and that *Shew* of our *Diſloyalty* not made a *Remedy* to the Government, but a *Ruin* to our King, and an *Infamy*

to our ſelves, to ſerve the Turn of ſome Men's Avarice and Ambition: We ——

Reſl. *Good Man! Fears and Jealouſies! The Fellows of* Magdalen College *were only under a* Jealouſy *of being turned out? The Biſhops were only* afraid *of being ſent to the Tower? Needed there any* malignant Spirits *to tell the World, that the Country was ruined by an Army kept up againſt Law, and exempt from the Power of the ordinary Magiſtrate, and a thouſand other plain Violations made of the Laws of the Land? Was it not rather a Miracle of Patience that ſo generous a Nation could lie quietly ſo long under ſuch heavy Preſſures? But thus far is only Prologue; and now enter* Almanzor ſolus, *for he uſes the Words* WE *and* US *only as he is a great Man.*

We think it fit to proteſt againſt ſuch Injuſtice, and to declare, *We neither know, nor will acknowledge any other King, than* JAMES *the* Second, *who is our lawful Sovereign while he lives*; and this Reſolution we will maintain upon all Occaſions, *as becomes Loyal Subjects and good Proteſtants to do.* Nor ought this to appear a Blind or unreaſonable Sacrifice on our Parts; ſince we can find neither Truth nor Juſtice in the Reaſon given for *laying his Majeſty aſide*: For the King's *Deſertion*, ſo much ſpoken of, was a plain *Neceſſity*, and not a Crime: Had thoſe *Foreigners* that conquer'd, but *by leave*, ſuffered him to ſtay a King at home, he had never gone abroad; but if it were a Crime, it was *againſt himſelf*, and not againſt the Kingdom: His *Sins* againſt the Nation we have daily expected to hear of: *Thoſe black Practices* that brought the *Prince* of *Orange* hither to ſave us, and do his Princeſs Right: It is plain his *Deſertion*, which is now made the Fault to dethrone him, could be none of them; for that was not foreſeen by the Prince, or thoſe that call'd him in: And we challenge thoſe that have impeached him to prove to us, as clearly as they made us believe they could, that the *Birth of the Prince of* Wales *is an Impoſture*; *That the King has made a League with* France *to cut off the* Proteſtants *of theſe Kingdoms*; *And that his* Brother *and the Earl of* Eſſex *were murdered by his Appointment.* Had theſe vile Things been proved upon him, we had done with him for ever; and till then, common Honeſty would fly in our Faces, if we ſhould *deſert* him: And tho' his Enemies have been able to deceive us, we hope they ſhall not be able to deſtroy us. If our *good Nature* hath ſuffered us to be eaſily abuſed, our *Integrity* will oblige us as quickly and thoroughly to reſent it: And therefore ſince we cannot have their Proofs, *We muſt and will have our King again for all this.*

Reſl. *Now 'tis out. This was it he had to ſay; the reſt is only Facing and Trimming, which being introduced by flat Untruths, may well render it ſuſpected; but now we have it, 'tis liable to Exception in ſo many Places, that* no good Proteſtant, *or conſidering Man, can agree to it. Firſt, He ſays, King* James *is his* lawful Sovereign while he lives, *without any Exception, as either a Reſignation by a publick Inſtrument, or his ſequeſtring himſelf from the World and making himſelf a Recluſe, or his proving a Lunatick, or becoming (God bleſs us)*

a Fool; *which if he allow not for good Exceptions, he is more alone in his Opinion than I thought*; *beſides the Caſe of Abdication, Deſertion, and Dereliction. Then he takes Pains to clear his late Majeſty of any* Crime againſt the Kingdom, *in deſerting the Realm, which no Man every charged upon him, but moſt People thought it very well done by him. Next he expects to hear ſeveral Things proved againſt him, which from highly probable Suſpicions had become the Subject of publick Diſcourſe, or of which poſitive Proof was never promiſed, becauſe in ſuch Caſes, 'twere unreaſonable to require them. And yet he grants*, if theſe vile Things were proved, he had done with him for ever. *I offered before two Caſes in which a* lawful Sovereign *may ceaſe to be ſo*, while he lives; *and our Author here grants me another*, i. e. *if he be guilty of the Crimes himſelf enumerates. Now ſee what a hopeful Argumentator our few Malecontents have got*; *for allowing as he does, that theſe Crimes are enough to extinguiſh our Allegiance, then if* Crimes equal *to theſe* (*and ſuch no doubt may be perpetrated*) *could be made out, theſe alſo may be ſufficient to the like End. For this Conceſſion let him excuſe himſelf to his Employers. The Concluſion of this Paragraph is inſignificant Bounce*; *but it has this in't, that it fits the Character of it's Author.*

We know the Excuſe that is made for this profound *Silence*, that they forbear to prove this black Charge, *out of pure Tenderneſs to the King*; but we are not to learn at this time of the Day, the great *Tenderneſs of my Lord* Shro. Mord. Lov. *Mr.* Harb. Burn. *and* Ferg. *towards his Majeſty*; no more than the *Gratitude of my Lord* Moug. Chur. Bark. *and the Biſhop of* Durh. *or the Mercy of* Kirk, *or the Valour of* Lene. *or the Morals of all of them.* But if thoſe Gentlemen and their Partners are too tender to prove their Charge, why did they make it? And if they cannot do it, why do they proceed and refuſe to open His Letters ſent for an Accommodation? They have accuſed His Majeſty of *Impoſture*, they muſt prove it, or make themſelves the worſt of *Impoſtors*, which is an ill Bottom for a *Reformation* to ſtand upon. It is impoſſible for Men of common Senſe to imagine, that three Kingdoms can be taken away from any Man, *out of Tenderneſs to Him*, eſpecially if the Reaſon of it be, *that they ſhew no Cauſe why they do it.* It is a Myſtery to us, how they can be ſo very *tender* of his Credit, and at the ſame Time, and in the ſame Occaſion, ſo mighty *careleſs* of their own. This has ſo ill a *Face* with us, that the whole ſeems the *Plot* of a *few Men*, to ſerve themſelves of the King's *Popery*, and the Prince of *Orange*'s *Proteſtancy*, to bring the *Honours* and *Profits* of the *Government* into their own Hands; which is not *preſerving* our *Property*, but *making a Property of Us.*

Reſl. *All the* black Charge *that was promiſed to be made out by our Royal Sovereign, upon his Arrival in* England, *will be made good in due Time*; *let him have Patience. But if he expects that every violent Suſpicion that was, tho' upon very good Grounds, entertain'd by many wiſe and good Men, ſhould be clear'd and demonſtrated by the preſent Government, he miſtakes, and talks unreaſonably. The reſt is* gratis dictum: *For, to paſs by his fooliſh Reflections on*

parti-

particular Perſons, who muſt needs deſpiſe ſo ſilly an Author: How comes he to know that His late Majeſty ever ſent any Letters for an Accommodation, *which he ſays, were not ſo much as opened? That Letter which was ſent to the Lords of the Privy Council from* France, *went to another Tune,* No Change of Fortune ſhall ever make us forget our ſelves ſo far, as to condeſcend to any Thing unbecoming that high and Royal Station in which God Almighty by Right of Succeſſion has plac'd us: *And not a Word throughout the whole of reſtoring the Nation to the Enjoyment of its Laws, or Redreſs of Grievances, any farther than was done, when our preſent King landed; which Promiſes tho' there ſaid to have been made* freely and of his own Accord; *yet no Man in his Senſes can believe* that, *and therefore cannot truſt* them.

It is this that compels us to ſay, and *declare* to the whole World, we look upon our ſelves to be *cheated, and our King to be belyed and betrayed out of all His Kingdoms.* Nor can the *Prince* be blameleſs, if he yields to what they would give him for their own Sakes, ſince that were only to do his and their Buſineſs, and not the Kingdoms. It is not enough to ſay, *it is put upon him,* for none can believe a few *naked Conventioners* could force him at the Head of his Army to take *Three Crowns* from his *Father, Brother, Siſter,* and *Wife* againſt his own Will and Declaration: And that he ſhould do it out of pure *Self-Denial,* is as incomprehenſible, as that he could do it *juſtly,* after what he has ſaid to the *States,* and to us to the contrary. If therefore he came for *leſs* than Three Crowns, *leſs* than Three Crowns ſhould ſatisfy him: If nothing leſs will content him; our *Preſervation* was not the *real Motive* of his coming, and then the *Hazards* he run upon that Score, cannot be juſtly placed to Account of *Merit.* The King of *France* himſelf (for ought we know) would have turned *Proteſtant* for the Bargain, which had been at leaſt as great a Miracle, as any we have yet ſeen in this Affair. And tho' what we have ſaid, were ſufficient to deter all good *Proteſtants* from taking any Part in the Work now in hand, yet we cannot forbear expreſſing our Zeal againſt thoſe *evil Practices,* by letting our Country-men know the great Miſchiefs that muſt inevitably follow upon ſuch a Revolution, *viz. Reproach, Violence, Taxes, Blood,* and *Poverty.*

Reſl. *Here our Author would inſinuate, that King* William's *Deſign (when Prince of* Orange) *when he complied with the Invitation of the beſt Part of the Nation, was the acquiring the Regal Authority. But why ſo? His Intention might be, and in all Probability was, only the reſcuing of the Nation, and ſettling Things upon the ancient and legal Baſis: But this done, the Parliament ſaw, that though He might be* content *with* leſs, *the Deliverance he had wrought could not be* ſecured *without* more; *and therefore* deſir'd Him, *with his* Wife, *to* accept *the Crown, which his* Father *had abdicated or deſerted (let our Author chuſe which for this time) which his* Siſter *could then have no Title to, nor ever claim'd; and for the Thing he calls his* Brother, *all* good Proteſtants *know it not. I cannot believe the* French *King would (as he ſays) have* turned Proteſtant for the Bargain; *becauſe if that were his Opinion, he would, no doubt, have*

have communicated it to one at White-Hall, *who was ſufficiently guided by him. And now finding his Forehead to be of the Kettle-Metal and Colour, and ſo far at leaſt fit for the Buſineſs, he ſets up for a Gypſy, and will tell his Country's Fortune; that is, That upon this Revolution we are to expect five Things,* Reproach, Violence, Taxes, Blood, *and* Poverty: *Tho' the ſecond and fourth of theſe be but one in this Conſideration, as well as the third and fifth: yet they ſhall all be examined as he has laid 'em down.*

Firſt, We ſhall become the *Reproach* and *Scorn* of all Nations: It cannot be otherwiſe when Subjects attempt to *judge* and *deprive* their *Sovereign,* which is a great *Contradiction,* as well as *Danger* in Government: But to do it without being ſo much as *once heard or ſummoned,* is an Injury not to be acted towards the meaneſt of His *Subjects:* King *Charles* I. had fairer Quarter from *Cromwell* and *Bradſhaw:* They did not only charge him, but offered Matter in Evidence to maintain the Charge: But this King muſt be guilty of what his Accuſers *refuſe* to prove, if yet able to do it; and be *dethroned* for Deſerting the Kingdom, tho' *He could not help it.* Nor do theſe Gentlemen ſtop here; they will *change the Crown,* as well as the *King*; they will not be contented to lay him by, but *chuſe* who ſhall follow, and by that make the Crown *Elective,* which for above 600 Years has been *Succeſſive:* A Thing, they lie under no Neceſſity to do, but is the pure Effect of their adventurous and flattering Humour. Can this do leſs than render us odious to the whole World, when the King they lay aſide, *never attempted ſo great an Alteration* in any Branch of the Conſtitution?

Reſl. *As for the* Reproach, *I cannot apprehend any the Nation will lie under, ſo long as Senſe and Reaſon obtain in the World. Such Actions as theſe, of reſiſting Tyranny, and ſetting free the Oppreſſed, always had, as they ever deſerv'd, the* Applauſe *of Men, and the* Bleſſings *of Heaven. The noble Example here ſet, 'tis to be hoped, will raiſe the* Emulation *of the neighbouring Nations to aſſert their natural and legal Freedoms: If it don't, we value not their* Envy, *which is all it can procure us. In the next Words he condemns what in the Proteſtation,* (§ 3.) *he allow'd; that if the late King could be prov'd* Guilty *of ſuch and ſuch Crimes, he had* done with him for ever: *Whereas now he's of another Mind, and would have it to be a Contradiction in Government to* attempt to judge *concerning him, without which no Man can be pronounced* Guilty. *For what follows, 'tis certain both in Reaſon and our Law, that a Withdrawing implies Guilt; though I apply it not to the preſent Caſe. He pretends then to ſay, that the Crown of* England *has been* ſucceſſive *for* 600 *Years laſt paſt; if by this he means, that the Succeſſion has been preſerv'd with an exact Regard to any* Line; *(for the Word* Succeſſive *is a Word at large, and of diverſe Significations) I ſay, if ſo he mean, he has fool'd himſelf into a Capacity of ſucceeding* Oliver's Porter; *and yet if he don't mean ſo, he means nothing, and that's worſe. It has been made out, beyond all Poſſibility of Contradiction; and if Hiſtorical Faith can ever be well grounded, it muſt certainly be true, that the* Chimerical Lineal Succeſſion *has been ſlighted at leaſt Ten times ſince* William *the Conqueror: And*

that

that the late new Deference that has been given to it, has not been of above Eighty Years ſtanding, and a meer Novelty in our State. The Work of deſigning Courtiers, ambitious Lawyers, and (who are worſt of all in this Matter) Time-ſerving Men of that Venerable Order where Truth and the common Good ought moſt to be befriended. In Anſwer to his laſt Aſſertion, 'tis plain, to pack a Houſe of Commons, contrary to the Minds and Intereſts of the Nation, is as great and as miſchievous an Alteration as can be made in any Branch *of the* Conſtitution.

2*dly*, We are inevitably in a *State of Force*; for what is gotten by Force, muſt by Force be maintained; and let us flatter our ſelves what we will, it is not a Vote of Parliament, but the Nature of the Thing that will prevail: They that make the Change, muſt and will uſe Force for their own Security, whatever becomes of Ours.

Reſl. *We cannot lie under a greater and more troubleſome* Force *than we did a Year ſince, when hardly a Night paſſed wherein ſome Outrage or other was not committed by the late King's lawleſs Soldiers, who exerciſed all manner of Inſolences with Impunity, by being privileged (forſooth) from the uſual Methods of Proſecution according to Law. In appealing from a* Parliament *to the* Nature of the Thing, *I think he loſes himſelf again; and inſtead of perſonating* all good Proteſtants, *he repreſents Nobody.*

3*dly*, The *Charge* of the Revolution will be intolerable in a while; We ſhall lay down a Computation of one Year's Expence for an Inſtance.

	£.
To 70 Sail of Great and Small Ships of War in the *Channel*, and 12 Fire-Ships and Tenders, for one Year	1,400,000
To 8 Sail in the *Straits*, and 5 in *America*, for the ſame Time	130,000
To Tranſporting and Maintaining 15,000 Men to be employed in *Ireland* for one Year, with Artillery, *&c.*	500,000
The Charge of ſending and keeping an Army in the *Low Countries* of 15,000 Men for a Year	500,000
For an Army of 15,000 Men in *England* yearly	300,000
The Total	2,830,000

To this muſt be added the *Expence* of *Civil Government* at Home, *Embaſſies*, *Intelligence*, *Secret Services* Abroad, *Domeſtick* or Family Expences, *Charges* upon the Revenue for *Debts* owing, or by *Penſions* to Perſons Aged, Neceſſitous, or Meritorious, which will mount it to above *Three Millions*, and that is more than one *Third of the yearly Value of the whole Kingdom.* To this muſt be added the *Abatement* that will neceſſarily follow, both in the *Cuſtoms* and *Exciſe*, by reaſon of *War* and *Decay of Trade*; which in the *Cuſtoms alone*, cannot be leſs than *one Third*, and that comes to at leaſt 400,000 *l.* a Year.

Here is *Poverty* like an armed Man: All Rents muſt fall at leaſt *one half.* No Employments can be had in Proportion to the Poor: The Means of *Charity*

Charity, as well as *Hearts* to give it, will be wanting; the *Objects* of it must extremely encreaſe, and that ſo very ſuddenly, that it will not be in our Power to hinder it, if we have not that *Peace*, which nothing elſe can give us, but the Reſtoration of our right Maſter.

Reſl. *All beſide the Purpoſe. The Nation is willing to give thus much and more (and well is it worth) for their Rights, Laws, and Properties again. Fear not Slave; the Heads which managed this glorious Atchievement, want no Purſes, nor Hearts, nor Hands, to make good what they have done.*

4*thly*, And for Blood, can we hope to eſcape it in War? Firſt, by Sea, it is not to be avoided; by Land, we will invade the Territories or Conqueſts of *France*, if he in our King's Quarrel does not invade us firſt. Secondly, There is Blood with a Vengeance, though we are not beaten; but if we are beaten, there is Blood with *Rebellion* upon us, which will not end without Blood in Peace, and almoſt an *infinite Forfeiture of Eſtates*. Thirdly, We are not aſſured we ſhall be long quiet within our ſelves, many ſtrong Factions already appearing; and we are leſs aſſured, that *Scotland* will not be in *Arms*, and find ſomething to do in this *Conjuncture*, that has a *King to loſe, and to chuſe as well as we*. For *Ireland*, we are aſſured, or ought to be; they who poſſeſs the Government, will loſe it at as dear a Rate as they can: Their *All* is at ſtake, and they are not without Hopes, by the *French* King's Aſſiſtance, to recover all for their Own, and will value themſelves to Him and the World, by revenging our *Deſpiſings* and *Inſolence* both to Him and Them. Nor can we think they will endure this Indignity to the firſt King of their Religion ſince the *Reformation*; or ſuffer thoſe to be ill uſed here, that have faithfully ſerved their King, without meting the ſame Meaſure to ſome diſloyal Perſons there. Otherwiſe as little Wit as we allow the *Iriſh* to have, they have enough to know that a *Maſſacre*, which we ſo much talk of, would be their *own Ruin*; and that if they carry it fair to the *Engliſh*, they will in a while gain thoſe there to join them, and more than there too, for the Reſtoration of their and our lawful King. But be it as it will, whether we regard our ſelves, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, or *Holland*; *War* and *Blood* look us in the Face, and *Poverty* and *Miſery* muſt follow: Theſe are like to be the ſad Conſequences of this *celebrated Change*.

Reſl. *This is the Scare-crow Paragraph: Raw-head and Bloody bones! He tells us here will be Work for the Sword: With all our Hearts. The old* Engliſh *Liberties coſt our Anceſtors many a Tun of Blood at firſt, and ſince they could not be had cheaper, they were worth it. Does this crawling Slave then think to* fright *us out of our own, by threatening us with a Bruſh or two? No, let him tell his Stories to ſome dainty* Monſieur, *or ſome Blockhead-Teague; and not accoſt his own Countrymen with ſuch an Affront. But, God be thanked, even this has nothing in't; the Nation is comforted to ſee itſelf under the Protection (under Heaven) of the braveſt King that ever adorn'd the Throne; and is fully ſatisfied that nothing can perpetuate its Happineſs, but a cloſe*

Conjunction in the common Defence. So that this Huff is no more to us, than to a Paſſenger is a Dog under a Door, who ſtares and barks terribly; but the honeſt Man may go on without fear. I mind not what he ſays when he acts the Sir Pol. *a few Months will better confute him.*

Now whether our *Dangers* were ſo great, or our *Fears* ſo juſt, as to require all this Alteration for our Security, Days of Affliction can only inform us, if we will ſtill be *deaf* to thoſe *juſt and peaceable Expedients*, that have been often propoſed to us. We ſhall cloſe our *Remonſtrance*, with this Caution to the preſent *buſy Men*, that they cannot honeſtly lay their King aſide, *without entering into the Merits of the Cauſe*, which it is plain they wave; and in as much as they cannot juſtly ſay, *He has laid himſelf aſide*, by deſerting them, when His Deſertion *is coercive and againſt his Will.* Let them *repent* of what they have done, and let us all join, *for the Prevention of Civil, as well as Foreign bloody Wars*, to fetch Him home to the Kingdoms of His *Fathers*, with greater Glory than He came firſt to them; and it ſhall not *leſſen it*, that it be done with *greater Security* to our juſt Freedom.

Reſl. *Now are we come to the Recapitulation; where as it was proper enough, he repeats his former Shams. He gives the horribleſt Oppreſſions and Injuſtices the Name of* Dangers, *and the moſt illegal Sufferings he calls* Fears. *He tells us of* juſt and peaceable Expedients that have been often propoſed; *but yet of which no Man ever heard a Word, at leaſt while any Credit was due to them. Then he adviſes us to enter into the* Merits of the King's Cauſe; *of which he once before ſaid it was a Contradiction for us to make a Judgment. And at laſt, to conclude this Politic Piece of Senſe and Argument, he gives us* dignum patellâ operculum, *the whole Queſtion begg'd*; They cannot juſtly ſay he has laid himſelf aſide, by deſerting them, when his Deſertion is coercive [*Nonſenſe*] and againſt his Will. *Let him anſwer theſe two Axioms I'll lay down:* No Nation can ſtand without Government; *of which the late King left us deſtitute.* Fear alone is no Force upon any Man: *And more than* Fear *(and that of far diſtant and only imaginary Danger) he was never yet pretended to lie under.*

Thus have I prefunctorily and with a running Eye reflected upon this applauded Piece. Many Paſſages, upon a Review, I ſee I have ſlipp'd either through Haſte or Contempt; which yet, if the Author think it worth his while to defend his Pamphlet, may have a Regard. But, if he hath Time upon his Hands, I would adviſe him rather to employ his Pen in giving our late Court and the Managements thereof, the Character they deſerve; as firſt, let him declare the wondrous *Gratitude* they ſhew'd to their heartieſt Friends, the Church of *England*, the Members whereof were the *main Inſtruments* of the Reſtauration, the *only Oppoſers* of the Excluſion, and the *ſingle Confounders* of the *Monmouth*-Adventure. Then let him launch into a vaſt Field of Eloquence on the Subject of the *even Juſtice* which was kept up within the laſt marvellous four Years; under the juſteſt, the meekeſt, the moſt modeſt, and the

the moſt virtuous Chancellor that ever kept a Purſe; and a Bench of Judges of whom at leaſt three or four more never had their like upon the Bench ſince King *William* the Firſt; and here let him tell how *Weſtminſter-Hall* was crowded every Term with Suitors for Juſtice from theſe Men of Learning and Integrity; and what a Bleſſing they beſtow'd upon the Nation, when they proſtituted its Laws to a Diſpenſing Power. The *Happineſs* alſo they enjoy'd by an unneceſſary illegal ſtanding Army may deſerve from him an Encomium, which he may well conclude with a Panegyric upon the Felicity of being yoak'd and ſpur gall'd, or elſe a Copy of Verſes in Praiſe of a Pair of Wooden-Shoes.

CONCLUSION.

AND now, honeſt Brother-Engliſhman and Fellow-Proteſtant, our Country-Men having always accounted it half a Victory to find out their Enemies, I'll give a little Deſcription of the moſt dangerous Foes to the common Good and Happineſs of the Nation. On one Side are,

Such as intoxicate the Peoples Heads with a Chimera of *Jure-Divino*-Monarchy, and bubble 'em with a falſe Opinion of a *certain Lineal* Succeſſion, which was never, nor ever can be made out.

The ſame would ſcare you by telling of the Sacredneſs of your Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*; when the Character which was the Object of their Obligation has virtually, and as much as in him lies, been thrown up by the Perſon who bore it.

Some of theſe are Men of a Character to be reverenc'd; but they are afraid of ſome Abridgment of Power, Wealth, and Eaſe, if the general Good be nicely attended to in the preſent Reformation. There have been ſuch *ſcrupulous* Conſciences as theſe in the World before, when a Gnat came in their Way.

On the other Side are wicked Men, who are equally to be deteſted and avoided.

Such as, perhaps having been Sufferers moſtly in a private Capacity, make uſe of their Authority and Intereſt at this Time to foment Parties, and to animate the Diſſenters againſt the Church of *England*.

Such as theſe are, thoſe who being ſet by their Country in any high Character, make it their Buſineſs to rip up old Sores, and inſtead of helping on the healing Deſigns of our true Patriots, confound the public Conſultations with Purſuits after private Piques and unneceſſary Reſentments.

Theſe mix Perplexities and Delays in our moſt needful Counſels; and tell a Tale of a Houſe of Office at *Billingſgate*, while a Nation may be loſt.

Of theſe, and of thoſe, my good Country-Man, have a care. They are Enemies to thy Peace.

A Memorial from the *Engliſh* Proteſtants, for their Highneſſes the PRINCE and PRINCESS of *ORANGE*.

IT cannot be unknown to Your Highneſs, that the *Proteſtants of England*, that are Faithful to the Principles and Doctrines of their Religion, and to the juſt, eſtabliſhed, legal Government, are in divers Kinds moſt intolerably vexed and oppreſſed by the *Popiſh* Contrivances and Practices, covered with the Pretences and Name of Authority.

That (*) Illegal Things are daily impoſed upon them, in their ſeveral Stations and Places, which they are convinc'd in their Conſciences, can never be

(*) The Inſtances thereof are too many to be recited; but ſome thereof are theſe, *viz.*

1. Moſt of the *Proteſtants* are preſſed to declare for a Repeal of all the Laws made for the Reformation of our Religion and its Settlement.

2. All the *Subjects* are forced to ſubmit to Serve and Obey thoſe that are no *lawful Judges*, *Sheriffs*, *Juſtices of the Peace*, *Mayors*, *Lords Lieutenants*, and other Commanders; and all are Threatned, Vexed and Proſecuted (as the Lord *Lovelace* now is) that dare but ſay that ſuch have no *lawful Authority*.

3. All the *Subjects* are commanded to ſuffer all the Actions and Offences of their Lives, and the Secrets of their Hearts to be ſearched into, and their chief Intereſts and many of their Free-holds to be judged by the Diſcretion of a few of the King's Creatures, called, his *Commiſſioners for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs*, whoſe *Commiſſion* is, to proceed without and againſt the Rules of our Laws, with a *non obſtante* to all other Laws, and every Man is required to aſſiſt their *Arbitrary Powers* on Peril of their Cenſures, which extend to Impriſonment for Life.

4. All our *Miniſters* are required under grievous menaced Penalties, to be the *King's Cryers*, to *proclaim* in the Churches the *King's Power* to ſuſpend at once the Force and Uſe of all our Penal Laws made in 400 Years paſt to ſecure the Rights of the *Crown*, the *Freedoms* and *Properties* of the *Realm*, and the Profeſſion of the *Proteſtant Religion*.

5. All the *Proteſtants* are forced, by fear of the *King*'s Wrath, to ſuffer the Rights of the Crown, and the Freedom of the *Realm*, againſt *Foreign Powers* and *Laws*, to be publickly denied, and the Force of Foreign Laws over them to be maintained; they are enjoined by the *King* to neglect their ſworn Duties to *God*, to the *Crown* and *Kingdom*, of proſecuting at Law thoſe *Treaſons*, which they know and ſee to be daily committed; for which no Excuſe can be made, by pretence of Liberty of Conſcience in *Chriſt's Religion*.

6. The *Conſtables*, and other Officers throughout the Realm are forced to quarter *Iriſh* and *Scots*, and other *mercenary Soldiers* in their Neighbours Houſes, againſt their Wills, in Contempt of the Ancient Laws, and the expreſs Words of the late Statutes.

7. All the Gentlemen and Free-holders are preſſed to renounce their native and legal Freedoms in their Choice of Members for *Parliament*.

8. The Freemen of the *Cities* and *Towns* are urged to yield up to the *King's* Will the Tenure of their *Magiſtracies*, and all their free Cuſtoms and Privileges.

9. All the People are forced, by fear of Puniſhments, to ſuffer a *Child* to be *declared Heir apparent* of the *Crown*, which ought not by the known Laws of the *Kingdom* to have been acknowledged, until lawful Witneſſes of his Birth of the *Queen* had been duly publiſhed to the *Kingdom*, as was neceſſary in this Caſe, wherein publick Fame makes him a *Counterfeit*. Yet to their Shame and Grief, the People are forced

be juſtified unto God or the Kingdom, and yet they are preſſed upon them (without regard to their Conſciences) by Loſs of their Offices and Imployments, and many other threatned Effects of the King's Diſpleaſure.

That many of their legal Liberties, Benefits, and Means of Subſiſtence in their Churches and Colleges, are taken from them by meer Will and Pleaſure, *(a)* and *Proceſſes* and *Proſecutions* by arbitrary Commiſſioners *(b)* are threatned and begun againſt great Numbers of them without their Guilt of the leaſt Offence or Tranſgreſſion againſt any of the Laws of this Realm.

That they are debarred and ſpoiled of the due free *(c)* Election of their *Magiſtrates* and *Officers* in their *Cities* and *Towns*, and *pretended Officers* and *Magiſtrates* are impoſed upon them and turned out and put in at the *King's abſolute Will*, as they are found ready to comply with, and ſerve the *Popiſh* Deſign either ignorantly or corruptly.

That ſeveral of the Bodies Politick of their Cities and Towns are declared to be diſſolved at the *King's Pleaſure* (to terrify and ſubjugate the Minds of all the reſt) and the *Citizens* and *Burgeſſes* are thereby *diſfranchiſed*, *(d)* and *diveſted* of all their good *Cuſtoms*, *Freedoms* and *Privileges*, if they cannot in

forced to ſeem in their *publick Prayers* to preſent him to *God* as their *Prince*, and dare not aſk who are the Witneſſes of his Birth.

10. Many of their *Juries* are preſſed to *find* their Neighbours Criminals, though in their Conſciences they think them innocent; as is notorious (amongſt many other Inſtances) in the Caſe of thoſe that made innocent Expreſſions of their Joy for the Juſtice that was done to the *Seven Biſhops:* and many are forced to ſubmit to be tried in Matters about the Loſs of their Eſtates, by Fines; and their Lives alſo, by Juries returned, by ſecret Contrivances and Nominations, contrary to the Direction of our Laws, being neither of the moſt ſufficient nor moſt indifferent of the neareſt Neighbours to the Facts in queſtion, nor by *Sheriffs* ſworn as the Laws require, whereby the Courſe of the *Kingdom's Juſtice* is perverted, and the legal Government ſubverted.

All theſe Inſtances are too well known to be denied by our Adverſaries.

(a) Viz. The Caſe of the Lord Biſhop of *London* ſuſpended. Of Doctor *Peachel*, Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge*, and Maſter of *Pembroke-Hall*, deprived. Of Doctor *Hough*, and 26 Fellows of *Magdalen-College*, *Oxford*, beſides the *Demyes* outed from their Free-hold and Livelihood, and decreed incapable of any other Preferment, only for keeping to the Law, the Statute of their *College* and *Oaths*. The Suſpenſion of near 200 *Miniſters* in the County of *Durham*, for refuſing to read to their People the King's Declaration for diſpenſing with our Laws, *&c.*

(b) Viz. The Summons of the Commiſſioners for *Eccleſiaſtical Affairs* to the *Chancellors*, *Commiſſaries* and *Archdeacons* of the *Dioceſe*, of moſt of the *Biſhops* to return the Names of all the *Miniſters* that did not read the King's Declaration, wherein they tranſgreſſed no Law *Eccleſiaſtical* or *Civil*.

(c) The *City* of *London*, and all the *Cities* and *Towns* Corporate of the Kingdom are ſad Inſtances of this, the King alone ſetting up whom he pleaſes to have the Names, and uſe the Powers of their formerly choſen *Magiſtrates*.

(d) So the King hath done to the antient *Cities* of *Oxford*, *Wincheſter*, and the *Borough* of *Totneſs*, now threatens to do the ſame to the great City of *Norwich*, or ſomething tantamount, whereby he aſſumes to diſpoſe of the Subjects legal Intereſts at his Will, as if the Subjects had no Property.

Conſcience

Conſcience comply with illegal Commands, and will not treacherouſly ſurrender their legal Rights and Privileges unto the *King's Will.*

That the legal Securities provided by the King's and Kingdom in Parliament againſt the Dangers of their Religion and Liberties, are by the *King's abſolute Command* thrown aſide, and made (*e*) uſeleſs, by pretence of his *Power to diſpenſe* with thoſe penal Laws notwithſtanding the Subjects Right in them, for the Protection and Safety of their Religion, Liberties, and Lives, whereby the very Foundation of all the Subjects Rights and Properties is undermined and ſhaken, and a *new Claim* is ſet up and maintained, that the Subjects have no Right, Property or Security, againſt the *Will* and *Pleaſure* of their King's.

That by Colour of ſuch a *diſpenſing Power*, the Truſt of the Kingdom's Defence and Safety by military Powers, are put into ſuch Hands as are made (*f*) incapable of them by many expreſs Laws of the King's and Kingdoms in Parliament, which juſtly give the *Proteſtants* ſad Apprehenſions of imminent Dangers, ſeeing themſelves put into the Power of thoſe that publickly profeſſes to be in *Union* and *Communion* with the *Church of Rome*, that openly declare themſelves to be the mortal Enemies to all *Proteſtants*, and that they are bound, upon Peril of their Salvation, to ſeek their Deſtruction, if they ſhall continue conſtant to the *Proteſtant Profeſſion.*

That contrary to the expreſs Laws of the (*g*) Realm lately declared in Parliament, an *Army* of *Papiſts* and *Mercenaries* is maintained, and diſperſed through the Kingdom in full Peace, to the great *Diſquiet* and *Terror* of the *Proteſtants*, and they are in divers Ways conſtrained to receive theſe Soldiers into their Houſes, to ſojourn there againſt their Wills, whereby they are deprived of their Peace and Security in their Families, and of their Converſe with their Neighbours and Friends, and of the Advantages they might make in their Ways of Living.

That the *King* hath barred and *forbidden* the Execution of the *ancient Laws of the Realm*, againſt divers Sorts of Treaſons, and other moſt heinous Crimes; and all the Statutes now known to have been made from Age to Age for 500 Years paſt, in relation to the *Popes* and *Romiſh Prieſts* (*h*) Powers and Practices

(*e*) The late Statutes of 25 and 30 of *Car.* II. were made expreſly for the *Proteſtants* Security; ſo were thoſe of 5 *Eliz.* 1. 13 *Eliz.* 2. 23 *Eliz.* 1. 27 *Eliz.* 2. 1 *Jac.* 5 *Jac.* 1. and the Stat. 25 *Hen.* VIII. 19, 20, 21. and many ancient Stat. of *Ed.* I. *Ed.* II. *Ed.* III. *Rich.* II. and many other Kings, were made to ſecure the People from the Apprehenſions of the *Church* of *Rome*; and the King hath declared that none of them ſhall at any time hereafter be put in Execution.

(*f*) 'Tis known all the *profeſſed Papiſts* are by the Stat. of *Eliz.* *Jac.* I. and *Car.* II. made incapable of holding any Truſt or Powers in the Kingdom, and that the King hath placed the moſt of them in their Hands.

(*g*) See the *Pet. of Right* 3. Cart. and the late Statutes *Car.* II. that declare the diſperſing of Soldiers into the Country, and the quartering them in the Subjects Houſes, to be againſt the *Laws* and *Cuſtoms* of the *Realm*; and 'tis *demanded* and *enacted* as the People's Right, that they ſhall never be ſo burdened by Soldiers.

(*h*) See the *King's Declaration* for *Liberty* of *Conſcience*, that ſuſpends the Execution

tices are ſuſpended; tho' the Experience of the Papiſts in all thoſe Ages ſhewed thoſe Precepts and Practices to be ſo miſchievous and dangerous, that they often complained in Parliament, they feared the *(i)* Deſtruction of the Kingdom by them.

His *Majeſty* alſo ſo controuls the *Courts* of *Law* in the *Courts* wherein *Juſtice* ought to be *adminiſtred*, that the *Judges* (tho' they have highly ſerved the *Popiſh* Deſigns,) are turned out of their Places, Honours and Penſions, if they dare but ſuffer the Laws juſtly to acquit thoſe whom the King would have condemned, as appears (amongſt divers Inſtances) by his late diſplacing Judge *Holloway* and Judge *Powell*, upon the legal Acquittal of the *ſeven Biſhops*.

We need not ſhew to your Highneſs more particular Inſtances of our Oppreſſion, ſince 'tis notorious, that there is a publick Attempt authorized by the King to ſubvert the very Foundation of the whole *Civil legal Government* of the Kingdom, that is, the Peoples *free Election* (in the cuſtomary eſtabliſhed Courſe by *Counties*, *Cities*, and *Boroughs*,) of their Deputies to act and conſent for them in Parliament unto all Laws to be made and repealed.

The *truly noble Monarchy* was founded on equal Freedom; and the *Civil Government* of *England*, was always of right truly free, *(k)* becauſe no Laws or Authorities ever bound the Perſons and Properties of the Kingdom ſave only theſe, wherein the Kings and all the Subjects freely agreed, every Subject's free *(l)* Conſent being deemed by our Laws to be given perſonally, as by his Deputies to the Enacting and Repealing of every Law.

Therefore the Statutes of old in Affirmance of the common Cuſtom of *England*, declared that Elections ſhould be free *(m)* from all Interruptions and Interpoſitions by the *King* or the *Pope*, and the *Kings* have bound themſelves by the Statutes, no way to diſturb any *Electors* in making their free *Elections*.

No *Commands*, *Promiſes*, or *Threats*, no *Prayers* nor *Solicitations* ought to be made unto the *Electors* by the *King* or *Pope*, or any others: The Peoples Deputies (ſay the Laws) are to be choſen Freely, and Indifferently, without Pre-ingagement of the *Electors*, or fear of diſpleaſing the King, and without Promiſes of Favour or Rewards to them. They are to be indifferent at the Time and Place of *Election*, and in ſuch manner to proceed, notwithſtanding any Requeſt or Command to the contrary, otherwiſe the *Elections* are void and null.

cution of all the Penal Laws whatſoever in Matters *Eccleſiaſtical*, thoſe that make it Treaſon to maintain the *Pope's Powers* and *Canons* to be above our Laws, or to take his Diſpenſations of Obedience to them.

(i) See the Statutes 35 *Edw.* I. 25 *Ed.* III. 27 *Ed.* III. 16 *Rich.* II. 5.

(k) See 24 *Hen.* VIII. 12. 25 *Hen.* 21. 'Tis declared that the Realm is free and ſubject to no Laws but by their own Conſent; and that the King and Parliament, repreſenting the whole State of the Realm, have the Power to diſpenſe with the Laws as they ſhall ſee Occaſion.

(l) See the Statutes 1 *Jac.* I. 1.

(m) See Stat. Weſtm. 1. 3 *Ed.* 7. The common Law is there declared, and the King *bindeth himſelf* not to diſturb any *Electors* to make free *Elections*. See *Car.* II. Parl. See 7 *Hen.* IV. 15. 6 *Hen.* VI. 4. 9 *Hen.* IV. 8.

But

But we are not able to number the various kinds of Attempts and Practices to overturn this Foundation of our Government.

There have been infinite Endeavours and Artifices openly uſed, to deſtroy the *Cuſtoms*, *Privileges*, *Charters* and *Governments* of all the *Cities* and *Boroughs*, by whom four Parts in five of the *Members* of the *Commons in Parliament* are to be choſen by the Cuſtom of *England*; and to bring all theſe *Bodies Politick*, and all their *Magiſtrates* and *Officers* to be dependant on the *King's Will*, and to be obliged as His Creatures (not the *Cities* and *Towns* Truſtees) to ſerve His *Popiſh* and *Arbitrary* Deſigns, or to be turned out of their Places at His Pleaſure, and ſuch as are either *Papiſts*, or more *Ignorant* and *Corrupt* put into their Places.

'Tis known to all, that for this Purpoſe, to deſtroy our *Government* under Colour of Law, there have been cauſeleſs *Writs* of *Quo Warranto* brought by the *King* againſt moſt of the *Cities* and *Boroughs* of the Kingdom, thoſe were ſeconded by Inſtruments appointed to terrify the *Magiſtrates* of the *Cities* and *Towns* with the *King's* ſevere Diſpleaſure, if they dared to inſiſt upon their legal Right and conteſt with the *King* at Law, to fright them with the intolerable Charge, that their legal Defence would coſt them more then they could bear, and boldly affirming that they could not hope to maintain their *Cuſtoms*, *Privileges* and *Charters* againſt the *King*, ſince he was reſolved to have them at His Command; then they tempted them with Promiſes of new *Charters*, if they would comply and ſurrender their old *Liberties* into the *King's Hands*, and pretended that the Names of all that refuſed it muſt be returned to the King's *Attorney General.*

'T is no leſs known, that *Judges* were prepared to damn the Pleas of all ſuch *Cities* and *Towns* as would ſtand upon their Right, and plead to the *Quo Warranto* as the *Magiſtrates* of *London* reſolved to do; their *Common Council* refuſing to ſurrender their *Liberties*, notwithſtanding all Commands, Terrors and Intreaties that were uſed to them; they knew it was not in their Power to betray their *City*, nor in the *King*'s Power to receive unto himſelf theſe *Cuſtoms*, *Powers* and *Privileges*, which the *Great Charter* and the *Common Law* had given them. But ſuch *Judges* as would not judge that ancient Body politick (that had holden their Cuſtoms above 1000 Years) to be diſſolved, were turned out; and all the Freedoms and Principles due to the *Citizens* and their *Heirs*, and to the *City* and their *Succeſſors*, were declared by the *Judges* to be forfeited; his now *Majeſty*'s Inſtruments thereby preparing his Way (under the Shadow of the *late King*) to deſtroy the *Government* of all other *Cities* and *Towns*, by frightning them into Surrenders, or making a *Preſident* for Judgment againſt them; and it hath taken ſuch Effect, that the Term of almoſt all thoſe *Bodies Politick* is illegally changed, and the *Cities* and *Towns* brought to ſuch a forlorn Eſtate, that they have no *Magiſtrates* or *Officers* but at the *King's Will*, and during his Pleaſure.

As there is an actual Subverſion of the Freedom of the *Government* of the *Cities* and *Towns*, the Tenure of their *Magiſtrates*, and their free Cuſtoms being utterly deſtroyed, and thoſe that now exerciſe the Magiſtracies therein being incapable to chuſe freely, and indifferently, and to return legally Members

bers for *Parliament*, ſo there are continual Attempts upon the perſonal Freedom and Indifferency of all the *Electors* for *Parliaments* throughout the *Kingdom*.

His Majeſty has perſonally ſollicited, and attached ſo many of them by His Smiles and Frowns in ſecret, to accept of ſuch for their Deputies in *Parliament* as will comply with His Deſigns, that His *Cloſeting (n) Electors*, is become a *By-word* amongſt the People: He has made them conſent to be barr'd of their Freedom in Electing for *Parliament*, and in Voting therein, if they be choſen to be *a Teſt* of their *Fitneſs* to hold their *Offices* and *Imployments* of Profit and Truſt, and to have Place in the *Magiſtracy*.

The three Queſtions to that Purpoſe, are known to all, which his *Majeſty's Miniſters* required to be anſwered by the *Juſtices* of the *Peace* and all other *Officers*.

The *Lord Lieutenants* of all the *Counties* by the *King's* ſpecial Command, have ſummoned the chief *Officers* and *Gentlemen* in his *Majeſty's* Name, to flatter or terrify them out of the Uſe of their *Freedom* in *Electing* for *Parliament*; and Marks of the *King's Diſpleaſure* have been put upon thoſe that reſolved to keep their Freedom, and Indifferency, to elect worthy and fit Deputies according to their *Judgments* and *Conſciences*.

An unheard of Sort of Commiſſioners as to their Qualities and Inſtructions, are lately ſent from his *Majeſty* throughout *England*, to *delude* or *affright the Electors* into a Choice of ſuch Members for a Convention (to be called a *Parliament*) as will ingage to ſerve his Deſigns of aboliſhing all thoſe *ancient Laws* and *Teſts* that are the only human Securities of the free Profeſſion of our *Religion*, and the cleareſt *authoritative Declarations* of the *Rights* of the *Crown* and the *Liberties* of the People.

There need not be plainer Proofs, that the Ax is lay'd to the Root of our *Civil Government*, as the moſt certain Way to introduce *the Laws* and *Religion* of *Rome*. Yet to convince the whole World in this Matter: His *Majeſty* has publiſhed a *ſecond (o) Declaration*, wherein He has poſitively declared his Mind, that none ought to be imployed under Him in the *Kingdom*, who will not contribute to theſe his Deſigns, and chuſe ſuch *Members* of *Parliament* as may do their Part to finiſh what He has begun. He has pronounced all that ſhall refuſe it, to be neither *good Chriſtians* nor *Lovers* of their *Country's Wealth* and *Power*; and He declares, that He has begun his intended Form of *Government* ſuitable to thoſe Principles, having turned out by his *abſolute Will* many *Civil* and *Military Officers* throughout the Kingdom in purſuance of this great Work.

This puts it out of Diſpute, that his *Majeſty* thinks He ought not to ſuffer any *free Election* for *Parliament*, whilſt there are ſuch Numbers of *faithful Proteſtants* to conteſt for the *Elections*, who cannot in Conſcience contribute to the Work He has begun; That is, upon Pretence of *Liberty of Conſcience* to

(*n*) Note, that the King's Practice of *Cloſeting* Members of Parliament, was the ſame as it's now for *Electors*.

(*o*) See the King's Second Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, *April* 27, 1688.

allow his *Majeſty* to ſurrender unto the *Pope* the *Rights* and *Freedom* of the *Crown* and the *Kingdom*, or to acknowledge, that the People of *England* ought by the Laws of GOD and CHRIST to be ſubjected to the *Church of Rome's Laws* and Juriſdictions in their Perſon, and great Part of their Eſtates. That the *Pope* and his *Prieſts* and Canoniſts ſhould Judge them by their Canons, in the Lawfulneſs of their Marriages and Contracts, and legitimate or baſtard their Heirs as they pleaſe; that the Diſpoſal of their *Goods* and *Chattles* by their *Laſt-Wills*, their *Debts* about *Tythes*, and their *good Names* and *Bodies* on Pretence of *Penances*, ſhould be in their Power and Will.

This is the *Work begun* by his *Majeſty*, which diſhonours and debaſes the *Engliſh Imperial Crown*, and ſubverts the native Freedom and the civil Properties and Intereſts of *Engliſh* Men.

Thoſe are the proper Matters and Occaſions of moſt of our *penal Laws* in Matters *Eccleſiaſtical*, to prevent the Fraud and Danger of *holy Pretences* for ſuch *unrighteous Attempts* againſt our natural and civil Properties.

Our *penal Laws* are to puniſh Offences againſt the *Civil Government* and human Society, tho' they be about Matters *Eccleſiaſtical*, the Subjects of *England* cannot pretend to be exempted from them, becauſe of their Conſciences, any otherwiſe than they may wickedly claim to be free from the *penal Laws* againſt *Felonies* and *Murders*, if they ſhall plead that they robbed or killed according to their Conſciences.

His *Majeſty's* avowed Intent and Endeavours are to free the *Emiſſaries* of *Rome's Prieſts* and *Papiſts* from the Puniſhments and Dangers of thoſe our *penal Laws*, againſt ſuch manifeſt Attempts, upon the Freedom, Rights, and Properties of the *Realm*, that his new erected *Popiſh Colleges*, His *Convents* of *Monks*, His four *provincial Biſhops*, and His numerous *Prieſts*, may be authorized by Him without *Force of Laws*, to maintain the *Church of Rome's Canons* to be of greater Authority than the *Laws* of the *Realm*, to declare all the Power of Magiſtracy in *Proteſtants* Hands to be unlawful, and all Right and Title to their Eſtates forfeited to the *Papiſts*, by their being *Proteſtants*, to own and juſtify Diſpenſations from *Rome*, with their Obedience to all ſuch Laws of the *Realm*, as the *Pope* and his *Prieſts* diſlike, and profeſſedly to hold Communion with the *Church of Rome*, the *French King*, and all Foreign *Papiſts*, that declare themſelves mortal Enemies to the Religion and Power of the *Proteſtants*, to contrive with them the Suppreſſion or Extirpation of them out of the *Realm*.

This Work, *his Majeſty* hath ſo far begun, that he hath ſuſpended and ſtopped the Execution of the *penal Laws* againſt all theſe *high Crimes*, ſome whereof the ancient *Papiſts* of this Kingdom made *Capital*; and he declares all ſuch *Proteſtants* as will not help to finiſh it, not to be qualified as *Chriſtians* or *Engliſhmen* for any *Imployment* in the *Kingdom*, and therefore leaſt of all to be *Members* of *Parliament*. Hereby his *Majeſty* attempts to confine the *Electors* in their Choice to ſo ſmall a Party, that he allows them not the Choice of one of *forty* whom our *Laws* make capable of being elected for *Parliament*, the Number is ſo ſmall (profeſſed *Papiſts* excepted,) out of which his Will is to have *Members* of *Parliament* choſen, that our *Laws* will judge it no Choice

if

if he can impoſe his Will upon the *Kingdom*, as he hath declared it.

Hereby *your Highneſſes* may be ſatisfied, that our Caſe is deplorable, it ſeems not ſufficient for our *Popiſh Enemies*, to ſeek the Abolition of all our ancient *Penal Laws*, that are not agreeable to thoſe new invented Doctrines, and pernicious Practices of the preſent *Church* of *Rome*, which the *Penal Statutes* ſhew, to have been abhorred by our ancient *Engliſh* (*p*) *Papiſts*, but their Deſign is to deſtroy the Conſtitution and Form of the free Government of the Kingdom, from whence aroſe all thoſe *Penal Laws* againſt their *Churches*, *proud Domination*, and their Uſurpation of the Rights of the *Crown*, and the whole Realm.

They know by our Hiſtories and Records, that the free Parliament always made the Complaints from Age to Age, againſt their pernicious Claims of Power over our *Kings*, our *Laws*, our *Courts* of *Judicature*, and their Judgments; and againſt their *Exactions*, *Impoſitions*, *Frauds* and *Deluſions* of the People, with their *ſuperſtitious Folly*, whereby they gained a (*q*) third of the Revenues of *England*, and drew ſo much Money to *Rome*, that they impoveriſhed, and almoſt ruined the *Kingdom*.

They are ſenſible, that they have been able to enſlave to the *Pope* and *Prieſts* ſeveral of the greateſt *Engliſh Kings*, that they could prevail with the *King* for *Licences* and *Pardons* to them to tranſgreſs the Laws that the Parliament made, to preſerve the Subjects Rights and Properties, and that the Parliament only cauſed new *Laws* to be made for declaring ſuch (*r*) *Licences*, *Diſpenſations*, and *Pardons* of the *King* void and null.

They know that they have perſuaded ſeveral of the *Kings*, that *the Pope* could abſolve their Conſcience from all Obligation by the Laws, and from *Agreements*, *Promiſes*, and *Oaths* to their Kingdom, (*s*) to maintain their great *Charters*, and all their *Laws* and *Liberties*; and that they prevailed upon one of them, to reſign the (*t*) Kingdom intirely to the *Pope*, and to hold it of him by Rent; and they underſtand, that the *People*, in free Parliament only, made and declared all ſuch *Diſpenſations* and *Reſignations void* and *null*, and juſtly required thoſe *Kings* to *renew* their *Oaths* to the Kingdom, to preſerve their Liberties; and ſcorned, (with Indignation,) the *Pope's* Demands (*v*) of his pretended Rent for the *Kingdom*, declaring, that their *Kings* had no ſuch patrimonial Right in the Kingdom, to ſubject it to any Powers on Earth.

They cannot hope, that a freely choſen Repreſentative of this Kingdom can ſuffer ſuch a Deluſion to be put upon them, to be perſuaded, that due Chriſtian Liberty of Conſcience requires them either to allow the foreign *Romiſh Laws* or *Canons* to conteſt for Power and Place with the *Laws* of *England*, or to ſuf-

(*p*) See the grievous Complaints of the Commons, in 25 *Ed.* III. 4. Proviſos, and 6 *Rich.* II. 5. 27 *Ed.* III.

(*q*) See Parliament Roll 4 *Hen.* IV. 1 *Hen.* V.

(*r*) See the Statutes 3 *Hen.* V. Statutes 4. 7. *Hen.* IV. 8.

(*s*) So the Pope abſolved *Hen.* III. and *Ed.* I. from their Oath to keep the *great Charter*.

(*t*) *King John made.*

(*v*) See the Roll Part. 40. *Ed.* III. Num. 8. Rot. Claus. 3 *Ed.* I. calls King *John's Charter*, and granted to the *Pope* a moſt unjuſt and forceleſs *Charter*; ſince burnt.

fer any of the Subjects of *England* openly to profeſs themſelves, their *Perſons*, *Marriages*, or *Eſtates*, to be ſubject to any Foreigner's Juriſdiction; and to depend on their Authority, Offices, and Sanctions, and the Exerciſe of them, for their eternal Salvation, (which is, in Truth, to renounce their Subjection to *England*) or to own and avow to have the neareſt Union and Communion with Foreigners, that openly profeſs themſelves mortal Enemies to more than a Hundred to one of the whole Realm, and to be bound in Conſcience to ſeek their Suppreſſion or Deſtruction.

They cannot think, that a free *Engliſh* Parliament ſhould not always know, that no Doctrines of Jeſus Chriſt ever deſtroyed or changed the *Natural* and *Civil* Right of any Perſon or Nation; or allowed, that any Part of the People of a free Country ſhould correſpond with, or depend upon the declared Enemy of the far greateſt Part of it; they have therefore reſolved to overturn the very Foundation of our *Civil Government*, the Peoples *free Choice* of their *Deputies* for *Parliament*, that there may never be a free *Parliament* more in the *Kingdom*, which is *a Plot* much worſe than their *Gun powder Treaſon*.

It ſeems they think it ſafeſt as yet, to keep a Shadow of Elections for their intended Convention, by forming *Bodies politick* of Cities and Towns, to name or return whom the *King* pleaſes, and by the ſpecious Name of *Liberty* of *Conſcience*, with Promiſes of Favour, and Threats of Diſpleaſure, to deceive or affright the other Electors, to accept of thoſe for their Deputies that the *King* ſhall offer; but if this Attempt upon the prime Fundamental of our whole Civil Government ſhall be ſuffered, the King may hereafter, with as much Juſtice, Law and Reaſon, call whom he pleaſeth, from any Parts of the Kingdom, to conſult with, and in the Name, and under Pretence of their Advice, change our Laws and Cuſtoms, impoſe Taxes, and *alter* at his Pleaſure, the *(w) Succeſſion of the Crown*.

We muſt with Sorrow ſhew your Highneſs, that they have ſo far proſecuted this their Deſign againſt our Government, that they have rendred it impoſſible to have a *legal free Parliament* elected and returned, in the preſent State of the Cities and Boroughs, the Sheriffs and Officers, and the Condition of the Electors, great Numbers of them are quite barred of their Freedom and Indifferency to elect, which our Law requires, by the declared Diſpleaſure of the King, and the threatned and certain Loſs of their Offices and Employments and Benefits, if they accept not of ſuch for their Truſtees, as have unworthily reſolved or promiſed to *vote againſt our eſtabliſhed Laws*, as the King will have them, without hearing the Reaſons about them by the Kingdom in Parliament; and as we believe, without knowing the Intent and Purpoſe of the Laws, they promiſe to abrogate.

'Tis not now practicable, to have the *legal free Conſent of the Kingdom*, unto the making or repealing of any Laws, (without which they cannot be obligatory,) until there be a juſt Reſtoration of the Cuſtoms and Liberties of the

(w) Note, That *Cromwell* took upon him ſuch a Power, to ſend for Men by his Letters, without *Election*, and called them a Parliament, and made Acts, and intended to have changed the Succeſſion of the Crown to his own Family, if thoſe his Creatures could have agreed with him.

Cities

Cities and Boroughs, which have been illegally and treacherouſly ſurrendered, or unduly wreſted from them, and legal Magiſtrates ſhall be duly choſen, to execute Writs for Elections, and make Returns, until there be a Revocation of the King's terrifying *Declaration* of the Unfitneſs for *Parliament*, and publick Employment of all that will not help to finiſh his great Work begun, of deſtroying all our *Penal Laws*, for preventing the *Popiſh Practices* againſt the *Rights of the Crown*, and the Realm.

Nor, until there be an abſolute Renunciation of all the Promiſes, Engagements and Subſcriptions of the Electors of Parliament taken by his Majeſty's Orders, and Miniſters to reſtrain their Freedom and Indifferency in their Elections. Thus the Cunning and Malice of our Popiſh Adverſaries have cut off all our legal Means of Relief by the free Common Councils of the Kingdom, whilſt they lay cloſe Siege to take our Bodies and Souls Captive.

We need not remember your Highneſſes, that theſe Attempts and Endeavours to ſubvert our Liberty in our Religion and Government, is a Part of that general Deſign, that was formed and concluded on many Years ſince, in the moſt ſecret Councils of the *Popiſh Princes*, chiefly managed by the Jeſuits, to root out of all *Europe* the Profeſſion of the Proteſtant *reformed Religion*, and the Peoples *Liberties*.

We will not mention the notorious actual Proſecutions of that Popiſh Reſolution, in ſeveral Kingdoms and *(x)* Dominions, nor the treacherous Falſeneſs of thoſe Princes in their Treaties, Agreements and Oaths, nor the Oppreſſions, Bloodſhed, and all Kinds of Unrighteouſneſs that have been practiſed by them, in order to that general great Deſign.

The Inſtance alone of the *French King* is enough to be named inſtead of all, becauſe he hath owned and publiſhed to the whole World his Part in that Deſign, and by comparing the Violences, Baniſhments, and Murders done upon the *Proteſtants* at the ſame Time, by other *Popiſh Princes*, (as they were able) with his publick Confeſſions of his long laid Deſign, we may make a true Judgment of the whole.

The *French King*, by his Edict *(y)* of 1685, hath declared, that *he entred into that Deſign from his coming to the Crown*; and it appears by the Edict *(z)* then prepared, and agreed by his Council of Conſcience, that all his renewed Edicts in the *Proteſtants* Favour, his acknowledging and regiſtring in Parliament their great Services for him, and his Advancement of many of them to the higheſt Dignities Military and Civil in his Kingdom, were done to flatter and deceive them; he calls God to be Witneſs of his Deſigns and Reſolutions at that Time, to aboliſh their Religion by Degrees, and that he

(x) That is in *France*, the Dukedom of *Savoy*, the Kingdom of *Poland*, and many others.

(y) That Edict of 1685 is worthy to be read by every true *Proteſtant*.

(z) 'Tis fit to ſee in that Edict prepared as it's publiſhed the Opinion they have of *Proteſtants*. That they are deemed uncapable of having any Right to claim the Benefit of the Treaties, *Promiſes* or *Oaths* made to them by the *Papiſts*.

only

only attended his fit Opportunity for that great Work, as 'tis called by our King, and by that Edict.

In that Interim of his ſeeming Kindneſs to the *Proteſtants*, and ſolemn Profeſſions to them and ſome of the *Proteſtant Princes*, for their obſerving faithfully the Law and Edict of *Nantz*, that was like the *French* Proteſtants great Charter, there were all poſſible ſecret Contrivances and Practices to prepare for that great Work, eſpecially in *England*, that hath long been the Head of the reformed Religion, and the chief Terror of the *French King* and the *Popiſh World*; he ſhewed his Fear of the People of *England*, when he barbarouſly baniſhed his now Majeſty, and the late King in their Diſtreſs, rather than diſpleaſe *Cromwell*, ; he therefore applied his principal Councils and Endeavours to diſtract and weaken the *Proteſtants* of *England*, and to perſuade and aſſiſt the late King covertly to increaſe and ſtrengthen the *Popiſh Party*; for that End, his deareſt Confeſſor the *Jeſuite le Chaiz* was ordered to correſpond with Mr. *Coleman*, that was then Secretary to his now Majeſty, and the *(a)* Letters confeſſed by him before Thouſands, ſhewed, that the Matter propoſed was, *to root out of the World the Proteſtant Religion*, under the Name of the Northern Hereſy; and ten Times more of the Particulars of that wretched Deſign had appeared, if all Mr. *Coleman*'s lateſt Letters for two Years and a Half, that were brought to *Whitehall*, and many culled out of the reſt, had not been there ſuppreſſed, and kept from the Sight of the Parliament; yet Mr. *Coleman* on his Tryal confidently avowed, before all the People, that Deſign of *Subverting the Proteſtant Religion*, and that he was only a ſubordinate Miniſter in it.

It appears by thoſe Letters, that the *French King*'s Money was to manage that Work, and the Letters brought into Parliament by the now Lord *Mountague*, acknowledged by the late King, to be written by his Order, prove to the World, that the late *King* was content to become the *French King's Penſioner*, for *five Hundred Thouſand Pound per Annum*, to keep off the Meeting of Parliaments. We had then diſcovered the *Increaſe of Popery*, and the *Danger of the Proteſtant Religion*; and had thereupon formed the *Parliament's Teſt*, and were preparing other Laws for Security againſt the *Popiſh* Deſigns.

It hath alſo been manifeſt to the World, that all Kind of Devices and Artifices that the *Jeſuits* Councils could invent, were, about the ſame Years, uſed to pervert the Faith and Religion of the *United Provinces*, or to betray them into the *French King's Power*, or at leaſt a Dependance upon him.

'Tis now notorious to the World, that an Agreement was made between the *French King* and his late *Majeſty* of *England*, to ſubdue and divide thoſe *Provinces*, that they might no more be either a Support, or Refuge for the *Proteſtants*. We crave Pardon for our Boldneſs, that we humbly appeal to your *Highneſs*, whether your Integrity and Conſtancy in the *Proteſtant Religion*, and your Fidelity to your Country's Freedom, were not, about thoſe Years, vainly attack'd by thoſe two Kings, or at leaſt by one of them; and whether the Piety, Generoſity, and brave Scorn and Indignation expreſſed at their

(a) See in *Coleman*'s Letters in Print, publiſhed by the Parliament's Command.

Pro-

Propoſals, did not fix an Enmity in their Hearts againſt you, the Effects whereof you have ſuffered ever ſince.

The World hath alſo ſeen the Effects of the *French King's* Proſecution of the ſame Deſign, to take away the Support of the *Proteſtant Intereſt*, by his Penſions to the chief Men of the Kingdom of *Sweden*, and to ſuch as he could prevail with in the Court of *Brandenburg*, and all other Princes Courts that adhere to the *Proteſtant Intereſt*.

Yet the Chief of his Expence was upon our late King, and his Miniſters and Counſellors, who concurred in all the ſecret Practices and Contrivances to weaken the Power of the *Proteſtants*, and to ſuffer the Greatneſs, Glory and Terror of the *French King* to be advanced; but he durſt never openly and avowedly join with him in the great Work againſt the *Proteſtant Religion*, for Fear of his *Proteſtant Subjects*, he having deluded them, with ſo many ſolemn Proteſtations, of his Faithfulneſs to their Religion, and their Liberty.

The *French King* found, by Experience, that the *Parliaments* had prevailed with our King, to break all the Meaſures that they had taken together, for the Deſtruction of the *United Provinces*, by obliging him to a ſeparate Peace with them, which had forced him to let fall his then ſpreading Plumes, and in crafty Ways, to ſeek and ſollicit a Truce; and therefore he durſt not, during our King's Life, put in Execution his great Work, that he declares had been ſo long in his Heart, that by Torments, Murders, and all Sorts of barbarous Cruelties, to oppreſs the Profeſſors and Profeſſion of the *Reformed Religion*, and intirely to raze and expunge the Memory of it, as his Edicts and his Practices now declare to be his Intentions.

The *French King* durſt not throw off his Diſguiſe, and ſhew himſelf to be like a raving Wolf to his *Proteſtant Subjects*, until our now King had publickly eſpouſed the *Popiſh Deſign*, which he had, together with him, long proſecuted in the Dark, and until he had begun to invade the *Proteſtants Liberties*, and Securities, his putting the *Military Powers* into *Popiſh Hands*, and to demand the *Parliament's* Conſent to a Law, (which they refuſed) to authorize him, to make his *Papiſts* the *Guardians* of the *Proteſtant Religion and Lives*.

The *French King* then knew, that the People of *England* were in no Capacity to interpoſe in Behalf of his *Proteſtant Subjects*, however he ſhould deſtroy them; and as his Edict ſays, being by the Truce without Fear of Diſturbance, he intirely applied himſelf to the great Deſign; he ſent his *Dragoons* to deſtroy the poor *Proteſtants* Goods, and to torment their Bodies with more Cruelty and Inhumanity than ever was practiſed ſince the Creation; he reſolved, for his Glory, (as his Clergy told him) *to ſhew himſelf the firſt and moſt illuſtrious of the Church's Children, and the Extirpater of the Proteſtant Hereſy*, which they told him, was a more ſolid and immortal Title than he acquired by all his Triumphs.

He then preſented that Work of Extirpation, as *Saul* did to ſtrange Countries, breathing out Threatnings and Slaughter; he ſent to the Duke of *Savoy*, and as that Court complains, perſuaded and frighted that Prince into a moſt unchriſtian and bloody *Decree*, to compel the moſt ancient *Proteſtants*

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in the Vallies of *Piedmont*, to turn *Papists* forthwith; and they being faithful to their Religion, that Edict was pursued by the Help of his *Dragoons*, and the harmless *Protestants* tormented and murdered more cruelly than the worst of *(b)* Vermine or Serpents, until they were utterly destroyed, and their Country given to the *Papists*. That Court of *Savoy* seems still *(c)* ashamed of that horrid Wickedness, and says for their Excuse, *That the* French *King declared he would root out those Protestants by his own Force, and possess the Country, if the Duke would not have assisted therein.*

The Suppression of the *Protestants* of *England*, hath been always esteemed the principal Part of the *Popish* Design, to extirpate the *Protestant Religion*, and therefore all the *Romish* Councils, Policies and Industries, their Conspiracies, Poisoning and Massacres, have been long employed about it, and have perfectly gained our now *King* to serve their Design; they have united him with the *French King*, that their conjoined Councils, Treasures and Strength, may finish their Work, of bringing *England* to the Obedience of their Church. 'Tis many Ways evident, that both the *Kings* are under the like Conduct, and *our King* proceeds in the same Methods against us, wherein the *French King* hath been successful, to destroy the *Protestants* of his Kingdom. His first Attempt is to *subvert our Civil Government and Laws, and the Freedom and Being of our Parliaments*, just as the *French King* first invaded the supreme legal Authority of *France*, which was vested in the Assembly of Estates, from whom alone he now derives his Crown. Our King, in Imitation of his Brother of *France*, strives to bring all the Offices and Magistracy of the Kingdom, that were legally of the People's Choice, to be solely and immediately depending on his absolute Will for their Being, whether they arise by our Common Law, or be instituted by Statutes or Charters. He endeavours, by various Artifices, to bring the Disposal of all the Properties and Estates of the People, and their Lives and Liberties, to be at his meer Will, by a Perversion of the instituted Course of our Juries, and by *Judges* and a *Chancellor* fit for that Purpose, and every Moment dependant on his Will; he seeks to make his *Proclamations* and *Declarations* to have as much Power over our Laws, as the *French King's* Edicts: And after his Example, he establisheth a mercenary Army, to master and subdue the People to his Will.

If he can prevail in these Things, to overturn the Civil Government, then the Liberty of the *Protestant* Profession and of Conscience in all Forms, however seemingly settled by him, will be precarious, and he may as easily destroy it, as the *French King* hath abolished the irrevocable Edicts, Treaties or Laws of his Kingdom confirmed by his Oath, which were as good Security to those Protestants, as any *Magna Charta* that our King can make for us, or any Act of a Convention with the Name of a Parliament, which is possible for him to hold, in the State unto which he hath reduced the Kingdom.

Our *King* hath the same *French* Copy, by which he writ, assuring the Protestants of Grace and Clemency, giving them Promises of equal *Liberty*

(b) See the Relation of it printed.
(c) See Dr. *Burnet's* Letter from his personal Enquiry.

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of Conſcience with his *Papiſts*, in preferring unto Offices and Employments thoſe whom he reſolves to ſuppreſs and ruin, preventing the Execution of Laws, and in allowing Liberty of Conſcience in ſome Notions, and the outward Forms of Worſhip in the Chriſtian Religion, provided always, that they have no Regard or Conſcience for the Subſtance of Chriſt's Religion in Juſtice and Righteouſneſs, nor ſtumble at complying with him, or aſſiſting him, in the higheſt Crimes againſt Jeſus Chriſt, by invading the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom, and aſſuming a forcible Domination, to oppreſs whom he pleaſe, which is a Subverſion of the very Foundation of Juſtice and Love amongſt Men, and by Conſequence of the Religion preached and eſtabliſhed by Chriſt.

Theſe Matters of Fact are Self-Evidences, and clearly ſhew, that our grievous Oppreſſions by our King are the Effects of the united Councils of the Popiſh Intereſt, whereof the *French* King is the Chief. That the Conſpiracy againſt true Religion and Liberty that now appears in *England*, comprizes all the Proteſtant Princes and States in *Europe*; *England* is only firſt attacked, as the principal Fortreſs of the Proteſtant Profeſſion, if the three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* can be reduced into the Pattern of the *French* King, in Government and Religion, and the Strength of them be united againſt any ſingle Proteſtant State or Prince they ſhall think fit to aſſault, if they can, by Artifices, keep the reſt divided, which will not be hard for them, for there is little Hope of any long Defence of ſuch a State.

The *French King* ſeems not unwilling to have it known, that the Popiſh Deſign is general, againſt all Profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion, tho' eſpecially againſt *England*; he hath allowed the Biſhop of *Coſnaet*'s Speech to him at *Verſailles* in 1685 to be publiſhed, who was authorized to be the Mouth of the Clergy of that Kingdom; he magnifies the King for ſuppreſſing the *Proteſtants* of his own Kingdom, and aſks what they may not yet expect; *England*, ſaith he, is juſt offering to your Majeſty one of the moſt glorious Occaſions that you can deſire; the *King of England*, by the Need which he will have of Succour, and of the Support of your Arms, to maintain him in the *Catholick Faith*, will make you quickly find Occaſion, to give a Protection wholly of your ſelf. We know very well, before the *French* Clergy declared it by that Biſhop, that the ſame Head that contrived the Perverſion or Deſtruction of ſo many Millions of the Proteſtants in that Kingdom, deſigned the Ruin of the *Engliſh* Religion and Liberty; but it ſurprized us, to ſee that Speech publiſhed by the *French* King's Authority, and that our King ſhould ſuffer the Tranſlation of it to paſs freely in *England*, and through the World. We thought it beneath the Majeſty of a *King of England*, to be content that his Subjects ſhould be told, that he was to come under the Protection of a *King of France*, over whoſe Kings, and Kingdom, his Anceſtors had ſo often triumphed; but it ſeems nothing is to be eſteemed inglorious, that may ſerve the general Popiſh Deſign, of extirpating the Proteſtant Profeſſion.

We need not put your Highneſs in Mind, that the ſame Speech acknowledges, that the Popiſh Councils, and Conſpiracy againſt *England*, intend the like Ruin to the Religion and Freedom of the *United Provinces*; that Biſhop

tells the King, that he hath undertook the Conqueſt of new Countries there to reeſtabliſh the Prelacy, the religious Worſhip, and the Altars; that *Holland* and *Germany* have been the Theatre of his Victories, only that Chriſt might triumph there, that is, that the Papiſts might trample upon the Proteſtants and their Religion; and this he ſpeaks, (as he ſays,) in the very Spirit of the Church, and ſignifies their Hopes of Succeſs againſt the poor Proteſtants to be unbounded, ſaying, *What may we not yet Expect.*

We muſt freely confeſs, we were too ſlow to believe this deſperate Popiſh Plot againſt the whole Proteſtant Profeſſion, and in our particular Caſe, we have been deluded, with our King's Promiſes, to protect and maintain our Religion, our Laws and Government, until we ſee them all undermined, and the Train laid to blow them up, by a packed Convention of Men pre-engaged, perverted or corrupted to ſerve the King's Will and Deſigns, that ſhall aſſume the Name of Parliament: We were not utterly inſenſible of the Danger of our Liberty in our Religion, and our Government, from the Time his now Majeſty declared his late Majeſty to have been a Papiſt; but who ſaw, that by their ſecret conjoined Councils, they had not been able to prevent the making ſome Laws to ſecure the Proteſtants, by excluding Papiſts from our Parliaments, and all Offices and Employments; and we hoped, that our King's Life would not be ſufficient to overturn by Degrees, (as they had begun to proceed,) the excellent Foundations of our Civil Government, nor to extinguiſh the clear Light of the Truths of Chriſt profeſſed in our Religion; and we were aſſured, that your Highneſſes Minds were clearly enlightned in the Doctrines of the Proteſtant Religion, and adorned and accompliſhed with all Chriſtian and Royal Virtues fit to poſſeſs the higheſt Throne.

Thereupon we encouraged each other, to ſuffer with Patience his Majeſty's Attempts againſt our Laws and Liberties, preſuming that your Highneſſes would ere long be our joyful Deliverers, to the everlaſting Confuſion of the Popiſh Deſigns againſt our Government and Religion, and to the Vindication of the Innocency of the Proteſtant Martyrs in all the Kingdoms of *Europe.*

But as your Highneſſes were the greateſt Objects of our earthly Hopes, ſo the Thoughts of her Royal Highneſs's Succeſſion to the Crown, in Conjunction with your Highneſs's Virtues, and Military Proweſs and Magnanimity, were Matters of the greateſt Horrour and Dread to all the Popiſh Councils of *Europe*; they have therefore applied themſelves to various Conſultations, ſometimes it hath been propoſed by his Majeſty's Power, with a Parliament, by the deluding Names of *Liberty of Conſcience*, and a *Magna Charta* therein, to fetter your Highneſs in your Acceſſion to the Crown, with ſuch Conditions as were obtained in Parliament, in the Caſes of Queen *Mary* and *Elizabeth*; which they hoped to ſtrengthen, by his Majeſty's putting the Papiſts into Poſſeſſion of all the Strength and Authority of the Kingdom, united with all the Power of the *French* King, that your quiet Admiſſion to the Throne might not be poſſible, unleſs you ſhould ſubmit unto and depend upon the *Papiſts*, and the Conditions that they ſhould impoſe; but they found it of greater Dif-

Difficulty than they at firſt imagined, to get a Parliament that would join with his Majeſty in ſuch a Project againſt your Highneſſes; therefore ſome of the more cautious *Papiſts*, of conſiderable Fortunes, ſtumbled at the abſolute Force of a mercenary Army, and the *French* Power to put a Force upon the *Heireſs* of the *Crown*; they propounded, that his Majeſty ſhould rather try the Force of his Paternal Power with her Royal *Highneſs*, and uſe all the Arguments of Intereſt to induce her either to change her Sentiments in her *Religion*, or at leaſt to moderate her Thoughts concerning them, and incline her to concur in their full Liberty.

If ſuch Endeavours ſhould be hopeleſs, that then your *Highneſſes* ſhould be at leaſt prevailed with, to declare your Conſents to his Majeſty's Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, and your Concurrence in his Deſires to a *Parliament* for the Repeal of all the *Penal Laws*, in Matters Eccleſiaſtical and the *Teſt*.

It was preſumed, that your *Highneſſes* might have been perſuaded, that the Laws ſuſpended and diſpenſed with by his Majeſty, were only two or three Laws againſt the *Proteſtant Diſſenters* holding their Conventicles, and ſome Laws made ſince the Reformation, only to *compel Papiſts* by great Penalties to come to Church, and to keep their Prieſts out of the Kingdom; and it was hoped, that your Highneſſes Compaſſion to all Chriſtians, and a Tenderneſs for the Liberty of Conſciences, would have moved you, without further Examination, to have complied with his Majeſty's Requeſt.

It was believed, your Highneſſes would never have enquired after the *Penal Laws* in Matters Eccleſiaſtical, made by the ancient *Papiſts* many Hundred Years ſince, againſt the horrid Invaſions by the *Romiſh* Church, on the Rites of the Crown and Realm, whereby they had impoveriſhed, enſlaved, and almoſt ruined the Kingdom; nor that your Highneſſes would have underſtood, that the King hath opened a Return to all thoſe wicked Practices of that *Popiſh* Church, and that the Repeal of thoſe Laws would ſettle them.

It was ſuppoſed, that your Highneſſes had not known, that the *Penal Laws* in Matters Eccleſiaſtical contain moſt of the cleareſt authoritative Declarations, that are extant in any Records of the Rights of the *Engliſh Crown*, of the Form and Conſtitution of our Government, and of the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, the Church of *Rome*'s Claims, Uſurpation and intolerable Abuſes and Oppreſſions, having put a Neceſſity upon the Kings and *Parliaments*, to make thoſe Declarations of Law, that are now ancient Evidences of the Inheritances of the Kings and People of ineſtimable Value.

It was imagined, that your Highneſſes would not have diſcerned the Conſequences of a general Repeal of the Penal Laws in Matters Eccleſiaſtical, that by enacting only his Majeſty's Declaration, (as he propounds there) would be the moſt abſolute and complete Eſtabliſhment of Popery that the *Romiſh Church* can wiſh. All the Canons or Laws of the *Church* of *Rome* ſhall then have greater legal Force in *England*, than they have had in five Hundred Years paſt; and all her Authorities and Juriſdictions over our Perſons and Eſtates will be in the ſame Manner legal, by ancient Uſage, and

approved by *Parliament*, as ever they were heretofore in *England*, Part of *Magna Charta* it ſelf will be repealed, that makes it *penal* to ſuch as the Prieſt ſhall delude to give their Lands to *religious* Houſes.

There was ſuch a Confidence of deceiving your Highneſſes, and obtaining your Conſent to the Repeal of the *Penal Laws*, that the Prieſts ſpread a Rumour, that you had agreed, and that his Majeſty underſtood you well therein; a falſe Jeſuit had the Impudence to whiſper it as a Secret, that their general Deſign could not miſcarry, ſeeing they were ſecretly aſſured, that the *Prince* of *Orange* would concur in it, when it was ſeaſonable to declare himſelf.

We were certain of the Falſeneſs of thoſe Rumours, ſome of us knowing of Applications that were contrived by his Majeſty's Order to your Highneſs in that Matter; and we were much ſurprized, when a Friend of ours at *Whitehall* told one of us, about the End of *Auguſt* laſt, that the Rumours of your Highneſſes concurring with his Majeſty were ſuddenly huſhed; and that he heard a Whiſper, that it was ſaid with much Anger, that your Highneſſes were obſtinate in your Errors, and thought to make your ſelves popular with the Church of *England*, and he would trouble himſelf no more with you, but you ſhould repent it.

Some few of us, who had often Conferences, concluded, that the King had changed his Meaſures, but could not imagine what was deſigned to offer to a *Parliament*, in lieu of a *Proteſtant* Succeſſor's Conſent, to oblige them to repeal the Penal Laws deſired by his Majeſty. It was not long before we heard it muttered, that the Queen was with Child, and then the *Papiſts* began to triumph, and the Prieſts gave out boldly, that it would ſet aſide her Royal Highneſs's Right to the Succeſſion, tho' it were a Daughter; and ignorantly and impudently affirmed, that if the *Queen* had a Daughter born, after the King came to the Crown, it ought to ſucceed before a Daughter born when he was but a Duke; but none but the Papiſts gave any Credit to the Reports that ſhe was with Child; and the Fable of the Dutcheſs of *Modena*'s Requeſt in Heaven or Purgatory, and the Lady of *Loretto*'s helping her to conceive a Son, for the Sake of a fine Preſent, made all but the *Papiſts* believe it a meer Invention of the Prieſts, whatever ſhould enſue.

The Story of it ſhewed it to be of the Linage of the Popiſh Legends, and was a Matter of Laughter and Deriſion amongſt the People, and a Subject for Poets Lampoons, which were ſo common, that they were in *Whitehall* it ſelf, and no Doubt they came to the Knowledge of his Majeſty, and moſt of his Court. The more ſerious Proteſtants preſently apprehended, that a ſuppoſitious Son was deſigned to abate your Highneſſes growing Reputation and Power; all the Proteſtants of *Europe* then juſtly looking upon her Royal Highneſs as Heireſs apparent to the *Engliſh* Crown, and your Highneſſes in all Reſpects to be the fitteſt Head for the Proteſtant Intereſt, againſt the general Popiſh Deſign.

They knew this Device to be neceſſary, for ſupporting the Glory and Terror of the *French* King, againſt the gr atning Reputation of your Highneſſes, by the Expectancy of the *Engliſh* Crown; 'tis known, that he dreads

dreads your Highneſſes Vindication and Recovery of your own Rights, from his manifeſt Violence and Rapine, and your Patronage of the Proteſtant Intereſt in all *Europe*, againſt his arbitrary and bloody Deſigns.

He knows, that if her Royal Highneſs ſucceeds to the Crown of *England*, he will be quickly incapable of proſecuting his cruel intentions againſt the Proteſtants of other Countries; and it may be ſcarce capable of ſupporting his Grandeur and Triumph over his miſerable Subjects.

The very Expectation for eight or nine Months, that the Queen might bring forth a Son, was greatly for the Popiſh Advantage; if the Trick ſhould have failed in the Iſſue, by any unlucky Accident, it made a Stand for a Time of the Proteſtants of all Countries, in the great Expectations from your Highneſſes; it raiſed triumphant Hopes in all Popiſh Countries; it ſtrengthned the *Engliſh Papiſts* Hands and Hearts to proſecute their Deſign vigorouſly, it encouraged corrupt and Time-ſerving *Proteſtants* in Profeſſion to fall in with their Party, and prevailed with many weak Diſſenters, to make them believe a Succeſſion of Popiſh *Princes*, and that their Liberty of Conſcience is only to be expected from them; and that therefore they ought to ſerve in their Employments.

When we ſaw the Incredulity and Mockery of the Multitude, at the Story of the Queen's great Belly, and the ſad Apprehenſions of the more conſiderate, that for the politick Support of the Popiſh Deſign, a Counterfeit Son of the King's might be impoſed on the Kingdom, we reſolved to obſerve and keep Memorials of the Riſe, Progreſs and Iſſue of the whole Matter, (as far as we could get Intelligence,) we preſently perceived, that the Popiſh Prieſts were the prime Reporters, and moſt confident Aſſerters of the undoubted Truth of the Matter; and they boldly took upon them to preſage, that the Queen was with Child of a Boy, that was to finiſh the Settlement of their *Church* in *England*, as certainly as if they had ſeen the *Fœtus* perfectly formed in her Womb; or rather as if they had been privy to the Plot of a ſuppoſitious Boy, and had their Cue in the Management of it.

Their Manner of Talk and Boaſting increaſed the general Suſpicion, we knew that Sort of Prieſts maintained the vileſt Wickedneſſes to be lawful for their Church's Service, and that they have been notorious for Impoſtures and Forgeries of all Sorts; they once forged an *Eternal Goſpel*, (as they called it) to ſupport the Orders of the *Mendicant Fryers*; and if we may believe ſome of themſelves, they have a Father Titler in ſome rich Convents, to forge Titles to any Man's Lands adjoining to theirs, when the Convents have a mind to them: Thoſe Prieſts contrived Queen *Mary's* great Belly, for a Counterfeit Heir to the Crown, to have carried on their Catholick Cauſe, and as great publick Triumph and ſolemn Prayers for her Belly were made at *Rome*, and in all Popiſh Countries, as have been made in our Queen's Caſe: but their Deſign was unluckily croſſed, when her Deliverance was expected, and their Joys and Prayers vaniſhed in Smoak.

Some of thoſe Prieſts were the Agents for the bloody and unnatural Uſurpation of our King *Richard* III. A Prieſt preached at *Paul's* Croſs, to make the People believe, that King *Edward* IV. his elder Brother, whoſe Sons King

King *Richard* had murdered, was a Baſtard, not the lawful Son of *Richard* Duke of *York*; and that *Richard* was the true legitimate Son, and had been a long Time wronged of the Crown belonging to him.

It was a Prieſt's Invention and Management, to ſet up *Lambert Symnell* a Baker's Son againſt *Henry* VII. counterfeiting him to be Earl of *Warwick*, and laying Claim to the Crown, and was proclaimed King in *Ireland*, and marched into *England* with a good Army, to maintain his Pretence: And by the like Advice, *Perkin Warbeck* another Counterfeit, was ſet up againſt the ſame *Henry* VII. by *Margaret* Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, to be *Richard* the younger Son of *Edward* IV. and made ſuch a conſiderable Party in *Ireland*, and was ſo received and aſſiſted in *Scotland*, that he bid fair for the Crown: And we could not forget, what a cheating Trick the Jeſuits invented and practiſed of latter Years, about procuring an Heir to a Crown that is become their chief Support in *Europe*.

The Remembrance of theſe, and many other wicked Frauds of the *Romiſh Prieſts* of the like Import, to change the Succeſſions of Crowns to ſerve their Church, and ſeeing them ſo buſy and induſtrious to prepoſſeſs the *People's* Minds, with an Opinion that the Queen had a great Belly, and that it was a Son, when it was impoſſible in Nature to be known, if ſhe had been then really pregnant. Theſe Things we ſay put together, confirmed our Suſpicions, that they acted a Part as they were influenced, and that a counterfeit Son might be reſolved on, to be ſet up for Prince of *Wales*, as common Fame confidently reported.

The Collections and Obſervations we have ſince made, of the Things that occurred during the Queen's ſuppoſed Pregnancy, and about her pretended Delivery of this Son, hath made the Truth of the Matter ſo plain in our Apprehenſions, that now we no more ſuſpect, but conclude and believe this pretended Prince of *Wales* to be a meer Counterfeit; and we hold it our Duty to your Highneſs, to our Country, and to the whole *Proteſtant Intereſt*, (this Child being ſet up againſt all theſe,) to ſet before you all the Memorials we have taken in the whole Matter, ſeveral of us having been at laſt very near the Court, during the whole Tranſaction.

We crave Leave to put your Highneſſes in Mind, that before we can convincingly ſet forth the ſpecial and particular Facts and Circumſtances that we have remarked in this Matter, 'tis neceſſary, that we firſt remember and evince the Truth of ſome general Concluſions about the Proofs and Evidences, whereby a true Judgment ought to be made of this ſuppoſed Prince; and if your Highneſſes ſhall be clearly ſatisfied in the Truth of thoſe Concluſions, whereof we cannot doubt, you may be fully convinced by them alone, without further Heſitation or Enquiry, that this ſuppoſed Prince of *Wales* cannot be juſtly judged, by any Kind of Rules of Juſtice or Law whatſoever, to be in Truth born of the Queen.

The firſt certain Concluſion to be remembred is this, That by the univerſal Rules of Juſtice and Equity, any Child of our Queen's, (that was expected or hoped to be the Heir of the Crown of three *Kingdoms*, and to poſtpone or ſet aſide an undoubted Heireſs apparent, and alſo the Right Expectant

pectant of a warlike Prince, and divers Princeſſes of the Blood) we ſay, ſuch a Child ought to have been atteſted to be born of the Body of the Queen, of the perſonal certain Knowledge of proper Witneſſes, ſuitable to the Caſe and Concern, in ſo great a Number, and of ſuch unſpotted Fame, undoubted Authority, and perfect Indifferency, that the Proofs of its Birth could never have been reaſonably drawn into Doubt or Queſtion, either in *England*, or any other Chriſtian Kingdoms or States.

A Son of the *Queen's* Body had naturally and really made an Entry in the Moment of his Birth, upon the apparent Right of her Royal Highneſs: She had thereby rightfully ceaſed to be Heireſs apparent to the Crown, and no Rules of natural Civil Juſtice, nor the Law of any Civil Government, will allow or ſuffer Entries to be made, and Perſons to be outed of the Rights they apparently had in Judgment of Law, without ſufficient Proof, either of Right Paramount to the others, or a Determination of theſe former Rights apparent.

Our *Engliſh* Laws, and ſpecial Statutes for that Purpoſe, abhor any Entry upon the apparent legal Right of another, either of the Will of the *King*, or of any Subject; the Admiſſion of ſuch a Practice is abſolutely deſtructive of Property, and all Civil Juſtice and Government, it diſſolves the whole Civil Government, and turns all into the confuſed Courſe of natural Right, whereſoever a Civil Government and Property is eſtabliſhed on Entry of Will upon the legally apparent Right of others, without ſufficient Manifeſtation of their own greater or better Rights, is directly contrary to God's eternal Law, of all Righteouſneſs amongſt Men.

Upon theſe certain infallible Foundations we build our Concluſion, that this Suppoſed *Prince* of *Wales*, born of the Body of the Queen, ought, by the Laws of *England*, the fundamental Rules of all Civil Juſtice and Government, and by the unalterable Laws of God, to be manifeſtly proved by them that pretend it beyond all poſſible Contradiction, in ſuch Manner as is deſcribed and ſpecified in the preceding Concluſion; and ſuch Proofs ought to have been publickly divulged and made known to *England* and the World, before his Patrons ought to have entred in his Name, upon her Royal Highneſſes Right, in the Judgment of our Laws, to be ſtiled and reputed the Heireſs apparent to the Crown of *England*, and to aſſume to him that Honour and Glory, which her Highneſs juſtly had in *England*, and all the Kingdoms and States of *Europe*, to be apparently the next Succeſſor to the Crown of *England*.

Queſtionleſs all the civilized Kingdoms in the World that are hereditary, have purſued theſe Principles of Juſtice and Reaſon in their common Cuſtom, to have their Princes born in the Preſence of the Princes of the Blood, the chiefeſt Men of Religion, and the greateſt Nobles and Officers in the higheſt Truſt for the Kingdom, and the Ambaſſadors and Miniſters of Foreign Kingdoms and States. That the Heirs of thoſe great Inheritances might be ſo known and manifeſt, that it might not be poſſible for any Controverſies to ariſe about their Births, and their being the Lineal Heirs of the reſpective Kingdoms. Whenſoever Rights of any Kind are obtained, merely by Vir-

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tue of Birth, thoſe that claim them are bound to prove, by Witneſſes ſuitable to the reſpective Circumſtances of every Caſe, the Reality of their pretended Birth, at their Peril of being juſtly excluded from the Rights they demand; yet Juſtice does not always require the like Witneſſes and Clearneſſes of Teſtimony, about the Birth of all common Perſons, the Circumſtances of their Caſes being ſo different, that Witneſſes of ſuch Qualities, and in ſuch a Number, as may be ſufficient Proof for the Birth of one Heir, may juſtly be judged inſufficient for the Birth of another.

But the Birth of the pretended *Prince* of *Wales* was attended with ſuch Circumſtances, that Juſtice required, that his Birth of the *Queen* ſhould have been teſtified by a Plenty of ſuch Witneſſes, as their Proof might have amounted to the higheſt Degree of Certainty, that is poſſible to be built upon Human Teſtimony; doubtleſs the Circumſtances of his pretended Birth were very extraordinary.

It was generally reputed and believed, that the *Queen's* Sickneſſes and Infirmities had diſabled her to bring forth a living Child; the famous Phyſician Dr. *Willis* ſhewed that Opinion to his Brethren, of one of her Children, when her Majeſty was much ſtronger, ſaying, There were *mala ſtamma Vitæ*; and the popular Opinion therein was confirmed, by ſeveral Years Experience.

It was notorious, that two Hundred to one throughout the Kingdom did not believe the Report, that her Majeſty was with Child, notwithſtanding all that was ſaid of it by the *King* and *Queen*, and the Prayers enjoined thereupon.

That her Majeſty's Pregnancy was as little believed in Foreign Proteſtant Countries, as in *England*, and Pamphlets were publiſhed in ſeveral Countries, as well as in *England*, that declared the Report of the *Queen's* being with Child to be nothing more than an Artifice of the Jeſuits, by thoſe Hopes of a Popiſh Succeſſor to the Crown, to encourage their Catholicks in their Deſigns, and to gain Proſelytes.

It was publickly known, that there was a Jealouſy in the greateſt Part of the Kingdom, that the Popiſh Councils had deſigned to impoſe upon them a counterfeit *Prince of Wales*.

There were alſo Circumſtances about the Birth of this ſuppoſed *Prince* of another Sort, and no leſs important. It was the general Opinion, that the Security or Danger of the Profeſſion of the *Proteſtant Religion*, not only in *England*, but in all the Kingdoms and States of *Europe*, would be the certain Conſequence of her Majeſty's bearing or not bearing a *Prince of Wales*.

The Birth of ſuch a *Prince* was to be a great Diminution of many *Princes* and *Princeſſes*, in their Expectancy and Primity to the Succeſſion to the three Crowns, and threatned *England* with the Danger and Miſery of falling under an Infant *Prince* in Name, and in Truth under the Domination of *Rome*.

All theſe ſpecial Circumſtances attending the Birth of this ſuppoſed *Prince* of *Wales*, being of ſuch Nature, Import and Number, as the like never met together before, in the Expectations of the Birth of any Prince in the World.

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In this Caſe natural Juſtice common to all Nations, and the practical Reaſon of the ſpecial cuſtomary Law of *England*, in the Proof of Matters of Fact, we ſay, both univerſal Juſtice, and the peculiar Law of *England* required indiſpenſibly, that there ſhould have been ſuch proper Proof, that this ſuppoſed Prince was born of the *Queen*, as was anſwerable unto all the ſpecial Circumſtances in the Caſe; ſuch Proof as had comprehended the Objections that might ariſe from every of them, as fully as was poſſible in the Nature of the Things, that the Teſtimony of his Birth might have been ſufficient to have ſatisfied the moſt jealous and diſtruſtful about it, in our own and foreign Countries, and to have removed all the Prejudices againſt it, that were known to have been ſpread far and near, by common Fame.

It was abſolutely neceſſary in Juſtice, Law and Prudence, to have had ſuch Proof of his Birth, as our precedent Concluſion hath aſſerted; that is,

That there had been Teſtimony of it, of perſonal and abſolutely certain Knowledge. Women to have teſtified their perſonal Sight and Perception, of that very individual Child coming naturally out of the *Queen's* Womb, and Men to have witneſſed their immediate free and full Sight and Inſpection of that very Child, by the Womens Aſſiſtance in his pure natural Nakedneſs, with all the known Marks and Tokens of his being juſt ſeparated from the Womb, and from thoſe other Things that are natural to the Birth of a Child, the Effects of ſuch Separation being there viſible, and impoſſible to be hidden; ſuch Teſtimony is always provided for in the Birth of every Prince of the Blood in *France*, tho' never ſo remote from the Crown.

That the Witneſſes of thoſe Matters had been fit and proper Witneſſes, ſuitable to the Greatneſs of the Perſons and Things that might be in Queſtion, and to the vaſt extenſive Conſequence that may inſue thereupon. Nature, or the firſt Light from God created in the Minds of Mankind, dictated the Equity of thoſe *Roman* Imperial Laws, that appointed thoſe which aſſerted Filiation or Marriage to prove them, by fit or proper and moſt unqueſtionable Witneſſes; moſt of the Writers about thoſe Laws ſerve themſelves therein of theſe Words ſeverally, which we will for Shortneſs put together; *Matrimonium & filiationem qui aſſerunt, debent, probare preteſtes, idoneos omni Exceptione majores*; they that alledge a Marriage or a Child being by Virtue whereof they claim, ought to prove it by Witneſſes, that are above or beyond all poſſible Exception: In this Caſe there ought to have been ſuch fit Witneſſes, that nothing could have been objected againſt them in any Reſpect, either by *Engliſhmen* or Foreigners.

That the Witneſſes that Law and Prudence required of both Sexes, had been fit and proper, in Reſpect of their Years, or Age; that the Women had been Matrons, whoſe Gravity and Sobriety were fit to attract ſome decent Reverence from the Men of like Quality, in their expoſing to them nakedly the Works of Nature, as was unavoidably neceſſary.

That they had been fit and proper, in Regard of their Sufficiency of Knowledge and Underſtanding in the Matters of Child-bearing, ſuch as knew by Experience all thoſe Works of Nature, in what Manner the Mothers ought to be, and are cuſtomarily treated in their real Travail and Child-bearing, and

immediately after it, and what are the natural Symptoms in the Mother, that accompanies their real bringing forth of a Child, before it hath been its natural Time of nine Months in the Womb, and at its due natural Time, and alſo the Signs of a Child perfectly grown in the Womb, or brought to Light before its Time of Perfection; it was of Neceſſity that the Witneſſes had been of ſuch Knowledge and Experience in all theſe Matters, or ſo ſufficiently informed about them, by others of Skill and Faithfulneſs, that it might have been evident to the Kingdom, that ſuch Witneſſes could not be impoſed upon, deluded or deceived, by any cunning Artifices, to believe this pretended Prince to have been born of the Queen, if he were in Truth ſuppoſitious and counterfeit.

The general Rules of our Canon Law required, that the Witneſſes had been publickly known to the Kingdom, by their Perſons or their Names, their Intereſts, Concerns or Employments; our fundamental Laws have taken Care, that all Matters of Fact ſhould be decided by Juries of the Neighbourhood where the Facts are done, that the Witneſſes that teſtify them may be known to the Jurors; and Fraud is always ſuſpected, if Perſons unknown to the Neighbourhood of the Facts be produced to witneſs them, unleſs there be manifeſt Reaſon of their Knowledge of the Fact better than thoſe that were near the Place, and known to the Jurors.

The Reaſon of our Law is of impregnable Force in the Caſe of the ſuppoſed Prince, that the Witneſſes of his Birth ſhould be Perſons publickly known, on whoſe Knowledge, Truth and Credit, the whole Kingdom and the Chriſtian World ſhould rely in a Matter of ſuch vaſt Conſequence; obſcure unknown Perſons never publickly named or heard of in this or any foreign Kingdom, and above all obſcure Foreigners, *French* or *Italians*, or others, ought not to be deemed fit or competent Witneſſes, to ſatisfy the Kingdom in this Fact; indeed when Circumſtances are conſidered, it will be evident, that the pretended Teſtimony ought to be rejected; and if it be offered, it juſtly puts a Prejudice upon their Pretences, in Regard there was a whole Kingdom, beſides all the Eminent Miniſters of Foreign Princes and States, out of which Witneſſes might have been ſelected, that were publickly known, and heard of by all the People; and the Neceſſity of it was never more ſo manifeſt in any Caſe, it being known to his Majeſty and his whole Court, that the Queen's being with Child was not generally believed, either in *England*, or Foreign Countries.

Common Juſtice required, that the Witneſſes had been fit and proper, in Reſpect of their high diſtinguiſhing Quality, either that they had been dignified with ſome of the higheſt Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, as Archbiſhops or Biſhops, or had been, by Birth or Creation, of the Degree of the greateſt Nobility of the Kingdom; or that their extraordinary Worth had raiſed their Reputation, and had been honoured with the great and eminent Offices of Truſt in the Realm.

Our Laws are impartial to High and Low, in hearing the Teſtimonies of Witneſſes in every Caſe, and therefore they duly conſider both the Circumſtances of every Fact to be proved, and of every Witneſs, and his Capacity

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to prove it, our Laws indeed judge not Truth and Integrity to be annexed and intailed to Dignity, Nobility, or Greatneſs, yet they juſtly claim the Teſtimonies of Perſon of great Dignity in the Church, or of noble Birth, and raiſed Knowledge and Fortunes, and independent upon others to be more free from Exception, (which this caſe requires,) than thoſe that are of weak Underſtandings, without the Advantage of excellent Breeding and Inſtruction, or indigent, and bound to depend upon Favour of others for their Support, like Nurſes and Midwives, and other Servants.

Therefore, *(Cæteris paribus,)* the Capacity and Probability of knowing the Facts and Indifferency of Witneſſes of high and low Degree being equal, our Laws juſtly allow moſt Weight and Credit to the Teſtimony of dignifyed and noble Witneſſes; and they are therefore required to prove the Fact of a Prince's Birth, whereupon depends the Right and Title to Kingdoms, to exclude the apparent Right of one, and to put another into Poſſeſſion of the ſame.

Our Laws preſume Perſons of ſuch high Degree to have greater Senſe and Regard to Conſcience, more Generoſity and Contempt of Falſhood, and more Tenderneſs of their Honour, than thoſe of low Condition; and upon that Preſumption, Noblemens Affirmation upon their Honour are in many Caſes accepted by our Laws, in lieu of their Oaths, unto which all others are obliged in the ſame like Caſes; and for that Reaſon, their Declarations of the Birth of a Prince, without their making Oath thereof judicially, have been as certainly relied upon by the Kingdom, in the Deſcent of the Inheritance without Diſpute, as if they had ſworn their Knowledge in the Forms of Juſtice.

There are alſo other circumſtantial Reaſons, unto which our Laws have Regard, for the greateſt Value to be put upon the Teſtimony of the Nobility of both Sexes, about the Birth of a Prince; they are moſt accuſtomed to the Preſence and Converſation of the King and Queen.

Such Ladies are juſtly preſumed to be free from too great awful Diſtances, common to thoſe of lower Quality, and to have more Audacity and Confidence to make ſuch near Approaches to the Queen in her Travail and bringing forth, as are neceſſary, that they may be ocular Witneſſes that they have ſeen the Child in its very Birth; and ſuch Nobles are more bold and free, to take ſuch a ſearching View of the Child in its naked Naturals, as may make them knowing Witneſſes of its Birth, and abſolutely certain that they are not deluded with a ſuppoſitious Child.

Such noble Witneſſes are alſo known to have greater Obligations upon them than others, to prevent all poſſible Queſtions and Diſputes, that may ariſe by any Uncertainties about the Succeſſion to the Crown, which may divide and deſtroy the Kingdom, and their great Intereſt and Poſterities: Their Conditions and Fortunes alſo are ſuppoſed, by our Laws, to be above Temptations by Bribes of Wealth or Honour, to connive at Falſhood, or to ſtoop to ſerve a counterfeit Prince.

Upon all theſe Conſiderations, the Witneſſes of the Birth of every *Engliſh* Prince ought to be of ſuch high and noble Quality; and it was known to have been infinitely more neceſſary, that the Reaſon of our Law had been

exactly obſerved in the Caſe of this ſuppoſed Prince, than ever it was ſince the Foundation of the Kingdom, there never was any ſuch Occaſion to have ſtopped the Mouth of publick Fame, or to have ſhewed the juſtly jealous Subjects, that there was ſuch fit and proper Witneſſes, that a Prince was now born of the Queen as were unqueſtionable, without any poſſible Exception, whoſe Truth and Faithfulneſs might be relied upon ſecurely. Juſtice alſo required for full Security, that there had been competent and ſufficient Numbers of thoſe fit and proper Witneſſes, at leaſt that there had been ſo many of them, as were able to obviate all Ways and Practices of Deceit, that it could not have been ſuppoſed to be poſſible that a Fraud had been put upon them.

This Sort of Caution is always juſt and neceſſary, in the Birth of our Princes, but in the preſent Caſe, there could have been no honeſt End, Intention or Pretence to have confined themſelves to a ſmall Number of Witneſſes of Fact, wherein a Kingdom known to be filled with juſt Suſpicions of an Impoſture to be put upon them, were to be ſatisfied merely by the Witneſſes Averment, and a Noble Princeſs alſo to be excluded from being Heireſs apparent to the Crown.

Our Laws require Witneſſes of Facts anſwerable to the Nature and Circumſtances of them, and always require ample Teſtimonies, when the Parties that are obliged to prove them had it in their Powers and Choice, without Charge or Burden to themſelves, to have multiplied their Witneſſes to what Number they had pleaſed, and could not be ignorant of the Uſefulneſs or Neceſſity of it, and yet more eſpecially if the Fact were ſuch, whereby great Benefit was to accrue to them, and anſwerable Loſs unto others; in ſuch a Caſe it would much abate the Strength of the Proof in the Courſe of our Law, if there were ſuch a ſmall Number of Witneſſes, as might leave Room for any Objection, or the leaſt Doubt of the Fact.

The Antient *Roman* Imperial Laws in the Caſes of Subjects, when there was a Poſthumous to be born, that might exclude another Heir apparent: We ſay, thoſe Laws in common natural Equity to prevent a ſuppoſitious Child, appointed thirty Days to be given to the apparent Heir, and all others whoſe Right was concerned of the expected Time of her Travail, and Delivery, that on the Behalf of the Heir apparent, Women might be ſent to be preſent to ſee the Birth of the Child that might become the Heir; that Law confined the Number to five free Women to be ſo ſent, allowing her that was to be delivered to have alſo five Women of her own chuſing, and no more, ſo that the Number to be preſent at her Delivery ſhould not exceed ten, beſides two Midwives and ſix Maid Servants that were no Witneſſes.

This Rule was ſet down poſitively in the Empire, as the Dictate of natural Equity and Prudence; and although *England* hath no poſitive written Law that preſcribes any ſet Number of Friends to be ſent in ſuch a Caſe, by the Heir apparent to ſee the Birth of ſuch a Child, yet the Cuſtom and Practice is in every ſuch Caſe, (tho' no Fraud be ſuſpected) to give Notice to the next Heir, and that ſome of their Friends are cuſtomarily ſent, (to what Number they

they pleaſe,) to be preſent at the Birth of the Child that may be an Heir, to the Excluſion of another.

That Practice with us is not of Favour, but of legal Right, our Common Law generally binds all that ſet up a Claim to any thing that another hath, to give ſuch Notice of his Pretence as is needful to make his juſt Defence, if he can, and to prove the Fact whereby he claims, by ſuch a Number of Witneſſes as may put the Truth of it out of Doubt to the Court of Judicature, but that Number in the Courſe of our Law, is greater or ſmaller, according to the Cauſe that appears of Jealouſy or Diſtruſt of the Truth of the Fact pretended.

Theſe Rules of our Law, and the Reaſons of them fully include the Caſe of a Pretence of a Child to be born to exclude an Heir apparent, and if there were many known Grounds of Suſpicion in any ſuch Caſe that it was deſigned to ſet up a *ſuppoſitious Child*, and a notorious common Fame of it, and no Notice were given of the Time expected of the Child's Birth, hoped to be Heir to the then Heir apparent, or to any that had Expectancies of the Inheritances. We ſay in ſuch a Caſe, by the Rules and Practices of our Laws, a ſmall Number of Witneſſes of the Birth of a Child ought not to be believed, ſince they that ſhould claim for ſuch a Child might, by due Notice to the Parties concerned, have had ſuch Witneſſes as had put the *Child's Birth* beyond all Queſtion.

Certainly by the Reaſon of our Common Law, there ought to be a much greater Number of Witneſſes of the Birth of every of our Princes, than of the Birth of the Subjects Heirs; but our Law require, that the Birth of this pretended Prince of *Wales* ſhould have been proved by a greater Number of Witneſſes than was ever needful heretofore; in the Caſe of a Prince, there ought to have been ſo many fit and proper Perſons preſent at his pretended Birth, that it might have been manifeſt to all that had heard it, that the Eyes of ſo many Witneſſes of ſuch Condition, Knowledge and Judgment could not have been deceived in what they had teſtified to have known, and ſeen, the Number ought to have been ſo conſiderable, that there could have been no reaſonable Suſpicion, that ſo many of both Sexes, and of various Dignities, Honours and Intereſts, (and ſome of them of Conſanguinity with the former Heireſs apparent,) had made a Confederacy amongſt themſelves, to abuſe the Kingdom with a counterfeit Prince, and that ſo many had kept each others Counſel, in a Fraud and Falſhood ſo odious and injurious.

It had been common Prudence as well as Juſtice to the Realm, that the Witneſſes of the Birth had been very many, that amongſt ſuch a Number ſome of them might have been known in one Part of the Kingdom, and others in another Part, and that ſome of their Names and Qualities might have been known in foreign Countries, and for that Reaſon the Miniſters of foreign Princes, (according to Cuſtom) ought to have been ſome of the Witneſſes, the Peoples Knowledge of the Names, Qualities or Perſons of the Witneſſes had much conduced to their fuller Aſſurance of the Truths, it would have appeared to them incredible, and almoſt impoſſible, that the Integrity of ſuch and ſo many Witneſſes could have been attacked either ſeparately or jointly.

But on the contrary, ſeeing Cuſtom and Law required a good Number of fit and proper Witneſſes to have made up a Teſtimony of the Birth of a Prince

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that might have been truly ſaid to have been *omni exceptione majus*, above all poſſible Objections againſt it; and ſeeing the Wit of Man cannot invent a Reaſon why the King and the Patrons of this pretended Prince of *Wales* did not provide ſuch ample and unqueſtionable Teſtimonies, that he was born of the Queen, when they could not be ignorant that it was the Voice of common Fame in *England* and foreign Countries, that her Majeſty's Conception of a Child was merely Fictitious, and that a ſuppoſitious Prince was deſigned; and ſeeing no Excuſe or Pretence is publiſhed for the Neglect or Failure of ſuch a Teſtimony of his Birth, we ſay (the Circumſtances of the Caſe being conſidered) it's moſt unjuſt to expect or demand of your Highneſſes, or of the People of *England*, or of Foreigners, a Belief and Acknowledgment that this pretended Prince of *Wales* was born of the Queen.

As our Common Law informs us who are fit and proper Witneſſes, whoſe Teſtimonies ought to be received in this Caſe, and in the Proof of all matters of Fact reſpectively; ſo the ſame declares who are deemed to be unfit and diſabled to be Witneſſes, in all the various and reſpective Queſtions of Fact, it ſhews whoſe Teſtimonies ought not to be heard, and much leſs believed in divers Sorts of Facts that come into Queſtion; if your Highneſſes and the Kingdom be told of the Preſence of ſuch Perſons to have been at the Birth of this pretended Prince, they ought not by our Laws to be accounted Witneſſes, nor their Averments in the Caſe to be heard by your Highneſſes or the Kingdom, and much leſs to be allowed to be of any Validity in the common Courſe of our Courts of Judicature; if Parties concerned to prove a Fact do knowingly offer for Witneſſes ſuch as our Laws reject in the Facts in Queſtion, it turns to the Prejudice of their other Proof; we are therefore obliged to acquaint your Highneſſes with the Actions, Qualities, Reſpects and Circumſtances that have diſabled many by Force of our common Law to be heard as Witneſſes of the Birth of this pretended Prince of *Wales*.

Firſt, our Laws utterly diſable all thoſe to be heard in the Caſe that have received either Gifts of Money, or Honours, or any other Reward or Benefits whatſoever for their pretended Aſſiſtance about his Birth, or by Reaſon or Occaſion of that Pretence; 'tis the common Practice of our Law, that when a Witneſs is produced, the Adverſe Party may examine him upon his Oath, whether he hath had Money or other Reward or Gift directly or indirectly, for or by Reaſon of the Matter in queſtion, or from the Party in whoſe Behalf he is produced to teſtify, or from any of his Friends; if he cannot acquit himſelf thereof by his Oath, tho' it cannot be proved againſt him, our impartial Law denies ſuch a Perſon not only to be partial in the Caſe, but corrupted, and bribed, and unworthy to be heard.

Our Law will not admit thoſe to be Witneſſes for the Birth of this ſuppoſed Prince of *Wales*, that have any Promiſe, Expectation or Hopes of any Advancement, Office, Place, or Benefit by or under him, if he ſhall be received and allowed by the Kingdom to be Prince of *Wales*; they that cannot purge themſelves by their Oaths, from all ſuch Promiſes, Expectations and Hopes, are not in the Judgment of our Law Perſons indifferent and unconcerned in the Event of the Matter in Queſtion, nor fit to be heard as Witneſſes; their

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Teſtimonies being partly for themſelves and their own Benefit, and the Allowance of ſuch Teſtimonies in Judicature would in Conſequence ſubvert all Civil Juſtice and Government. Our Law excludes all from being Witneſſes to ſupport the Pretence of the ſuppoſed Prince of *Wales*, that have ſuch Dependance on the Patrons and Maintainers of him, that they are in Danger of Damage and Loſs by them of any Kind, if they ſhould diſpleaſe them in their Teſtimony. Our Laws judge all ſuch not to be free and of their own Right in the Caſe, but bound to ſerve and pleaſe the Patrons of the Cauſe, and therefore preſume that they may be corrupted, by Fear of loſing the Advantages they love, if they ſhould impartially declare the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth of the Matter.

Our Laws ſeek to know the naked and intire Truth of all Facts that come into legal Queſtion or Conteſt, and will not admit of any to be Witneſſes of them, unleſs they appear to be free from Fears of any Prejudice to themſelves, by ſpeaking the Truth impartially. We are inforced by the Concern of all the Proteſtants, to ſpeak more plainly than we would, we muſt ſay, that all that hold Offices of Profit and Honour, during the King's Will, are, by the Laws of *England*, excluded out of the Number of fit and competent Witneſſes about the Birth of this Child, whom his Majeſty hath proclaimed and maintains to be Prince of *Wales*; our good Laws have Regard to human Infirmities, and will not put a Temptation upon Men, to ſuffer them to be Witneſſes in Matters wherein they may damnify themſelves in the Loſs of their Offices, if they happen to diſpleaſe their Maſter in his Concern in the Caſe, by teſtifying clearly the whole Truth of it, they are not free in the Judgment of our Laws, to ſpeak the Truth without Fear, and for that Reaſon are not to be received by the Kingdom as Witneſſes in this Caſe.

Our Laws will never allow or ſuffer any to be Witneſſes in this Caſe, who are known or may be proved to have Enmity or Prejudice of any Kind, upon any Account whatſoever to her Royal Highneſs, againſt whom moſt immediately this ſuppoſed Prince contends, ſhe having been moſt unqueſtionably the Heir apparent of the Crown, and juſtly ſo remaining, until the Kingdom ſhall be ſatisfied by a ſufficient Number of lawful Witneſſes, that there is a Prince born, whereby her Claim to the next Succeſſion ſhall be poſtponed, the Queſtion of Fact to be decided by Witneſſes is apparently between her Royal Highneſs and this ſuppoſed Prince; and 'tis an illegal, unanſwerable and concluſive Exception againſt any to be received for Witneſſes againſt her in his Behalf, that they are declared Enemies to her, and the profeſſed Proteſtant Religion; the Deſtruction whereof they are bound in Conſcience to endeavour; and for that Reaſon, ſuch known Enemies to her Right of Succeſſion to the Crown, that their Church have decreed and declared her Right, and the Right of all Proteſtants to any Authorities to be abſolutely forfeited to the Papiſts for Proteſtants Hereſy.

It cannot be denied, that all that are ſincerely *Roman* Catholicks, and believe their own Church, do judge her Royal Highneſs to be an excommunicated Heretick by their Church, and that all her Rights in Poſſeſſion and Reverſion are thereby confiſcated, and that they are obliged by the Law of

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their Church, in Conſcience of their Religion, and by the Hope of Pardon of their Sins, to defeat and deſtroy, by all Ways and Means in their Power, all her Pretenſions to the Deſcent of the Crown upon her, and to aſſiſt to the Inveſting the Right to the Succeſſion in a *Roman* Catholick. We might here add, that our *Engliſh* Papiſts are all in Union and Communion with the Pope, as appears by his Nuntio in *London*; and he is, by the ancient Laws and Statutes of this Realm, declared the publick or common Enemy of the Kingdom, near two hundred Years before *Henry* VIII.

'Tis manifeſt, that the *Engliſh* Papiſts are declared Enemies to her Royal Highneſs's Right in this Caſe, between her and the pretended Prince of *Wales*, and therefore, by the Laws of *England*, they cannot be Witneſſes of the Fact in Queſtion, neither ought their Teſtimonies therein to be offered to the Kingdom, to delude the People.

The Civil Law ſo fully concurs with our common Law, in rejecting Enemies to be Witneſſes in the Cauſe of their Enemy, that it denies to give Credit to what they may teſtify in the Cauſe of their Enemy, with their dying Breath after they have received the Euchariſt, that is, the general Concluſion of the Doctors of that Civil Law, *Inimicus etiamſi in articulo mortis conſtitutus, & accepiſſet Euchariſtiam repellitur a teſtimonio cauſæ ſui inimici*; we mention this, chiefly to ſhew, that 'tis not only by our *Engliſh* Laws, that our Papiſts are rejected from being Witneſſes of the Birth of this pretended Prince againſt her Royal Highneſs, but by the ancient approved Rules of the Civil Laws that they generally acknowledge, and by the Judgment of their own Doctors.

Herein are only ſet forth to your Highneſs the Laws of *England*, that you may juſtly inſiſt upon as your Right, to prevent the Church of *Rome*'s Conſpiracies againſt you; we reflect not on the Credit or Truth of any *Roman* Catholick Lords or others, in giving their Teſtimonies in Matters of private Intereſts, wherein the Cauſe of their Church is not in Queſtion, and the Laws of their Church bind them not to either Party; but ſince they are bound in this Caſe to be Enemies to her Royal Highneſs, our Law will not allow them to be believed, to her Prejudice; and they muſt openly renounce that common Honeſty to which they pretend, if they offer themſelves to the Kingdom to be competent Witneſſes againſt her, in Behalf of this pretended Prince, when they are conſcious to themſelves, that not only our Laws, but natural Juſtice and Equity abhors ſuch a Practice.

We muſt ſay with all due Reverence, and moſt humble Submiſſion, that our Laws will not allow, that the Declaration or Teſtimony of his Majeſty, or the Queen ſhould be accepted, and believed in this Caſe as lawful Proof, that this pretended Prince was born of the Queen; 'tis ſufficient for us, that our Laws will not ſuffer our Kings to deſcend into the Place of Witneſſes, they will not admit them to teſtify their own Knowledge of the Facts, in any Caſe whatſoever, Criminal or Civil, but there's abundant Reaſon alſo from natural Equity and Civil Juſtice, that the Kingdom ſhould not receive and rely upon the King's Affirmation, about the Birth of this ſuppoſed Prince; their Majeſties have publickly eſpouſed his Cauſe for their own in all Reſpects, and none on Earth, Kings or Subjects, may juſtly expect, or be ſuffered to

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ſupply the Place of Witneſſes in their own Caſe, ſince Civil Government is eſtabliſhed; if they might lawfully be their own Proof for their Cauſe, they might as juſtly be Judges of their own Proofs, which in Conſequence would turn up the Foundations of Civil Government; one of its chiefeſt original Intentions being to introduce a Courſe of Juſtice, that none might be their own Judges.

We would not ſpeak thus plainly, if it were juſtly avoidable; we caſt no Scandal hereby upon his Majeſty, nor any Way come near the Crime of Detraction; we barely relate the Law of *England*, in this Caſe of his Majeſty's Affirmation of the Birth of this pretended Prince, that it hath not the Force of legal Proof, or of the Teſtimony of one legal Witneſs; and his Majeſty is obliged in Juſtice and Honour, by his Office and Oath, not to impoſe upon his Subjects to believe and rely upon his Affirmation or Word in this Caſe, (nor on the Queen's, that's neceſſarily included in his,) he cannot deſire the People diffuſively to change their ancient Cuſtoms and Laws, to ſubſtitute their King's Words or Aſſertions, in the Room of ſworn legal Witneſſes, to prove the Matters of the higheſt Moment about the Government.

If the Kingdom ſhould allow the Affirmation of their Kings to be ſufficient to make a lawful Prince of *Wales*, without ſuch Witneſſes of his Birth as our Law requires, they ſhould conſent to change the ancient Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Monarchy, and ſo deſtroy the eſtabliſhed legal Security of their Freedom and Eſtates; the Laws of *England* in this Caſe are not diſſonant from the Laws of other Kingdoms, and the moſt abſolute Empires; the Civil Law now received in moſt Chriſtian Kingdoms, that was ſo adapted to abſolute Government, that it was one of its Principles, that *principis verbum prolege habendum eſt*, the Word of the Prince was to be taken for a Law; we ſay that Law never aſcribed abſolute Credit to the Prince's Affirmations of Matters of Fact, wherein the Subjects Rights were concerned, it paſſeth for a Rule of that Law in ſuch Caſes, *princeps indiſtincte non creditur*; the Emperor is not to be believed intirely, without Limitations and Reſtrictions, in his affirming Matters of Fact relating to his Subjects legal Intereſt and Securities.

The learned Doctors in that Law determine, that the Emperor's Affirmation that a Subject hath committed Treaſon or Rebellion againſt him ought not to be believed, or taken for a Proof; they ſay expreſly, *Regi fides non adhibetur ſi atteſtatur talem fuiſſe proditorem*; likewiſe if he pretends and declares a Cauſe why he deprives any Subject, or Feudatory of his Intereſt, he is not to be believed, there muſt be Proof, and the Parties intended to be prejudiced muſt be cited and heard in their Defence.

They generally reſolve, that when a King aſſerts or atteſts any Thing to the Prejudice of another, he is not to be therein believed, eſpecially when his Affirmation is for his own Advantage, and to the Subjects Damage or Inconvenience; theſe are their Words, *quando ex aſſertione principi ipſe principaliter ſentiret commodum & ſubditi incommodum tam ipſi principi non creditur.*

The Emperor *Henry* VI. of *Germany* had a due Senſe of the Juſtice and Reaſon of the Law herein about the Year 1200, he did not expect that the

People ſhould believe the Affirmations of himſelf, and his Empreſs *Conſtantia*, about the Birth of a Prince, when there was a Rumour and Suſpicion that *Conſtantia* was paſt her Age of Child bearing, and feigned a great Belly; he gave the People plentiful Proof by Witneſſes, more than Reaſon required, he prepared a moſt publick Place, wherein ſhe remained, expecting her Time of Delivery, *ventre cuſtodito*, with publick Watchers, or Keepers, that no ſuppoſitious Child might poſſibly be conveyed to her, and there, in the Sight of the People of the City, and all the Matrons, that would and could poſſibly approach her, (none being excluded) ſhe brought forth a Prince, that was afterwards choſen Emperor *Frederick* II.

If it were needful, we could ſhew your Highneſs, that the Honour and Security of our Royal Family of *England*, with the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, were intended in the Conſtitution of our legal Monarchy, in ſuch Manner, that the Kings ſhould not have Power at their Will to change the Succeſſion, or by any Means prevent the Deſcent of the Crown to the next in Blood; but if the Kingdom ſhould believe his Majeſty's Affirmation of this ſuppoſed Prince's Birth, without Proof thereof, according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of *England*, the next Succeſſion were really and actually thereby put out of the legal Courſe, and referred to the Will of the King, which is in Effect to make the Crown patrimonial; whereas by the Laws and Cuſtoms of *England*, the Right to the Crown deſcends to the next of Blood, and the Succeſſor is moſt properly to be ſtiled the Heir of the Kingdom, by Force of the Kingdom's Laws, and cannot be defeated of the Succeſſion, by any Act of the Predeceſſor; if therefore the King ſhould gain ſo vaſt a Power, by impoſing on the People to believe his Atteſtation of this ſuppoſed Prince's Birth, 'tis manifeſt, that natural Juſtice as well as the Law of *England*, makes it of no Force or Effect, to the Prejudice of her Royal Highneſs, in her Eſteem of being the Heireſs apparent of the Crown.

We believe the Jeſuits, and other Maintainers of this ſuppoſed Prince will claim, (as is their common Practice,) againſt theſe our Laws, whoſe Force detects and defeats their Impoſtures; they will pretend, that 'tis unreaſonable to expect a Teſtimony of his Birth from ſuch Witneſſes, and in ſuch Manner as are hereby deſcribed, excluſive of all *Roman* Catholicks; but the Reaſon and Wiſdom of theſe Laws are irreſiſtible, and 'tis a great Circumſtance ſhewing their Guilt, that they are diſpleaſed with the Laws that prevent Falſhood and Impoſtures, and require Proofs of Facts as clear as the Sun.

The juſt and innocent are never offended at any Law, that provide for Truth and Righteouſneſs, they cannot but be conſcious to themſelves, that it was more eaſy to have provided ſuch Witneſſes as our Laws requires of a Prince's Birth, than to have had ſuch as they provided, that would counterfeit to be Spectators, and be content, (as 'tis now ſaid they were,) to ſee nothing of the Fact of which they were to be publiſhed to the Kingdom, to have been the knowing Eye Witneſſes.

'Tis notorious, that the Preſence of ten of the Proteſtant Nobility of either Sex, and other Perſons of eminent Quality might have been as eaſily procured

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as one of the Catholicks, if it had been intended to deal juſtly and fairly with the Kingdom, and they know that the Proteſtants throughout *Europe*, (not the Papiſts) wanted and deſired Satisfaction about the Queen's great Belly and her Delivery, the Suſpicions of a counterfeit Prince were ſtrong amongſt them, and decryed by all the Papiſts, they knew the Friends, and thoſe of Conſanguinity with her Royal Highneſs, were as ready to attend, if they had been called, as any Catholick whatſoever; and they were not ignorant, that Cuſtom, Law and natural Juſtice required, that convenient Notice ſhould have been given to her Royal Highneſs above all others, of the expected Time of the Queen's Delivery, that ſuch noble Matrons as ſhe had thought neceſſary might have been ſent, to have continually attended near her Majeſty, and to have been impartial Witneſſes of the Birth beyond Exception; they underſtood the Cuſtom of calling Embaſſadors to be preſent at the Queen's Delivery, and that a common Fame of a deſigned Impoſture was ſpread in foreign Proteſtant Countries, and that there were Envoys and publick Miniſters from ſome of them, eſpecially that the *Dutch* had an Embaſſador there, and expected to have been called: They know that thoſe Proviſions for legal unqueſtionable Proof of the Birth that was pretended, had been no Hindrance of the Preſence or Aſſiſtance of as many Papiſts of each Sex as her Majeſty had deſired; and ſhe might have as intirely depended upon their only Help, if it had been her Pleaſure, as if thoſe lawful Witneſſes had not been preſent.

The Popiſh Counſels delude his Majeſty, if they perſuade him, that any Pleas of Inadvertency, Neglect, or Ignorance, can ſatisfy the Kingdom, inſtead of the Proofs in the Caſe, that the Cuſtom and Laws of *England* require; 'tis a Rule of our Law, that none ſhall make Advantage of their own Lachez, that is, their Failures or Neglects of what they ought to have done; leſs Evidence is never to be accepted in our Courts of Judicature, becauſe the Party concerned was negligent in ſeeking it, or ignorant, when he might have known his Duty.

We preſume your Highneſs in reading this, may be ſatisfied in the Truth of our firſt Preliminary Concluſion, which is neceſſary to be always remembred, in Order to a juſt Judgment to be made of this ſuppoſed Prince of *Wales*, and of the Things proper to be done by your Highneſs, by Reaſon or Occaſion of his Pretences; we doubt not your Highneſs will clearly perceive what you may in Juſtice demand of his Majeſty in the Caſe, preſerving nevertheleſs a moſt *pious Senſe of filial Duty*.

We may more remember your Highneſs, that as the Caſe now appears, no Acknowledgment of that pretended Prince can juſtly be required of your Highneſs by his Majeſty. 'Tis contrary to Juſtice and our Laws, that her Royal Highneſs ſhould depart from her Place and Claim of Heireſs apparent to the Crown, and reſign it to a Child, who is not yet lawfully witneſſed to have been born of the Queen. We therefore put your Highneſs in Remembrance of a ſecond Concluſion, fit to be premiſed in this Caſe, as an abſolute Certainty to be inſiſted on, that is,

That neither the Laws of *England*, nor any natural or civil Juſtice, do require of your Highneſs any Kind of Teſtimonies or Proofs, that the Pretences of this ſuppoſed Prince of *Wales* are falſe and feigned, or that he was not born of the Queen.

Whoſoever claims to be the natural and legitimate Son of any Family, 'tis wholly and ſolely incumbent on him to prove it, by the Laws and Cuſtoms of all Civil Government, and by the manifeſt Light of Nature; thoſe two Rules of the Civil Law are adopted by all Countries into their Courſes of Judicature, *Qualem quis ſe facit, pro fundamento intentionis ſuæ talem ſe debet probare*; and, *Filius qui petit hæreditatem tanquam filius debet probare filiationem*: If Sonſhip, or other Quality or Relation be the Ground of a Demand, that Foundation muſt be always proved by the Demandant; if he that pretends to be Heir by his Birth to any Inheritance, fails of ſuch ſufficient Witneſſes as the reſpective Laws of Countries require, to prove his Proximity of Blood, there needs no Teſtimony on the Part of thoſe that deny his Lineal Deſcent. The Courſe of the Law of *England* is known to moſt *Engliſhmen*, in the Trial of all Claims by Birth; the Claimant is always put to prove all that he ſets forth of his Deſcent in his Declaration, and the leaſt Defect of Proof is fatal to his Proceſs, if the Defendant perceives the Plantiff to want ſufficient legal Teſtimony of his Deſcent and Birth; he never troubles the Court with Proofs on his Behalf, 'tis enough for him that he denies the Deſcent pretended, to ſhew the Inſufficiency of the Witneſſes, and their Teſtimony produced to prove it.

Your Highneſs is not obliged, either by our Laws or natural Juſtice, to have Witneſſes to prove the pretended Prince of *Wales* to be an Impoſture, her Royal Highneſs having been the legal acknowledged Heireſs apparent of the Crown. Unleſs ſuch lawful Witneſſes, that he was born of the Queen, were known and publiſhed, as did ſatisfy the Kingdom, neither your Highneſs, nor any Princes or States, may in Juſtice acknowledge his Pretences, her Royal Highneſs ought to remain in the Eſteem of the Kingdom, and of all Princes and States as the Heireſs apparent of the Crown, at leaſt until a Prince ſhall be legally known and declared; and 'tis a manifeſt Wrong to your Highneſs, to the Kingdom, and to all the Proteſtants Intereſt, to ſuffer this ſuppoſed Prince, ſilently and ſubmiſſively, without publick Complaint of the Wrong, to aſſume the Name of Prince and Heir apparent to the Crown.

When the Popiſh League endeavoured to ſet aſide the Claim of your Highneſs's Anceſtor *Henry* IV. to the Crown of *France*, and proclaimed the Cardinal of *Bulloign* to be King, he ſent Agents to the Pope, (tho' he was then a Proteſtant) and to all the Princes and States of *Chriſtendom*, to manifeſt himſelf to be the right lawful Heir of that Crown, and the *Venetian* State, (to his vaſt Advantage,) conteſted it with the Pope's Nuntio, that they ought ſo to acknowledge him, becauſe it appeared, that he was the right Heir.

His Right indeed was to be King in Poſſeſſion, but there is the like Reaſon and Juſtice to ſupport her Royal Highneſs's Title to the Crown in Reverſion,

verſion, ſince another is ſet up, and declared throughout the World, to be the right Heir of it, immediately after his now Majeſty. 'Tis undoubtedly juſt and reaſonable for her, to demand and expect, that the Pretender's Birth, (ſo much and ſo juſtly ſuſpected,) ſhould be made manifeſt to the Kingdom by Witneſſes, without Exception, according to the Law and Cuſtom of *England*, and to natural Equity.

It may be of dangerous Conſequence, to ſuffer a falſe Opinion of him in the Kingdom, and the World, to gain Strength by Time and Neglect; yet neither Law nor Equity puts any Burden of Proof in the Caſe upon your Highneſs; 'tis only incumbent upon your Highneſs, to declare the Wrong to your ſelves and the Kingdom by the pretended Prince, and to take Care that no illegal, imperfect, or fallacious Teſtimony in the Caſe be invented or obtruded upon your ſelves and the Kingdom, to ſupport his Pretences; her Royal Highneſs's Claim and Right to be the next in Reverſion, after his now Majeſty, in the legal Deſcent of the Crown, ought to ſtand unſhaken and unqueſtionable, in the Judgment of our Law and the Kingdom, notwithſtanding any thing to the contrary, that hath been hitherto lawfully publiſhed or declared.

We cannot doubt, but 'tis here made manifeſt, that your Highneſs's publick Refuſal to acknowledge this pretended Prince of *Wales* may be built upon ſuch ſure Foundations of Law and Juſtice, as can never be overturned; we would not therefore trouble your Highneſs, with all the Circumſtances of the Caſe, which we have remarked in our Obſervations, that make it to us not only improbable, but incredible, that he was born of the Queen. Since 'tis not poſſible for us to ſend Witneſſes Perſonally, to prove to your Highneſs every Circumſtance that we have noted; and 'tis not juſt, that your Highneſs ſhould take them up upon unknown Authority, ſince we cannot in Prudence ſubſcribe our Names to this Memorial, nor ſo much as the Names of our Witneſſes to the Facts, ſince the Proof of the Circumſtances can never be a Foundation of poſitive unqueſtionable Certainty, but can only ſerve to make the Falſhood and Jeſuitical Contrivance in this Impoſture more infamous and odious; ſince 'tis undoubtedly your Highneſs's Intereſt, never to depart from the manifeſt Principles of Law and Juſtice, which put it wholly and intirely upon the Maintainers of the ſuppoſed Prince, to prove him to be ſuch as they pretend, with the higheſt human Certainty, that can be acquired by Witneſſes, and to the Kingdom's full Satisfaction.

And ſince 'tis notoriouſly known, that above all others of the *Roman* Church, the Jeſuits (which in this Matter will moſt earneſtly contend againſt your Highneſs) have the greateſt effronted Confidence to deny and forſwear Matters of Fact, however certainly proved and known; and they would be glad to have any Thing offered in this Caſe, that might give them Room, or a Poſſibility for Diſpute, and ſeeming Doubtfulneſs of Fact, that they might obſcure the Truth, and deceive ſome or the People with their equivocal Affirmation, and impertinent Cavils at your Highneſs's Witneſſes, or their Teſtimonies, and their bold Aſſeverations of Falſhoods.

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Upon all theſe Conſiderations we ſhall reſtrain from the Relation of many very pregnant Circumſtances that we had collected, which if they were taken jointly in their natural Order and due Connexion, would by their united Force ſtrongly induce impartial Judges to conclude, that the Queen could not be the Mother of the ſuppoſed Prince.

We could give very great circumſtantial Aſſurances to your Highneſs, that there never was, or appeared to be any reaſonable natural Grounds for a Belief that her Majeſty had conceived a Child. She never had the firſt moſt natural, known, and common Sign of Conception: her *Menſes profluvium*, or *Termes*, continued their uſual uncertain Courſe as formerly during the whole Time of her pretended great Belly; She did not conceal that it was with her after that Manner of Women in her Journey to *Bath*, nor that they continued ſome Days after the King left her there; and all the Induſtry uſed afterward to hide them in their Seaſons, proved ineffectual, becauſe thoſe Things come to the Knowledge of more than were made privy to the whole Impoſture deſigned.

Her Majeſty having not that natural Sign of her Termes ſtopping, whereby Women uſually conclude themſelves to have conceived, from whence She could make a Reckoning, it ſeems by the King's Speech in Council, that their Majeſties had both thought fit to publiſh her Conception to have been at the Time of the Preſent made to the Lady's Image at *Loretto*, upon the King's return to the Queen at *Bath*.

It was then too ſoon for them to be provided of a ſuppoſitious Child, and ſo might name any Time they pleaſed of her Conception, and then ſeek for a Child that might agree with it; and it appeared pious and great to make her Conception one of the Miracles of the Lady's Image, tho' it happened unluckily afterward, that they could not make the Times of her Conception and ſuppoſed Delivery to agree with Nature's moſt conſtant Time of nine Months.

The Confidents and Adviſers about the Impoſture, hearing the Voice of common Fame upon the King's declaring when the ſuppoſed new born Child was ſhewn, that he had now a Son, a ſtrong and lively Prince, the meaneſt Child bearing Woman that were diſintereſſed, ſaying thereupon in Mockery, that ſuch a Child of about Eight Months was as great a Miracle as the Queen's Conception had been reported; we ſay, the Confidents fearing it might make the whole Story leſs credible and help to detect the Fraud, they have perſwaded her Majeſty to declare that She had miſcounted the Time of her conceiving the Child, and that She knew very well, that She was with Child before her Uſe of the *Bath*; by this new reckoning they thought that it might be affirmed, that the Child was born at his due Time, and might be ſtrong, and lively, as his Majeſty had ſaid, and they thought it an eaſy Sham to ſay Women miſreckoned very often.

But it was unhappily forgotten, that her Majeſty had continued and expreſsly affirmed her firſt reckoning ſeveral Weeks after her pretended Delivery; it was forgotten that it was known ſufficiently that her Majeſty had her Termes in her Journey to *Bath*, and four Days after the King's going from

from thence, which was a manifeſt Proof that there was then no Conception; it was not conſidered that if it be Truth that the Queen knew herſelf to have then conceived, as ſhe hath lately declared; then it cannot be a miſreckoning, and the meaneſt Phyſician ſhe had at *Bath* would have told her, that if She had imagined a Conception as She now ſays, Bathing would probably deſtroy the Embryo.

It was not well remembred how the King had declared with her Majeſty's Privity, the Miracle of the Time of her conceiving quite inconſiſtent with her now Account; neither was it thought of in the now Council, how her Majeſty's Truth and Honour ſhould be ſaved in her contrary Stories, of the Time of her conceiving even ſince her ſuppoſed Delivery; but we need not mention that, ſince the World knows how little Regard the Jeſuite Confeſſors have to Truth.

Her Majeſty ſhewed no Grounds to believe her Pregnancy by Nature's Progreſs there in the common natural Signs, that in four Months follow in every Woman, that hath a Child in her Womb, were wholly wanting in her Majeſty; there was no Swelling, or Increaſe of the uſual Proportion of her Breaſts, nor was there any Milk ever ſeen to be in them (tho' one Lady took the Confidence once to affirm it) the Proportion of them was viſibly the ſame to the Eyes of all that can be lawfully Witneſſes, and were uſually in her Preſence, and none of thoſe Ladies proper to be Witneſſes could ever obtain the Satisfaction to ſee a Drop of Milk from her Breaſts, tho' it had been her Majeſty's Honour, Intereſt, and Pleaſure to have ſhew'd it, if there had been any Reality in the Pretence of her Pregnancy.

We put this Circumſtance into our Memorial not without ſome Mirth in our Meeting, becauſe one of our Company ſaid, he was now ſure that neither her Majeſty's Phyſicians nor the Jeſuits were natural Philoſophers, they might (ſaid he) with very little Arts have cauſed the Queen's Breaſts at her Age to have ſwelled with Milk ſo plentifully, that ſhe might have eaſily milked it forth in Quantity in the Sight of the Princeſs of *Denmark* and all the Proteſtant Ladies of the Court; it may be done (ſaid he) in rational, or animal Creatures, and he gave us Inſtances of undoubted Credit wherein it had been done to his Knowledge, and a Child ſuckled; and to divert us he offered to ſhew it in an Animal, he having alſo tried that Experiment, and thereby milked out the Milk from a young Creature's Udder that had never been with young; another of the Company ſaid merrily, if that were ſo eaſy an Artifice, he wondred that the *Romiſh* Prieſts had not learned it, ſince 'tis known to the World that they have long had the Art of keeping the Virgin *Mary*'s Milk above 1600 Years, and of multiplying the Quantity of it from Horſe Loads to Cart Loads to diſperſe among their credulous Vulgar.

We humbly pray your Highneſſes Pardon that we ſeem herein leſs ſerious than ſo great a Matter requires, we ſpeak only the Words of Truth and Soberneſs, but the comical Tricks of the *Romiſh* Prieſts (that commonly end in Tragedy) force us to repreſent them as they deſerve.

There's another known Sign and Teſtimony of a Woman's Pregnancy, that is, the ſenſible ſtirring of the Child in the Womb, that was expected

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her Majeſty ſhould have ſhewn to the Ladies with Joy, eſpecially to thoſe Proteſtant Ladies of her Bedchamber that doubted (with the Proteſtant Dr. her then Phyſician) her being with Child, as far as they durſt (when the quickening of a Child in her Womb was pretended, and publiſhed throughout the Kingdom:) it had been a Pleaſure to her Majeſty, and no Trouble (if it had been Real without Deceit) to have ſhewn the Motion of a Child in her Womb to honourable Matrons of her Bedchamber, that might have been in all Reſpects lawful Witneſſes of that Truth to the juſtly Jealous Kingdom; theſe might have touched her Belly, and had been proper Judges from their Experience of the true Motions of an Infant in the Womb, and ſome of Conſanguinity to the Heireſs apparent might have been admitted to that Favour, as our Laws and common Prudence directed for removing the Cauſes of Jealouſy; but however induſtriouſly her Majeſty's quickning with Child was ſpread abroad, yet the feeling of its Motions was never vouchſafed to any competent Witneſſes of it, to give the ſuſpicious Kingdom a Ground to believe, that ſhe was with Child.

The next viſible and manifeſt Sign of the true natural Progreſs of a great Belly, is the Diſtenſion of all the Parts of the Body, that encircles and encompaſſeth the Womb; ſuch is the Place and Manner wherein Nature hath prepared the Lodging of the growing Child in the Womb, that according to its Growth, and Increaſe, and the Quantity of Liquors, that are naturally and neceſſarily congeſted there, ſo are all the Circumambient Parts gradually extended, and enlarged to make Room; there never was nor naturally can be an Extenſion only of the *Peritoneum* the Rim of the Belly to give room to the Child, all Naturaliſts and Anatomiſts know that if in that Manner no Child could keep its natural Site in the Womb nor be born alive.

All Men and Women, that ever obſerved Women great with Child, know that all the Parts that incloſe the Cavity ſwell until the Time of their Delivery approach; but this natural neceſſary Sign of Pregnancy ſo intirely failed in her Majeſty, that ſkilful Spectators of both Sexes wondred, that better Arts were not uſed to make that viſible Sign and Appearance of the Growth of a Child in her Womb; we were ſatisfied by ſkilful Matrons of great Experience, that attended on Purpoſe to obſerve her Majeſty exactly, that all the outward Parts of her Body, that incompaſs the Womb, were of the ſame Proportion that they were at other Times, ſave only her Belly which was exceedingly copped up, and high, that ſhew'd like a great bellied Woman to them that looked upon her Majeſty before; but ſaid they, when we ſaw her Majeſty walking, and looked upon her behind, and on each Side, we ſaw not the leaſt Appearance in her of a great bellied Woman, we took Care to have the Faſhion of her Majeſty's Body obſerved by ſkilful Women at ſeveral Periods of Time during her ſuppoſed Pregnancy, and once a very ſhort Time before her pretended Delivery, and we had always the ſame Account, we have here faithfully given your Highneſs.

We compared this Circumſtance with another that we had marked, whereof we had from Time to Time full Aſſurance during all the four laſt Months Time of her Majeſty's ſuppoſed being with Child, thoſe being the Months wherein

wherein uſually all the circumambient Parts of the Womb ſwell moſt, we were very well informed that in all theſe Months her Majeſty, contrary to her former uſual Courſe, always withdrew from her Chamber, and retired into her Cabinet or ſome other private Room, with two or three *Italians*, when She changed her Linnen, and would never permit any one of the Proteſtant Ladies of the Bedchamber to ſee her change her Linnen, as they had conſtantly done.

Thoſe two Circumſtances explained each other, and plainly ſhewed that the natural naked and true Shape of her Majeſty's Body, as it was then, was not to be ſeen by thoſe that were not of the Confederacy in the intended Impoſture; thoſe that were only capable of being lawful Witneſſes for her Majeſty againſt common Fame (if Fame had bely'd her) thoſe were all excluded from a Poſſibility of ſeeing whether her Belly was truly and naturally great, and a few Foreigners of no Quality were only to keep the Secret of what her Majeſty was to make the copling Belly.

Nothing can be more manifeſt than it is by all theſe Circumſtances taken as they ought in Connexion each with other, that there hath nothing appeared of the natural Plainneſs and Simplicity that always accompany Truth, in the whole Demeanor of her Majeſty from the Time of her pretended Conceiving a Child, to the very Time of her feigned Delivery of this ſuppoſed Prince of *Wales*; all that hath been acted in the Matter, hath plainly imported Trick and Deſign to hide and ſmother Nature's Works, that ought to have been moſt freely expoſed to the whole World, if there had been any Truth in the Pretences that could have born the Light, we may ſecurely affirm to your Highneſs, that in all the eight Months and four Days firſt reckoned to have been the Time of her Majeſty's Pregnancy, or from the Time of her going to *Bath* in the new Reckoning, there never hath been any of theſe conſtant natural Signs in her Majeſty, that could afford to any underſtanding Man or Woman a Ground to believe that She conceived a Child.

The Progreſs towards finiſhing the intended Impoſture of this Prince of *Wales* hath been anſwerable to its Beginning. In the Preparation for her Majeſty's ſuppoſed Delivery, there hath been no Regard to the Rules of natural Equity or Law, or common Prudence, nor any Appearance of that open Freedom and naturally plain Proceeding, that ought to have ſhewn that they did not fear the Kingdom, or the World knowing the Truth of all that ſhould be done in that pretended natural Work of Bearing a Child, wherein the whole Kingdom, and ſo much of the World was concerned; if the Cuſtoms and Laws of *England*, or natural Equity had been conſulted in the Circumſtances of the Caſe about the Preparations needful for her Majeſty's expected Deliverance of a Prince, the firſt of all Advices had certainly been to give early Notice to your Highneſs, and to others in the neareſt Poſſibility or Expectance of ſucceeding to the Crown, of the Time of her expected Travail and Deliverance of a Prince, and of the Place of her Reſidence at ſuch Time. That proper noble Matrons, and others, might have prepared themſelves, and attended there, and have been preſent in their Behalf, which

might have ſuppreſſed and ſilenced for ever by their Teſtimonies all Suſpicions of Fraud and Impoſture.

But 'tis not only undeniable, that no ſuch Notice was given either to her Royal Highneſs or to any of Conſanguinity with her, nor to any other of the noble Matrons of *England*, but ſuch Artifices were uſed as might moſt conceal the Time and intended Place of her pretended Travail, ſuch feigned Time of her ſuppoſed Conception was publiſhed by the King and Queen, that neither her Royal Highneſs, nor any of the Nobility, could poſſibly foreſee the Time when the Comedy that is now ſaid to have been acted was to begin.

The Place where her Majeſty was intended to lye in was kept in ſuch Uncertainty, and often publiſhed ſo variouſly, ſometimes that it ſhould be at *Richmond*, ſometimes at *Windſor*, another Time at *Hampton Court*, that none of the Nobles of either Sex, that were of the Kindred and Friends of the Heir apparent, nor of the Proteſtant Nobility, could know how to prepare themſelves for Attendance on her Majeſty, as was their Duty to their Majeſties, her Royal Highneſs, and the Kingdom.

As the Publication of the Place was often changed, as if a Surprize in the Place was deſigned, ſo at laſt ſuch a ſudden and ſeeming haſty Reſolution was taken a Day or two before her pretended Delivery, that her lying in ſhould be at *St. James*'s, tho' none expected the Time to be near by above three Weeks, that Commands were given for preparing her Lodgings there ſo haſtily, that when her Majeſty ſaid on the *Friday*, She would lye there on *Saturday*, and it was told her it was not poſſible her Lodgings ſhould be ready, She then ſaid, She would lie there on the Floor.

It was hoped by all the Proteſtants, that the Princeſs of *Denmark* would have been a faithful Watcher for her own Sake, when the Time of her Majeſty's Deliverance of her great Belly ſhould come; tho' ſhe had not been able, or She durſt not give them Advice of the Occurrences in the Time of her Majeſty's ſuppoſed Pregnancy, it was thought that She could not be avoided but She would be preſent to ſee what was brought forth, whether any thing or nothing; but Care was taken, that Advice ſhould be given her when She wanted aſtringent Medicines, to go to the looſening Waters of the *Bath*, to keep her fourſcore Miles diſtant till the pretended Prince ſhould be born.

At the firſt Notice we had of her Majeſty's paſſionate Declaration, that ſhe would lie at *St. James's* on the *Saturday* Night, we could not conjecture that there was to be a pretended Prince brought forth on the *Sunday*, nor was there any Whiſpers of it, or the leaſt natural feigned or counterfeit Sign of forerunning Pains of a Woman, whoſe Times of Travail approacheth. Her Majeſty was late in the Night at Cards, and no Appearance of an Indiſpoſition then, nor is any pretended to have been in the Night; but we learned by the Event on the *Sunday*, the Reaſon of her Majeſty's fixed and immovable Reſolution to lie at *St. James's*, on the *Saturday* Night, ſhe was to ſeem to bring forth a Prince on the *Sunday*.

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There was a cunning Contrivance, to chuſe a fit Time of that Day, it was to be between the Hours of Nine and Ten in the Morning, that all or moſt of the Proteſtant Ladies might be at Church, and the Trick be over before their Return; and that the Midwife, Mrs. *Labany*, and the Favourite Mrs. *Tourain*, might have Freedom and Secrecy, as they had to act their Parts in the bringing forth of a ſuppoſitious Prince.

The Room alſo that was choſen, wherein the Trick was to be acted, was fit for the Purpoſe, and contrary to the Rules of common Prudence, to be choſen in a Cale ſuſpected for ſetting up a ſuppoſitious Child, and ought to have been avoided, if their Meaning had been juſt and good; there was a private Door within the Ruel of the Bed, into a Room, from whence a Child might be ſecretly brought, and put into the Bed, unſeen by any that ſhould attend in the Queen's Room, tho' at the Feet of the Bed, (none of them coming into the Ruel;) and by that Door the three Confidents, the Midwife, Mrs. *Labany*, and Mrs. *Tourain*, brought into her Majeſty's Bed what they pleaſed unſeen.

If they had wanted no ſecret Conveyance by that Door, common Prudence required, that they had nailed or ſealed it up, to avoid confirming and increaſing the Kingdom's juſt and known Jealouſies, of impoſing upon them a counterfeit Prince, when it ſhould be known, that there was ſuch ſecret Ways, as made it ſo eaſy to be done by Confederation, undiſcerned by others that were in the Room; but it appeared by the Event, that the Privy Door was ſo neceſſary for the deſigned Impoſture, that all the Tranſactions of it were managed by that Door, as is well known to all thoſe Lords of the Council, that were brought for a Shew, not to ſee any Thing that was done, but only to be ſeen in the Bed-chamber with his Majeſty, that their Names might be publiſhed to the People, as if they had been Witneſſes of the Queen's being delivered of this pretended Prince.

The Civil Laws provided as a Rule of common natural Equity, that when a Woman was to be delivered of a Poſthumous Child, that might defeat another appearing Heir, that the Chamber wherein ſhe was to be delivered ſhould have but one Door, and if there were more, that they ſhould be ſealed up with the Seals of both Parties, and that Keepers ſhould be ſet at the ſingle Door, and no Woman ſuffered to enter, until ſhe was ſearched in all kinds, that no Child might be conveyed to the Woman in her real or ſuppoſed Travail; and tho' we have no expreſs Statute that gives Direction in ſuch Caſes, yet our Common Law abhors all Appearance of Fraud about Inheritances, and hath appointed twelve of the moſt able Neighbours to judge of all the Signs and Appearances of Fraud, and ſetting up counterfeit Heirs, who may alſo judge upon preſumptive Evidence, and reject any pretended Heir, where they ſee Signs of Fraud and Impoſture, whereupon to ground their Judgment, and every one muſt at his Peril take Care, that there be no Grounds of Suſpicion given of a ſuppoſitious Heir.

We have faithfully ſhewed your Highneſs what were the Preparations for her Majeſty's ſuppoſed Time of Travail, wherein there appeared no Marks of an Intention to deal uprightly and openly with her Royal Highneſs, as

Heireſs apparent of the Crown, and with the Subjects of the Kingdom; nor was there any natural Signs that her Majeſty really feared or expected the common Sorrows, Pains and Danger of a Woman in Travail, or made any ſuitable Proviſions.

We cannot learn, that there was in Readineſs ſo much as the uſual Inſtruments of Midwives, whereupon they commonly place all Women of Quality in their Time of Travail, that ſuch Aſſiſtance may be given them, by the Matrons and Midwives, as is not poſſible to be given on their Knees, which is the common Poſture of meaner Women, and leaſt of all, as they lie in their Bed, which is ſeldom uſed, until the Length of the Travail and Failure of Strength enforce it. There being many natural Reaſons for the Poſture of the Womens Bodies, helping them in their Travail.

Amongſt other ſuitable Proviſions, it had been certainly fit, that a Colledge of Phyſicians had been called to attend ſomewhere near to her Majeſty, if ſhe had not known there could be no Need of them; and ſhe being ſure there could be no Hour of Danger to herſelf, in a feigned Travail, nor any ſudden Need of Phyſicians Advice, or Help to a ſtrong lively ſuppoſed Prince, that was intended then to be brought forth.

As all the Preparations for her Majeſty's ſuppoſed Time of Travail, diſcovered to knowing and obſerving People, that there was not Reality in her Pretences made of a great Belly, ſo the Fiction and Fraud was made more manifeſt when the Trick came to be acted.

Her Majeſty lying in Bed, with all the Curtains round cloſe drawn, all that was provided belonging naturally to a Child, and intended to be uſed by them, in their bringing forth the ſuppoſitious Prince, being prepared and ready within the inner Chamber, then her Majeſty's feigned Travail began; and all theſe Things were by the Help of the Midwife, Mrs. *Labany* and Mrs. *Tourain*, the Confederates, brought through the Door, in the Wall by the Queen's Bed, and put between her Sheets, that is, a Child, and all that naturally attends a Birth, then the Midwife and the Confidents ſeemed very buſy about her Majeſty in the Dark, none ſeeing what they did; and being afraid, as appeared by the Midwife's Words, that the Child which was prepared to ſleep to prevent its crying before it was got into the Bed, ſhould be ſtifled by the Cloſeneſs of the Bed, they were forced to haſten the Queen's pretended Delivery, even beyond what was reaſonably to be believed, notwithſtanding all that could be ſaid of the Lady of *Loretto*, or any other Saint's Aſſiſtance, therefore the Queen's ſuppoſed Deliverance was in very ſhort Time.

But nothing appearing in her Majeſty like the real natural Travail of a Woman in Child-bearing, there were none of the uſual natural Signs in her Majeſty of being in real Travail, which cannot be hidden; there was no Appearance of an Approaching Travail, by various intermitting Pangs, uſually very great, by the Infant's ſtruggling to free it ſelf of the Womb, no Shew of the Pains naturally and gradually increaſing, as more of the Ligatures came to be broken or rent, whereby every Infant is ſafely retained in the Womb, until its full Growth, and appointed Time; there were no Signs of her Majeſty's

ſty's known Weakneſs in bearing ſuch Pangs in her State of Body, debilitated with long lingring Infirmities; there were no Signs of a violent Eruption of an untimely Birth from the Womb of eight Months and four Days, as her Majeſty then reported it to have been.

All that was to be feigned was ſuddenly diſpatched, and the Midwife delivered ſomething cloſe covered to Mrs. *Labany*, which could be nothing but the Child they had put in, and went with it together through the Privy Door, in the Ruel of the Bed into the next Room, in ſo great Haſte, that it was not conſidered how plainly it might diſcover, that it was a meer feigned counterfeit Travail of the Queen's, if the Midwife durſt quit her attending and aſſiſting her Majeſty in theſe Moments, when there was the greateſt Neceſſity of her Skill and Aſſiſtance in her Office, and the moſt extreme Danger of her Majeſty's Life, by any Neglect of her, if ſhe had really brought forth any Child, as they were obliged to pretend.

Inſtead of fair open Freedom, in ſhewing that the Queen was really delivered of a Prince, which our Cuſtoms and Laws and natural Equity required, that all thoſe Works of Nature might have been ſeen, and teſtified by noble Matrons; their pretended Birth of a Prince, and all that they did about it, was done in the Dark, with the Curtains cloſe drawn round about the Bed, and under the Coverings of it, and none of either Sex permitted to ſee any Thing done about her Majeſty, or her ſuppoſed Child, ſave only the Confederates; no others of thoſe in the Bed-chamber, that drew as near as they might, were ſuffered to ſee what was taken out of the Bed, being ſomething wholly covered, and immediately carried away by the private Door.

All hearkned after the common and moſt conſtant natural Sign of the Birth of a living Child, that is, its crying; but we are fully aſſured, from divers Lords of the Council, and others that were in the Bed-chamber, that the Crying of a Child was heard by none there, when the Pretence was that a Child was born, tho' the Midwife would not at firſt ſay it was a Prince.

We have related to your Highneſſes no Circumſtances, but ſuch as are notoriouſly known, or could be judicially proved, before any impartial Court of Judicature, and therefore we will not offer to your Highneſs thoſe Conjectures, (tho' we have them from good Hands,) of what was acted about the pretended Prince, in the Room from whence he was brought, and to which he was carried, before the Lords of the Council, or any others, were told, that there was a Prince born; but we have it of Certainty from thoſe that were preſent, that during the whole fictitious Travail of the Queen's, and a conſiderable Time after it, his Majeſty kept thoſe Lords of the Council that were called not far from the Feet of her Majeſty's Bed, that was cloſe ſhut up; and they neither ſaw nor heard any Thing about the Birth of the ſuppoſed Prince, whereof they can be lawful Witneſſes to the Kingdom, yet the Actors of this whole Impoſture had the Confidence to publiſh forthwith to the Kingdom by Authority, that thoſe Lords, and many Ladies of Quality, were preſent at the Queen's Delivery of a Prince, equivocating therein like the Jeſuits, and falſely inſinuating to the People, that thoſe Lords, and many Matrons of the Nobility, had been ſuch ocular Witneſſes as our Laws require,

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of the Queen's being delivered of a Prince; whereas in Truth all that were not of the Confederacy waited to no more Purpoſe, than if they had been ten Miles off her Bed-chamber.

After long waiting, his Majeſty left them, and retired into the inner Room, where was Mrs. *Labany*, and the Confidents with the ſuppoſed Prince; and it was ſoon after ſaid to the Lords, that a Prince being born, there was no more Need of them, whereupon ſeveral of them went away; and whatſoever was done in ſhewing a Child to thoſe that ſtay'd, was not worthy of Enquiry, ſince it could be of no Uſe to your Highneſs or the Kingdom.

Yet we carefully obſerved and enquired after the Queen's ſuppoſed Deliverance of a Prince, whether there were any natural demonſtrable Signs in her Majeſty, that ſhe had newly born a Child, that had broke its Way by Violence into the World, before Nature's Time, as ſhe then affirmed; ſome of us know well the uſual and neceſſary Conſequences of ſuch Force upon Nature in Women of ſuch Tenderneſs and Weakneſs as her Majeſty's; we expected to have heard of her great Wakneſs and Danger of her Life by a Fever, that commonly attends ſuch untimely Births; we enquired after the Danger of her Majeſty's Breaſts, by the unuſual Redundancy of Milk, becauſe one had reported ſo long before, that ſhe had Plenty of it in her Breaſts; we employed proper Perſons to aſk what Woman had the Honour to draw her Breaſts, or whether any Applications were made to her Breaſts, to repel or dry the Milk; and alſo, to aſk after the good Progreſs of her Majeſty, in the natural Cleanſings that follows Child-bearing; and of her Strength in bearing theſe unavoidable Conſequences, whereby all Women of her Majeſty's Tenderneſs and Weakneſs are greatly debilitated; but we could never learn, by our moſt diligent Inquiry, that there was any Appearance of theſe natural Effects of Child-bearing, tho' a good Doctor's Skill might have eaſily feigned all thoſe, to the Deluſion of all about her Majeſty's Court.

We have now given your Highneſs an Abſtract of many of the Circumſtances which we had collected in this Affair; and muſt freely affirm, that we cannot obſerve, from the Beginning to the End of it, one Footſtep of ſincere Plainneſs: All that hath been done therein, from the Queen's pretended Conception, to her ſuppoſed Delivery of a Prince, hath ſhewed Deſires and Intentions to hide the Truth of thoſe natural Things, which they were obliged, by the Laws of *England*, by natural Juſtice, and by their own Honour and Intereſt, to have made demonſtrable or provable, by ſufficient Witneſſes, to all the Kingdom, if there had been Truth in their Pretences.

There hath been ſuch a total Neglect, ſlighting and diſregard of all the neceſſary Rules of Law and Juſtice about needful Witneſſes of the Birth of a Prince and Heir to the Crown (when they knew that moſt of the Kingdom ſuſpected their ſetting up a Counterfeit) that it looks like a Contempt of your Highneſs and the whole Kingdom, as if no Satisfaction were due to her Royal Highneſs in her Admiſſion of an Heir to the Crown before her, nor to the Kingdom in their Acknowledgment of a Prince to be the next Succeſſor to the Crown.

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The moſt modeſt Judgment we can make of it, is, to think that a blind Zeal (always nouriſh'd by the *Romiſh* Church) to ſettle a Popiſh Succeſſor, hath made them break through all the Rules of Righteouſneſs, and ſtifle and extinguiſh all the natural Affections of a Father to a Child, to do a Service to their Church that is by their Doctrine ſo meritorious.

Your Highneſs will the better conſider all theſe Circumſtances mentioned, if you will pleaſe to call to Mind the Occaſion and Time when this Deſign was firſt reſolved to ſet up a Prince, to bar her Royal Highneſs of the immediate Succeſſion to the Crown.

Be pleaſed to remember, that 'tis before obſerved, that the going to the *Bath*, and the Viſit to St. *Winefred's Well*, and the Preſent made to the Lady were Preparations for a Report of the Queen's being with Child, and were all concluded upon about the End of *Auguſt* and Beginning of *September* 1687, and then was your Highneſs's Compliance with the Popiſh Deſign deſpaired of.

The Abſtract of Mr. *Steward*'s Letters to Mynheer *Fagel*, which we juſt now find printed, confirms all our Memorials in that Matter. He was pardoned and choſen by the King to have perſuaded your Highneſs to a Conſent that the penal Laws and Teſt ſhould be repealed, which had been a full Eſtabliſhment of Popery; in his two firſt Letters of *July* he ſeeks to perſuade your Highneſs, that the King was reſolved to preſerve, and obſerve the true Right of Succeſſion to the Crown, and was very deſirous of your Highneſs's Conſent and Concurrence in his Deſign, and troubled to find them ſo averſe from it: In his next Letters of the ſame *July* he preſſed that your Highneſs ſhould have been diſpoſed to hearken to a well choſen Informer, to be ſent by his Majeſty to perſuade your Concurrence with him, and he preſſed extreamely for a haſty Anſwer, the new Councils for ſetting up a Suppoſitious Prince ſeem then to have been begun.

That Letter ſeems to threaten what we now ſee if your Highneſs refuſed; he doubled his Aſſurance to him that was to ſollicit your Highneſs, that if you were obſtinate (as they call it) it will be fatal to the Diſſenters, and be feared productive of Ills yet unheard off: And his Letter of *Auguſt* 5, ſeems to give your Highneſs your laſt Time to chuſe the Settlement of Popery, or to reſolve to be true to the Proteſtant Religion.

He ſays, if your Highneſs did what was deſired by the King, it was the beſt Service to the Proteſtants, the higheſt Obligation on his Majeſty, and the greateſt Advancement of your own Intereſt, that you could think on; but if not, then all is contrary. There can be no other Meaning, in ſaying if your Highneſſes refuſed, all is contrary, ſave only this, that the Proteſtants ſhould then have no Mercy from the Papiſts; his Majeſty would be ſo offended that he would become your Highneſs's Enemy; and it would be the Loſs of your Highneſs's greateſt Intereſt, that you can think on, which certainly could be no other then the juſt Expectancy of the three Kingdoms.

As theſe Letters threaten that the King would deſtroy your Highneſs's greateſt Intereſt if you refuſed, ſo the Attempt of it ſoon after appeared.

It's now known, that in *September* and *October* the Reſolutions were taken to publiſh that the Queen was with Child, but before it was publickly declared, that is, *October* 8, Mr. *Steward* ſays, he would uſe no more Arguments to your Highneſs, but he then laments your Highneſs's Loſs of the Time of Compliance: Alas, ſaid he, that Providence ſhould not be underſtood. Then in *November* he ſpeaks more plainly (notwithſtanding your Highneſs's Moderation towards the Papiſts and their Liberty was ſhewn by Mynheer *Fagel*'s Letter) he ſays that all Hope of your Highneſs's Concurrence in the King's Deſign was given over, and Men were become as cold in it there as your Highneſs were poſitive here: And upon his new Conference with the King, he not only ſhews the King's Diſlike of that Letter, but ſays expreſly, that your Highneſs's Anſwer was too long delay'd, and that the King was quite over that Matter. There can be no other reaſonable Conſtruction of this, than that the King had then reſolved of another Way to proſecute the Popiſh Deſign, and Time hath now ſhewn and proved to the World that the Way reſolved on was to ſet up this Suppoſitious Prince for a Popiſh Succeſſor.

Theſe Letters by the help of Time ſhew the Deſign when it was in Embrio, and helps to make a Judgment upon all the other Circumſtances that we have mentioned; and no doubt if an Evidence made up of all the Circumſtances that we have mentioned, in their Order and Connexion were given to any impartial Judges, it would be judged as ſtrong a preſumptive Evidence as ever was given; and in the Proceedings of our Laws againſt Criminals, Judgment hath paſſed againſt the Lives of many upon far leſs Evidence, this being as full as the Matter of the Thing can poſſibly ſuffer in your Highneſs and the Kingdom's Caſe.

But notwithſtanding this Sort of circumſtantial Evidence be ſufficiently forcible and convincing to diſintereſted Perſons, to prove this ſuppoſed Prince to be an Impoſtor, and it may be more Circumſtances of the ſame Nature are known to your Highneſs, yet we moſt humbly pray your Highneſs to wave inſiſting upon any of them, as entirely as if you could neither prove nor know more about this pretended Prince than common Fame hath proclaimed without Contradiction.

It no Ways belongs to your Highneſſes, nor to the Kingdom, to prove the Falſhood of his Pretences, or any Circumſtance about his Birth, and it would be very prejudicial for your Highneſs, to take upon you the Burden of producing Witneſſes and Proofs, and admitting your Highneſs's Adverſaries to diſpute their Force and Sufficiency, when it belongs to them wholly and only, to bring forth ſuch lawful Witneſſes in due Numbers, as may ſatisfy your Highneſs and the Kingdom of the Truth of their Pretences, and it is an infinite Wrong to your Highneſs and the Kingdom, that they have not done it long ſince, if there had been a true Prince born of the Queen.

Since 'tis the Kingdom's great Concern as well as your Highneſſes, we are the bolder to propoſe that the Method of Defence againſt the publick Injury, be made according to the known Laws and Cuſtoms of *England*; that is, That an open free Demand be made in the Name of her Royal Highneſs, as Heireſs apparent of the Crown; and in behalf of all the People of the Realm,

that

that there be forthwith declared and publiſhed to the Kingdom a ſufficient Number for this Caſe, of lawful Witneſſes of either Sex, ſuch as the Laws of *England* and natural Juſtice require in the Caſe, who do teſtify, that according to the uſual Practice of their reſpective Sexes at the Birth of Princes, Heirs to Crowns, they were Eye Witneſſes that the Child now called the Prince of *Wales* was naturally born of the Queen's Body.

'Tis but juſt regular and modeſt for your Highneſs to make that Demand, and your inſiſting upon it to be done immediately, without the leaſt Delay, and is no more than the Right of your Highneſs and the Kingdom, that muſt be confeſſed by all that either know the Rules of natural Juſtice or the Laws of *England:* Our Laws require and demand an Entry to be made upon all Intruders into the Rights or Inheritances of another, there ought to be legal Interruptions made of all wrongful Poſſeſſions however obtained. A long Permiſſion of an illegitimate Child to paſs for a legitimate Heir, is of dangerous Conſequence to the true Heir of an Inheritance; 'tis a known Rule both in our *Engliſh* Laws, and the Civil Laws, *Tacens longo tempore præſumitur conſentire*, he that remains long without anſwering any Thing to an Intruder's Claim, ſeems to allow it.

We crave Pardon that we muſt freely tell your Highneſs, that it hath been our Aſtoniſhment that your Highneſs has been ſo long ſilent, and have deferred to make your juſt Demand, and that you have ſo long ſuffered her Royal Highneſs's Chaplains to pray publickly for this ſuppoſed Prince of *Wales*.

Your Highneſs's Heart cannot deſire the God of Truth and Righteouſneſs to proſper ſuch an Invaſion of your own and the Kingdom's Rights, nor to bleſs the Impoſture as ſuch, being ſet up (tho' an innocent Child) to be a Tool in the Hands of others to deſtroy the Proteſtant Profeſſion, your Highneſs's Claims to the greateſt Inheritance, and the beſt Civil Government known in the World. We believe your Highneſſes to be true Chriſtians, that tremble in the Worſhip and Prayers before the eternal Majeſty, and therefore hope ſuch a Shew of owning him will not be longer ſuffered to be acted before the great God, that ſearcheth all the Hearts of Princes and Subjects.

If your Highneſſes ſhall firſt make this legal Demand propoſed, and Satisfaction therein be not given by the Maintainers of the ſuppoſed Prince, without Delay, then natural Juſtice and our Laws dictate, that your Highneſſes demand a Retraction by the publick Miniſters of the King in all Chriſtian Kingdoms and States, of the falſe News they have publiſhed of the Birth of a Prince of *Wales*, and their Vindication of her Royal Highneſs's Right apparent to the next Succeſſion of the Crown.

When a wrongful Claimer to be Heir of an Inheritance cannot prove his true Deſcent, the Court wherein he ſues his Claim, not only rejects and damns his falſe Pretences, but openly declares the counterfeit Tricks or Forgeries that they obſerve to have been attempted to ſupport the falſe Claim; and our Laws enable the Heir that hath been diſturbed, to demand by his Action againſt the falſe Pretender, Satisfaction for the Scandal of his lawful Title, and our Laws further require his Proſecution for Juſtice againſt all the

known Confederates in that intended Wrong and Fraud, for their ſeveral Crimes therein committed.

We are ſenſible, that moſt Catholick Princes have a Prejudice to us in the Rights we claim as *Engliſh* Proteſtants, not knowing our Laws and Liberties, and we have therefore propoſed theſe two Demands to be firſt in Order made by your Highneſſes in the behalf of her Royal Highneſs and the Kingdom, that we might convince them that we have Reaſon and Juſtice according to their own Laws and Rules of Right to ſeek your Highneſſes Protection againſt the King's Practices (as they yet appear) in forcing us to ſtoop to a counterfeit Prince, and to change the Succeſſion of the Crown and the whole Government, your Highneſſes having therein a joint Concern with us and our Laws; and Nature itſelf, calls upon you to defend your own and the Kingdom's Right, to preſerve the Succeſſion of the Crown, as it is by the Laws eſtabliſhed, which the King had no Pretence of Power to change.

But we muſt alſo humbly fly to your Highneſſes to protect us againſt the horrible Deſtruction made by the King of all our Laws, for the Reformation of our Chriſtian Religion, and our Security againſt the open profeſſed and mortal Enemies of our Liberties therein; the King having declared to the World, that thoſe Laws ſhall never hereafter be put in Execution; and to make our Caſe therein deſperate, hath cauſed his Judges to juſtify him in what he hath done.

We muſt alſo pray your Highneſſes Help againſt his Invaſion of all our Civil Rights and Fundamental Liberties, and his utter Subverſion of the free Government of *England* by its antient Cuſtoms and Laws.

We cannot doubt but your Highneſſes will be convinced by this Memorial that we have not complained of our Oppreſſions until they are become intolerable, nor ſought any Relief (ſave from *God* alone) until your Highneſſes juſtly expected Inheritance, and the very Being of our Civil Government are in the moſt extream Danger of utter Ruin.

We are and have been truly loyal to the King, and never refuſed Obedience to any of his legal Commands, or any whatſoever that could conſiſt with all our other Duties to God and our fellow Subjects. We have been content to ſuffer perſonal Wrongs and manifeſt Injuſtice, and conſidered the Corruption of Men, that Abuſes and particular Wrongs will happen in all Governments, and ought patiently to be born, whilſt the Fundamentals of Civil Government and Juſtice are ſacredly preſerved. Our Chriſtian Charity taught us that 'tis better that a few ſuffer Wrongs, then to hazard for their juſt Relief more Effuſion of Blood, or other Miſchiefs than can be recompenſed by their obtaining Right. We know the *Jeſuits* Crafts might have clouded the Juſtice that might have been demanded in particular Caſes, and we have therefore ſtay'd until the Juſtice of what we pray, is become demonſtrable unto all that are not corruptly and wilfully blind, or led blindfold by the *Jeſuits* or their *Romiſh* Prieſts.

We are ſenſible, that the King hath uſed the Name of the Royal Authority and Prerogative in all the lawleſs Powers that he hath exerciſed; and we durſt not pray your Highneſs's Aid againſt his Doings, if there could be reaſon-

reasonably any Doubt or Question, whether the Things he hath done, and daily doth, might be authorized by the Royal Powers and high Prerogatives which belong to the Kings of *England*.

'Tis most unquestionable, that the noble *English* Monarchy and Government had a legal Foundation, and was and is established upon Customs, Franchises and Laws peculiar to the *English* Nation. It was always free and independent upon all the Powers and Potentates on Earth: The Kings and the People are, and of Right were always free and absolute, to bind themselves by their own Laws, made by their joint Consent, and not otherwise; they could never be bound by any others than themselves, save only by the Laws of the most High GOD.

A King of *England* ceaseth to act by the *English* kingly Authority; or as a King of *England*, if he yield up himself or his Subjects to be bound or subjected to any other Laws, Canons or Jurisdictions, than such as are made, or freely received, by the mutual Agreement of the King, and the Representative Body of the Realm in Parliament.

'Tis declared, in the Statute 6 *Richard* II. 5. that the Crown of *England* had been so free at all Times, that it hath been in Subjection to no Realm; and that the same ought not, in any Thing touching the Regality, to be submitted to the Bishop of *Rome*, nor the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, to be by him frustrated or defeated at his Will, to the perpetual Destruction of the King's Sovereignty, Crown and Regality, and of all the Realm. The Commons then prayed the King, and him required, by Way of Justice, to examine all the States of the Realm, how they would stand, to defend the Rights of the Crown and the Realm against the Pope; and it was thereupon ordained, that all that should pursue or bring any Bulls or Instruments from *Rome*, against the King's Regality, or his Realm, should be put out of the King's Protection, and incur a *Premunire*, which, as the Law then was, made it lawful for any Man to kill them.

Likewise the Statute of 24 *Henry* VIII. 12. and 25 *Henry* VIII. 21. say, That the Realm hath been, and is free from Subjection to Mans Laws, but only to such as have been devised and made within the same, for its own Welfare, or of their free Liberty, received by their Consent to them.

The King and Parliament, near four Hundred Years since, were so resolute to defend the Rights and Freedoms of the Crown and the Realm, against the Imposition of the Pope's Canons, and the Jurisdictions and Powers which he attempted to exercise, that notwithstanding they were Papists, yet they, by the Statute of 18 *Edward* III. Statute 1. Rot. Parliament, Number 38, declared the Pope to be the common Enemy to the King and the Realm, and so he stands now declared; and to the like Purpose is the Roll Parliament 17 *Edward* III. Number 59. Tho' these Statutes are not printed, their Force is the same, to make them to fall into the Condition of Enemies to the Kingdom that correspond with him or his Nuntio.

It never was in the Power of any King of *England*, to yield up or submit the Rights of the Crown, and the Realm and its Laws, Powers or Jurisdictions of any Sort, against the Will of the Realm in Parliament; so it was con-

feſſed 500 Years ſince, King *Henry* VI. in his Letter to Pope *Paſchal*, *Notum habeat ſanctitus veſtra quod me vivente* [*auxiliante Deo,*] *dignitates & uſus regni noſtri Angliæ non imminuentur, & ſi ego (quod abſit) in tanta me dejectione ponerem Magnates mei, & totus Angliæ populus nullo modo pateretur. Be it known,* (ſaid he,) *to your Holineſs, that whilſt I live, (by God's Aſſiſtance) the Authorities and Uſages of the Kingdom of* England *ſhall never be diminiſhed, but if I would ſo debaſe my ſelf, (which GOD forbid,) my Nobles, and the whole People of* England *would by no Means ſuffer it.*

King *John* indeed unworthily ſurrendred the Crown and Regalities to Pope *Innocent* III. and his Succeſſors, and the Prieſt falſly put into that Charter, that it was by the Conſent of his Council of Barons, he ſubmitted to hold the Kingdom of the Pope; and that by yearly Rent again; but when Pope *Gregory* X. in the third of *Edward* I. ſent for that pretended Rent, that noble Prince juſtly * anſwered, that he was bound by his Oath, in his Coronation, to preſerve the Rights of the Kingdom untouched; and that he could do nothing that concerned the Crown, without the Advice of the People in Parliament, which are there called † *proceres.*

In the 40th *Edward* III. the Pope demanded the ſame Rents, and the King propoſed it in Parliament, but they declared, that neither King *John* nor any other King had any Power to put himſelf, or the Realm and People into Subjection to the Pope, without their Conſent in Parliament; and that if it were done by King *John*, it was done contrary to his Oath in his Coronation; and if the Pope attempted any Thing thereupon, againſt the King or his Subjects, they would reſiſt him to their utmoſt Power.

The ſame King *Edward* the III. had only negligently ſuffered the Pope's Power to be too much uſed in the Kingdom, contrary to the Statute of *Carliſle*, 35 *Edward* I. as appears by the Parliament *Roll* 17, *Edward* III. Number 59, and the Commons in Parliament complained, that the Treaſure of the Realm was tranſported to *Rome*, and the Secrets of the Realm diſcovered, by the foreign Prieſts ſent hither; and they required of the King ſome Mercy, for that they neither could nor would any longer bear thoſe ſtrong Oppreſſions, or elſe that he would help them to expel out of this Realm the Pope's Power by Force, and thereupon were enacted againſt many of the Pope's Powers in this Realm, thoſe ſevere Penal Laws, of 25 *Edward* III. 27 *Edward* III. 1. 38 *Edward* III. Statute II. Chap. I. all which our King hath now declared ſhall never hereafter be put in Execution.

That victorious Prince *Edward* III. tho' a Papiſt, yet pretended to no regal Prerogative of ſuſpending the Laws made by the Kings and Parliaments againſt the Pope; he confeſſeth, in that Statute, of 35th *Edward* I. againſt the Pope's Power, that it held its Force, being not annulled by Parliament; and therefore he was bound, by his Oath, to ſee the ſame kept as a Law of the Realm, tho' that by Sufferance and Negligence it had been attempted to the contrary.

* See Roll. Clar. 3. *Ed.* Num. 9. Shed. † See Coke's Inſt. Fol. 13.

If the Effects of the *Romiſh* Juriſdiction [illegible] the Realm were [illegible] upon as they are related in that 38th *Edward* III. 1. It would be manifeſt, that the King that would put the Kingdom into ſuch a State, lays aſide thereby his Kingly Office and Dignity, whilſt he purſues theſe Intentions. That Statute ſaith, That by the Powers exerciſed by the Pope and Court of *Rome*, and the Dependants thereof, the good ancient Laws, Cuſtoms, and Franchiſes of the Realm were greatly impeached, blemiſhed, and confounded; the Crown abated, the Treaſure and Riches of the Realm carried away, the Inhabitants and Subjects of the Realm impoveriſhed and troubled, and the great Men and Commons in Bodies and Goods damnified; ſurely there can be no Doubt, whether the King hath any Royal Prerogative to enable him either to ſtop the Execution of theſe penal Laws, that prevent the Kingdom from falling back into ſuch a forlorn Eſtate, or to attempt, by Pretence of Liberty of Conſcience for the *Romiſh* Prieſts and Emiſſaries, and their Practices, to enable them to work all the Miſchief they can againſt thoſe that would ſave the Kingdom from ſuch Miſeries.

Your Highneſſes may be abſolutely certain, that the King acts not by Virtue of the *Engliſh* regal Office or Prerogatives, in his authorizing Treaſons to be daily committed againſt the Realm, by the Statute of 13th *Elizabeth*, 2. they that give or receive any Abſolution or Reconciliation to *Rome* by the Pope's Authority, or any of his Prieſts, which the King licenſeth and authorizeth to be done continually, thoſe are declared high Traitors to the King and the Realm, and no Doubt Treaſon declared by a Statute againſt the Realm, are common Nuiances of the higheſt Nature and Miſchief; 'tis the Truſt of the regal Office to prevent and puniſh them; and 'tis directly contrary to the Kingly Office, to aſſume Power to authorize or licence ſuch Crimes.

'Tis unqueſtionable, that no King of *England* ever had Power to grant Offices to Perſons diſabled to bear them, by poſitive and direct Acts of Parliament, made for that very Purpoſe, and declared to be for the People's Security; nevertheleſs the King hath put moſt of the Offices of the Kingdom in the Hands of thoſe that are ſo diſabled.

'Tis as certain, it never was in the Power of our Kings, to diſpoſſeſs at their Wills any of the Subjects of thoſe Intereſts and Profits which they had for their Lives; nor to commiſſion any to judge his Subjects finally in Matters Criminal or Civil by their Diſcretion, without any Regard to the Laws, Cuſtoms and Privileges of the Realm.

Theſe and many other Powers exerted by the King, which we might name to your Highneſſes, are not the Actings of an *Engliſh* legal Monarch, but an aſſumed deſpotical Power over the Perſons, the Liberties and Intereſts of the Subjects; as if he alone had at leaſt the Property paramount in all their Perſons and their Intereſts, which in all Civil Governments belongs only to the lawful Legiſlators; and as if the People of *England* were Tenants of his meer Will to what they have, and had no Right nor Intereſt in their Laws, Cuſtoms or Franchiſes, nor any Juſtice to demand the Benefit of them.

Nothing can complete his Majeſty's Renunciation of the Truſts and Obligation of the *Engliſh* regal Office, ſave only that he aſſumes, (as he now doth actually

actually) to take from the Cities and Boroughs intirely all their Cuſtoms and Privileges, and free Election of their Magiſtrates, confirmed to them expreſly by the great Charter, and many other Laws; and that he deprives all the reſt of the People of their Liberty to chuſe ſuch Perſons as they pleaſe, according to the Statutes, to conſent for them to the Laws that bind them, their Eſtates and Lives, as he hath declared he will, and intends and is every Day doing; and then the ancient rightful and free *Engliſh* Government will be manifeſtly and intirely diſſolved, and *Engliſhmen* ſhall have no legal Right to their Eſtates, their Wives and Children, or their Lives.

There will be then no legal *Engliſh* Monarchy in *England*, truſted by the Laws, with high Royal Prerogatives for the joint Safety and Benefit of the King and the Subjects, acknowledging themſelves to be bound by an Oath, to maintain the Cuſtoms, Laws and Franchiſes of the Realm, and to take continual Care for the Execution of the Laws impartially; for that Purpoſe every Man ſhall then have equal and eternal Right to every Thing as this King will, and his Popiſh Forces ſhall diſpoſe of it, and ſo long only as he ſhall pleaſe to continue in the ſame Mind with the ſame Force.

'Tis with bleeding Hearts, that in this manifeſt extreme Oppreſſion and Danger we beg your Highneſſes Aid to defend the Rights of the Crown, and the Realm.

There can be no Queſtion of your Highneſſes Right to defend the ſame, the legal Monarchy and Government, by our ancient Cuſtoms, Laws and Franchiſes, to ſave the ancient penal Laws againſt the Pope's Uſurpations, and the latter Laws for the Reformation of our Religion from Popery; and to preſerve the ſpecial Cuſtoms and Privileges of the Cities and Boroughs, as well as the general Cuſtoms of the Kingdom, our Cuſtoms and Laws only have veſted in your Highneſs the next Right expectant of the *Engliſh* Crown, [and if no Prince ſhall be born, *Rege etiam remitente*,] tho' the King ſhall do all that's poſſible for him to hinder you.

If you ſuffer them to be deſtroyed, or to be diſuſed and deemed to be of no Force, but as the King ſhall pleaſe, by his Judges and Courts, and by all that he ſhall poſſeſs of the Power of the Kingdom, your Highneſs's Claim and Rights expectant of the Crown is in like Manner deſtroyed and ſet aſide; and the whole arbitrary Magiſtracy ſerving his Will and all his Popiſh Forces, Foreigners and Natives, will be engaged in Intereſt and miſguided Conſcience, to oppoſe your Highneſs's Claim; by the Laws and Cuſtoms of *England*, there will be indeed, in the State to which the King hath brought the Kingdom, no legal Magiſtrates nor Government in Being and Uſe, unto which her Royal Highneſs can immediately ſucceed, according to the Cuſtoms and Laws of *England*; the Kingdom muſt be a confuſed Multitude, and the ſtrongeſt may ſubdue the reſt to their Will.

As your Highneſſes have a Right to ſave the Government, by Reaſon of your great Intereſt in it, ſo all the People have an unqueſtionable Right to ſeek your Highneſs's Aid therein; and 'tis one of their principal Duties of the Chriſtian Religion, and will be one of the beſt outward Expreſſions of their Love to God, and Jeſus Chriſt, to aſſiſt your Highneſſes in all your righ-

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teous Ways, defending their juſt Civil Government, being inſtituted by GOD for preſerving Juſtice amongſt human Societies.

The People that love their Neighbours and Countries as Chriſtian Religion Commands, ought not careleſly nor irreligiouſly to ſuffer their Civil Government, their Laws, and all their Rights and Intereſt that their Country hold by them for themſelves and Poſterities, to be deſtroyed by any Man's Will, Superſtition or Ambition.

He that was at firſt a legal ſupream Magiſtrate, and ought to have been obeyed if he would have ſo continued, tho' he had done many Injuſtices to particular Perſons, he may caſt off the Quality and Uſe of the Powers of a legal ſupream Magiſtrate, and uſe and exerciſe Power deſtructive to all the legal Truſts and Office; and then he diveſts himſelf of that Office and Truſt of a lawful Magiſtracy, unto which the Laws of God and the Kingdom require Obedience.

The ancient Kings of *England* acknowledged the People's Right to ſave their free Government, if any of the Kings themſelves would have diſhonourably parted with the Rights of the Crown and the Realm; we mention the Letter of *Henry* I. to the *Pope:* And that great Prince *Edward* I. on the like Occaſion of Power claimed by the *Pope*, not only writ to the *Pope* to the ſame Effect as *Henry* I. did, but by his Conſent Letters were written to Pope *Boniface*, by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, wherein they told the *Pope*, that they were bound by Oath to the Obſervation and Defence of their Liberty, Cuſtoms and ancient Laws, and would maintain them with all their Power and Force; and that they neither did, nor ever would, could, or ought to ſuffer the King, tho' he would, to do, or any Ways attempt what the *Pope* deſired contrary to their Cuſtoms; ſince it would be to the Deſtruction of the Right of the Crown of *England*, and the Kingly Dignity, and the Subverſion of the Statutes of the Kingdom, and Prejudice of their ancient Liberties, Cuſtoms and Laws.

Since then your Highneſſes have an undoubted Right * to interpoſe between the King and us in your own and the Kingdom's Behalf, to ſave our ancient legal Government, and in ſpecial our Laws for the Reformation of our Chriſtian Religion, we humbly offer, that beſides the former Demands about the ſuppoſed Prince, your Highneſſes will pleaſe to demand and inſiſt immoveable,

That the ancient free Government of *England*, by its own Cuſtoms and Laws only made, or approved in Parliament, be immediately reſtored in all the Parts of it through the Kingdom; that is, that the Rights of the Crown and Freedom of the Realm be forthwith vindicated from all the Submiſſions publickly made to the *Pope* by the King that now is, to the Diſhonour and Abaſement of the *Engliſh* Crown, and Realm, and from all the Claims made by the *Romiſh* Church of any Powers and Juriſdictions whatſoever over the Chriſtians or Church in *England.*

That all the Laws now in Force againſt the Admiſſion of the Canons, and Juriſdiction of *Rome*, contrary to our Cuſtoms and Laws, and againſt the

* *Rot. Parliament.* 28 *Ed.* I. See *Coke*'s Inſtitut. 2. *fol.* 98.

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Maintainers of them, be forthwith declared to be put in due Execution; and all Suſpenſions of them, or Diſpenſations with them, without the Authority of Parliament, be declared null and void.

That the ancient Cuſtoms, Liberties and Privileges for the City of *London*, and the whole Form and Courſe of its Government, be forthwith reſtored, the Cuſtoms thereof, being Part of the Common Law of *England*, and its Liberties be eſtabliſhed by the great Charter, and many Acts of Parliament, that the Cuſtoms, free Election of their Magiſtrates, and all the Privileges of all the Cities and Boroughs of *England* confirmed by the greater Charter, and other Laws be duly reſtored.

That legal Officers, both Civil and Military, be ſettled in all the Places of Magiſtracy, and all the Commands throughout the Kingdom.

That all Commiſſions whatſoever be forthwith revoked, and declared null and void, whereby are granted any Powers of Diſcretion over the Perſons or Intereſt of the Subjects, contrary to the Laws and Cuſtoms of *England*; eſpecially the Commiſſion for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, with its monſtrous *non obſtante*, to all our Laws.

That the Freedom of Elections, which is the Foundation of the Government, be duly vindicated, and all the moſt unworthy Pre-ingagements revoked, and renounced, to elect and vote as the King would have them.

That the Kingdom may be reſtored as ſoon as poſſible to a Capacity of holding a legal Parliament, in ſuch Form and Manner as the Laws require; by whoſe Help the Civil Government may be re-eſtabliſhed, and Force and arbitrary Powers therein utterly aboliſhed.

We crave your Highneſſes Pardon, that we further humbly offer to your Highneſſes, that Time and Accident always made Changes in the Uſefulneſs of Laws; and that it hath ſo happened in our Penal Laws made for Uniformity in the Profeſſion of Faith, and in the outward Worſhip of God; four of our ſucceeding Parliaments perceived the Abuſe of theſe Laws, and the Miſchief thereby to conſcious Chriſtians, and declared their Intention of relieving them, if the King would have permitted them, yet they endeavoured to ſtop the Execution of them, and deſired a Settlement of Liberty of Conſcience as is due to Chriſtians.

In theſe Regards, and the Subverſion of the whole Government, ſince made Neceſſity and Charity, many have the Force of Laws to inforce the Stay of the Execution of ſome of thoſe Laws for Conformity, until thoſe Matters may be ſettled in Parliament.

We therefore humbly pray your Highneſſes to procure, as a Caſe of Neceſſity, that none be diſturbed, until a legal Parliament ſhall have reſolved the Caſe for the Profeſſion of their Faith in Matters merely ſupernatural, or the outward Expreſſion of their Worſhip, ſo as both terminate only in God, and neither wrong nor hurt any Man on Earth in Body, Goods, and good Name, but their own Souls only, if they be miſtaken therein.

We now moſt humbly ſubmit ourſelves, and all herein contained, to your Highneſſes Wiſdom, Candour, and Charity, and ſhall pray the juſt and great God to fill your noble Souls with perfect Love and Wiſdom, and all the moſt reſplendent

reſplendent Virtues that are fit to ſhine in the higheſt Thrones and Power that ever the Sun beheld.

Sir, The Character we have had of your Worth, makes us confident of your Faithfulneſs to deliver the incloſed forthwith to his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, or in his Abſence to her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs; we could not truſt it by the Poſt, and therefore have ſent it by an Expreſs; which may perhaps make it longer in coming; the Meſſenger's only Order is to deliver it to one of your Servants, and we confide in your Integrity, and remain,

SIR,

Your moſt humble Servants,

Whom you may hereafter know.

The Speech of Sir *George Treby*, Kt. Recorder of the Honourable City of *London*, to his Highneſs the PRINCE of *ORANGE*, *December* the 20*th*, 1688.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

THE Lord Mayor being diſabled by Sickneſs, your Highneſs is attended by the Aldermen and Commons of the Capital City of this Kingdom, deputed to congratulate your Highneſs upon this great and glorious Occaſion.

In which, labouring for Words, we cannot but come ſhort in Expreſſion.

Reviewing our late Danger, we remember our Church and State, over-run by Popery and Arbitrary Power, and brought to the Point of Deſtruction, by the Conduct of Men (that were our true Invaders) that brake the Sacred Fences of our Laws, and (which was worſt) the very Conſtitution of our Legiſlature.

So that there was no Remedy left but the laſt.

The only Perſon under Heaven that could apply this Remedy was your Highneſs.

You are of a Nation, whoſe Alliance, in all Times, has been agreable and proſperous to us.

You are of a Family, moſt Illuſtrious, Benefactors to Mankind. To have the Title of Sovereign Prince, Stadtholder, and to have worn the *Imperial* Crown, are among their leſſer Dignities. They have long enjoy'd a Dignity ſingular and tranſcendent, viz. To be Champions of Almighty God, ſent forth in ſeveral Ages, to vindicate his Cauſe againſt the greateſt Oppreſſions.

To this Divine Commiſſion, our Nobles, our Gentry, and among them our brave Engliſh Soldiers, rendred themſelves and their Arms upon your appearing.

GREAT SIR,

When we look back to this laſt Month, and contemplate the Swiftneſs and Fulneſs of our preſent Deliverance, aſtoniſh'd, we think it miraculous.

Your Highneſs, led by the Hand of Heaven, and called by the Voice of the People, has preſerved our deareſt Intereſts.

The Proteſtant Religion; which is primitive Chriſtianity reſtor'd.

Our Laws; which are our ancient Title to our Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates; and without which this World were a Wilderneſs.

But, what Retribution can We make to your Highneſs.

Our Thoughts are full charged with Gratitude.

Your Highneſs has a laſting Monument in the Hearts, in the Prayers, in the Praiſes of all good Men amongſt us. And late Poſterity will celebrate your ever-glorious Name, till Time ſhall be no more.

Chapman Mayor.

Cur' ſpecial' tent' die Jovis xx. *die Decembr'* 1688. *Annoq; RR. Jacobi Secundi Angl'* &c. *quarto.*

THis Court doth deſire Mr. Recorder to Print his Speech this Day made to the Prince of *Orange*, at the Time of this Court's attending his Highneſs with the Deputies of the ſeveral Wards, and other Members of the Common-Council.

Wagſtaffe.

The Names of the LORDS of his MAJESTY's moſt Honourable Privy-Council.

HIS Majeſty, the Day after he was proclaimed King of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, was Graciouſly pleaſed to Summon divers Honourable Peers and Gentlemen to *Whitehall*, who were ſelected and ſworn of his Privy-Council, viz.

His Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury.
The Right Reverend Biſhop of London
His Grace the Duke of Norfolk.
Marquis of Wincheſter.
Marquis of Hallifax.
Earl of Danby, *Preſident.*
Earl of Lindſay..
Earl of Oxford.
Earl of Shrewſbury.
Earl of Bedford.
Earl of Devonſhire.
Earl of Macclesfield.
Earl of Nottingham.
Earl of Bath.
Earl of Dorſet *and* Middleſex.
Lord Viſcount Falconbridge.
Lord Mordaunt.
Lord Newport.
Lord Wharton.

Lord

Lord Delamere.
Lord Montague.
Lord Lumley.
Lord Churchill.
The Heer Benting.
Honourable Henry Sidney.
Honourable Edward Ruſſel.
Honourable Henry Powle.
Richard Hampden, *Senior.*
Sir Henry Capel.
Hugh Boſcawen, *Eſq;*
Sir Robert Howard.

A True Liſt of the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes, ſummoned by the Letter of his Highneſs the PRINCE of *ORANGE*, to meet at *Weſtminſter* the 22*d* of *January* 1688-9, as they have been returned to the Office of the Clerk of the Crown in *Chancery*.

Bedfordſhire 4.

THE *Hon.* Edward Ruſſel, *Eſq;*
William Duncombe, *Eſq;*
Town of Bedford.
Thomas Chriſtie, *Eſq;*
Thomas Hillerſdon, *Eſq;*

Berks 9.

The Hon. Mountague Bertie, *Lord* Norris.
Sir Henry Winchcombe, *Bart.*
Borough of New-Windſor.
Henry Powle, *Eſq;*
Sir Chriſtopher Wren, *Knt.*
Borough of Reading.
Sir William Rich, *Bart.*
Sir Henry Fane, *Knight of the Bath.*
Borough of Wallingford.
Thomas Tipping, *Eſq;* } John Dormer, *Eſq;*
Thomas Tipping, *Eſq;* } William Jennens, *Eſq;*
Borough of Abington.
Thomas Medlycott, *Eſq;*

Bucks 14.

The Hon. Thomas Wharton, *Eſq;*
Sir Thomas Lee, *Bart.*
Town of Buckingham.
Sir Richard Temple, *Knight of the Bath and Bart.*
Sir Ralph Verney, *Bart.*
Borough of Chipping-Wicomb.
Thomas Lewes, *Eſq;*
William Jephſon, *Eſq;*
Borough of Ayleſbury.
Thomas Lee, *Eſq;*
Richard Beake, *Eſq;*
Borough of Agmondeſham.
Sir William Drake, *Knt.*
Edmond Waller, *Eſq;*
Borough of Wendover.
Richard Hampden, *Eſq;*
John Hampden, *Eſq;*
Borough of Great-Marlow.
Anthony *Viſcount* Falkland.
Sir John Borlace, *Bart.*

Cambridge 6.

Sir Levinus Bennet, *Bart.*
Sir Robert Cotton, *Knt,*
Univerſity of Cambridge.
Sir Robert Sawyer, *Knt.*
Iſaac Newton, *Maſter of Arts.*
Town of Cambridge.
Sir Thomas Chichley, *Knt.*
John Cotton, *Eſq;*

Cheſter 4.

Sir Robert Cotton, *Knt.* and *Bart.*
John Mainwaring, *Eſq;*
City of Cheſter.
Roger Whitley, *Eſq;*
George Mainwaring, *Alderman.*

Cornwall 44.

Sir John Carew, *Bart.*
Hugh Boſcawen, *Eſq;*
Borough of Dunhivid, *alias* Launceſton.
William Harbord, *Eſq;*
Edward Ruſſel, Eſq;
Borough of Leſkard.
Sir Bourcheir Wrey, *Bart.* and *Knt. of the Bath.*
John Buller, *Eſq;*
Borough of Leſtwithiel.
The Hon. Francis Robarts, *Eſq;*
Walter Kendall, *Eſq;*
Borough of Truro.
Sir Henry Aſhurſt, *Knt.*
Henry Vincent, *Eſq;*
John Tredenham, *Eſq;*
John Manley, *Jun. Eſq;*
Borough of Bodmin.
Sir John Cutler, *Knt.* and *Bart.*
Nicholas Glynn, *Eſq;*
Borough of Helſton.
Sir John St. Aubyn, *Bart.*
Charles Godolphin, *Eſq;*
Borough of Saltaſh.
The Hon. Bernard Grenvile, *Eſq;*
John Wadon, *Eſq;*
Borough of Camelford.
Ambroſe Manaton, *Eſq;*
Henry Manaton, *Eſq;*
Borough of Port-Higham, *alias* Weſlow.
Peircy Kirke, *Eſq;*
James Kendal, *Eſq;*
Borough of Grampound.
Edward Herle, *Eſq;*
John Tanner, *Eſq;*
Borough of Eaſtlow.
Charles Trelawney, *Eſq;*
Henry Trelawney, *Eſq;*
Borough of Penryn.
Anthony Rowe, *Eſq;*
Alexander Pendarves, *Eſq;*
Borough of Tregony.
Charles Boſcawen, *Eſq;*
Hugh Forteſcue, *Eſq;*
Borough of Boſſiney.
Sir Peter Colleton, *Bart.*
Humphry Nicoll, *Eſq;*
Borough of St. Ives.
James Praed, *Eſq;*
Walter Vincent, *Eſq;*
Borough of Foway.
Jonathan Raſhleigh, *Eſq;*
Shadrach Vincent, *Eſq;*
Borough of St. Germans.
Sir Walter Moyle, *Knt.*
Daniel Elyott, *Eſq;*
Borough of St. Michael.
Charles, *Lord Viſcount* Fanſhaw.
Francis Vivian, *Eſq;*
Borough of Newport.
Sir William Morrice, *Bart.*
John Speccott, *Eſq;*
Borough of St. Mawes.
Sir Joſeph Tredenham, *Knt.*
Henry Seymour, *Eſq;*
Borough of Kellington.
Sir John Coryton, *Bart.*
Jonathan Prideaux, *Eſq;*

Cumberland 6.

Sir George Fletcher, *Bart.*
Sir John Lowther *of* Whitehaven, *Bart.*
City of Carliſle.
Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, *Knt.* and *Bart.*
Jeremiah Bubb, *Eſq;*
Borough of Cockermouth.
Sir Henry Capell, *Knt.*
Henry Fletcher, *Eſq;*

Derby 4.

Sir John Gell, *Bart.*
Sir Gilbert Clarke, *Knt.*

Town

Town of Derby.
The Hon. Anchitell Gray, *Esq*;
John Coke, *Esq*;

Devonshire 26.

Francis Courtnay, *Esq*;
Samuel Rolle, *Esq*;
City of Exeter.
Sir Edward Seymour, *Bart.*
Henry Pollexfen, *Esq*;
Borough of Totnes.
Sir John Fowell, *Bart.*
Rawlin Mallack, *Esq*;
Borough of Plymouth.
Sir John Maynard, *Serj. at Law.*
Arthur Herbert, *Esq*;
Borough of Oakehampton.
William Cary, *Esq*;
Henry Nortleigh, *Esq*;
Borough of Barnstable.
Sir Arthur Chichester, *Bart.*
Richard Lee *of* Winslade, *Esq*;
Borough of Plympton.
Sir George Treby, *Knt.*
John Pollexfen, *Merchant.*
Borough of Honiton.
Richard Courtenay *of* Collyton, *Esq*;
Edmond Walrond *of* Bovey, *Esq*;
Borough of Tavistock.
The Hon. Robert Russel, *Esq*;
Sir Francis Drake, *Bart.*
Borough of Ashburton.
Sir Walter Yonge, *Bart.*
Thomas Reynell, *Esq*;
Borough of Clifton, Dartmouth, *and* Hardness.
Charles Boon, *Esq*;
William Hayne, *Merchant.*
Borough of Beeralston.
Sir John Maynard, *Knt. Serjeant at Law.*
John Elwel, *Esq*;
Borough of Tiverton.
Samuel Foote, *Esq*;
William Colman, *Esq*;

Dorsetshire 20.

Thomas Strangwayes, *Esq*;
Thomas Freke, *Esq*;
Town of Pool.
Sir Nathaniel Napier, *Bart.*
Henry Trenchard, *Esq*;
Thomas Chaffin, *Esq*;
Henry Trenchard, *Esq*;
Borough of Dorchester.
Gerard Napier, *Esq*;
Thomas Trenchard, *Esq*;
Borough of Lyme-Regis.
John Pole, *Esq*;
John Burridge, *Esq*;
Borough of Weymouth.
Michael Harvey, *Esq*;
Henry Henning, *Esq*;
Borough of Melcolm-Regis.
Sir John Morton, *Bart.*
Sir Robert Napier, *Knt.* and *Bart.*
Borough of Bridport.
Richard Brodrep, *Esq*;
John Manley, *jen. Esq*;
Borough of Shafton, *alias* Shaftsbury.
Sir Matthew Andrews, *Knt.*
Edward Nicholas, *Esq*;
Borough of Wareham.
Thomas Erle, *Esq*;
George Ryves, *Esq*;
Borough of Corf-Castle.
Richard Fownes, *Esq*;
William Okeden, *Esq*;

Durham 4.

William Lampton, *Esq*;
Robert Byerley, *Esq*;
City of Durham.
George Morland, *Esq*;
Henry Lyddel, *Esq*;

Esser 8.

Henry Mildmay, *Esq*;
John Wroth, *Esq*;
Borough of Colchester.
Samuel Reynolds, *Esq*;
Isaac Rebow, *Esq*;

Borough

Borough of Malden.
Sir Thomas Darcy, *Bart.*
Charles Montague, *Esq;*
Borough of Harwich.
Sir Thomas Middleton, *Knt.*
John Eldred, *Esq;*

Glouceſterſhire 8.

Sir John Guyſe, *Bart.*
Sir Ralph Dutton, *Bart.*
City of Glouceſter.
Sir Duncombe Colecheſter, *Knt.*
William Cooke, *Esq;*
Borough of Cirenceſter.
Thomas Maſter, *Esq;*
John How, *Esq;*
Borough of Tewkeſbury.
Richard Dowdeſwell, *Esq;*
Sir Francis Ruſſel, *Bart.*

Herefordſhire 8.

Sir John Morgan, *Bart.*
Sir Edward Harley, *Knt. of the Bath.*
City of Hereford.
Sir William Gregory, *Serjeant at Law.*
Paul Foley, *Esq;*
Borough of Lempſter.
Thomas Conyngeſby, *Esq;*
John Dutton Colt, *Esq;*
Borough of Weobly.
John Birch, *Esq;*
James Morgan, *Esq;*

Hertfordſhire 6.

Sir Thomas Pope Blount, *Bart.*
Sir Charles Ceſar, *Knt.*
Borough of St. Albans.
Sir Samuel Grimſton, *Bart.*
George Churchill, *Esq;*
Borough of Hertford.
Sir William Cowper, *Bart.*
Sir Thomas Byde, *Knt.*

Huntingtonſhire 4.

The Hon. Robert Mountague, *Esq;*
Sir Robert Bernard, *Bart.*
Borough of Huntington.
The Hon. Sidney Wortley *alias* Mountague, *Esq;*
John Bigg, *Esq;*

Kent 10.

The Hon. Sir Vere Fane, *Knight of the Bath.*
Sir John Knatchbull *Bart.*
City of Canterbury.
Sir William Honywood, *Bart.*
Henry Lee, *Esq;*
City of Rocheſter.
Sir John Bancks, *Bart.*
Sir Roger Twiſden, *Bart.*
Borough of Maidſtone.
Sir Thomas Taylor, *Bart.*
Caleb Bancks, *Esq;*
Borough of Queenborough.
James Herbert, *Esq;*
Robert Crawford, *Esq;*

Lancaſhire 14.

Charles *Lord* Brandon Gerrard.
Sir Charles Haughton, *Bart.*
Borough of Lancaſter.
—— Preſten, *Esq;*
—— Rawlinſon, *Esq;*
Borough of Preſton *in* Amounderneſs.
The Hon. James Stanley, *Esq;*
Thomas Patten, *Esq;*
Borough of Newton.
Sir John Chichley, *Knt.*
Francis Cholmondeley, *Esq;*
Borough of Wigan.
Sir Edward Chiſnall, *Knt.*
William Bankes, *Esq;*
Borough of Clitheroe.
Chriſtopher Wilkinſon, *Esq;*
Anthony Parker, *Esq;*
Borough of Liverpoole.
The Hon. Richard *Lord* Colcheſter.
Thomas Norris *of* Speake, *Esq;*

Leiceſter 4.

Bennet *Lord* Sherrard.
Sir Thomas Halford, *Bart.*

Borough

Borough of Leiceſter.
Thomas Babington, *Eſq*;
Lawrence Carter, *Eſq*;

Lincoln 12.

The Right Hon. George *Lord Viſcount* Caſtleton.
Sir Thomas Huſſey, *Bart.*
City of Lincoln.
Sir Henry Monſon, *Bart.*
Sir Chriſtopher Nevile, *Knt.*
Borough of Boſton.
The Hon. Robert *Lord* Willoughby *of* Erſby.
Sir William Yorke, *Knt.*
Borough of Great Grimſby.
Sir Thomas Barnardiſton, *Bart.*
Sir Edward Ayſcogh, *Knt.*
Town of Stamford.
Charles Bertie, *Eſq*;
William Hyde, *Eſq*;
Borough of Grantham
Sir John Brownlowe, *Bart.*
Sir William Ellis, *Bart.*

Middleſex 8.

Sir Charles Gerrard, *Bart.*
Ralph Hawtrey, *Eſq*;
City of Weſtminſter.
Sir William Poultney, *Knt.*
The Hon. Philip Howard, *Eſq*;
London.
Sir Patience Ward, *Knt.*
Sir Robert Clayton, *Knt.*
William Love, *Eſq*;
Thomas Pilkington, *Eſq*;

Monmouth 3.

Charles *Marquis of* Worceſter.
Sir Trevor Williams, *Knt.*
Borough of Monmouth.
John Arnold, *Eſq*;

Norfolk 12.

Sir William Cooke, *Bart.*
Sir Henry Hobart, *Knt.* and *Bart.*
City of Norwich.
Sir Nevil Catlyn, *Knt.*
Thomas Blofeild, *Eſq*;
Town of Lyn-Regis.
Sir John Turner, *Knt.*
Sigiſmund Trafford, *Eſq*;
Town of Great Yarmouth.
George England, *Eſq*;
Samuel Fuller, *Eſq*;
Borough of Thetford.
William Harbord, *Eſq*;
Sir Henry Hobart, *Knt.* and *Bart.*
Borough of Caſtleriſing.
The Hon. Sir Robert Howard, *Knt.*
Robert Walpole, *Eſq*;

Northampton 9.

Edward Montague, *Eſq*;
Edward Harby, *Eſq*;
City of Peterborough.
Charles Fitz-Williams, *Eſq*;
Gilbert Dolben, *Eſq*;
Town of Northampton.
Sir Juſtinian Iſham, *Bart.*
Sir William Langham, *Knt.*
Town of Brackley.
The Hon. Richard *Lord* Wenman.
John Parkhurſt, *Eſq*;
Borough of Higham Ferrers.
Sir Rice Rudd, *Bart.*

Northumberland 8.

William Forſter, *Eſq*;
Philip Bickerſtaff, *Eſq*;
Town of Newcaſtle *upon* Tyne.
Sir William Blacket, *Bart.*
Sir Ralph Carr, *Knt.*
Borough of Morpeth.
The Hon. Charles *Lord* Morpeth.
Roger Fenwick, *Eſq*;
Town of Berwick *upon* Tweed.
Francis Blake, *Eſq*;
Philip Babington, *Eſq*;

Nottingham 8.

John *Lord* Houghton.
Sir Scroop How, *Knt.*

Town

Town of Nottingham.
The Hon. Francis Peirpoint, *Esq*;
Edward Bigland, *Serjeant at Law.*
Borough of Eastretford.
The Hon. Evelin Peirpoint, *Esq*;
John Thornagh, *Esq*;
Town of Newark *upon* Trent.
The Right Hon. William *Lord* Eland,
The Hon. Nicholas Sanderson, *Esq*;

Oxon 9.

Sir Robert Jenkinson, *Bart.*
Sir John Cope, *Bart.*
University of Oxon.
The Hon. Heneage Finch, *Esq*;
Sir Thomas Clargis, *Knt.*
City of Oxon.
The Hon. Henry Bertie, *Esq*;
Sir Edward Norreys, *Knt.*
Borough of New-Woodstock.
Sir John Doyley, *Bart.*
Sir Thomas Littleton, *Bart.*
Borough of Banbury.
Sir Robert Dashwood, *Knt. and Bart.*

Rutland 2.

Sir Thomas Mackworth, *Bart.*
Bennet Sherard, *Esq*;

Salop 12.

The Hon. Richard Newport, *Esq*;
Edward Kynaston *of* Oattly, *Esq*;
Town of Salop.
The Hon. Andrew Newport, *Esq*;
Sir Francis Edwards, Bart.
Borough of Bruges, *alias* Bridgenorth.
Sir William Whitmore, *Bart.*
Sir Edward Acton, *Bart.*
Borough of Ludlow.
Francis Herbert, *Esq*;
Charles Baldwyn, *Esq*;
Borough of Wenlock.
George Weld, *Esq*;
William Forester, *Esq*;
Town of Bishop's-Castle.
Richard More, *Esq*;
Walter Wareing, *Esq*;

Somerset 18.

George Horner, *Esq*;
Edward Gorges, *Esq*;
City of Bristol.
Sir Richard Hart, *Knt.*
Sir John Knight, *Knt.*
City of Bath.
Maurice *Visc.* Fitz-Harding.
Sir William Basset, *Knt.*
City of Wells.
Edward Berkley, *Esq*;
Thomas Wyndham, *Esq*;
Borough of *Taunton.*
Sir William Portman, *Knt. of the* Bath, *and Bart.*
John Sandford, *Esq*;
Borough of Bridgwater.
Sir Francis Warr, *Bart.*
Henry Bull, *Esq*;
Borough of Minhead.
Francis Litterel, *Esq*;
Nathaniel Palmer, *Esq*;
Borough of Ilchester.
Sir Edward Wyndham, *Bart.*
William Helyar, *jun. Esq*;
Borough of Milborn-port.
John Hunt, *Esq*;
Thomas Saunders, *Esq*;

Southampton 26.

The Rt. Hon. Charles *Earl of* Wiltshire.
The Hon. William *Lord* Powlet.
City of Winchester.
The Hon. William *Lord* Powlett.
Francis Morley, *Esq*;
Town of Southampton.
Sir Benjamin Newland, *Knt.*
Richard Bret, *Esq*;
Town of Portsmouth.
Richard Norton, *Esq*;
Henry Slingsby, *Esq*;
Borough of Yarmouth.
Sir Robert Holmes, *Knt.*
Fitton Gerrard, *Esq*;

Borough

Borough of Petersfield.
Richard Norton, *Esq*;
Thomas Bilson, *Esq*;
Thomas Bilson, *Esq*;
Robert Michel, *Esq*;
Borough of Newport, *alias* Medona.
Sir Robert Dillington, *Bart.*
Sir William Stephens, *Knt.*
Borough of Stockbridge.
Oliver St. John, *Esq*;
Richard Whitehead, *Esq*;
Borough of Newtoun.
The Rt. Hon. Richard *Earl of* Ranelagh.
Thomas Done, *Esq*;
Borough of Christ Church.
Francis Gwyn, *Esq*;
William Ettrick, *Esq*;
Borough of Whitchurch.
Henry Wallop, *Esq*;
The Honourable James Ruffel, *Esq*;
Borough of Limmington.
Richard Holt, *Esq*;
John Burrard, *Esq*;
Borough of Andover.
Francis Powlet *of* Amport, *Esq*;
John Pollen *of* Andover, *Esq*;

Staffordshire 10.

The Hon. John Gray, *Esq*;
Sir Walter Baggot, *Bart.*
City of Litchfield.
Sir Michael Biddulph, *Bart.*
Robert Burdett, *Esq*;
Borough of Stafford.
Philip Foley, *Esq*;
John Chetwind, *Esq*;
Borough of Newcastle Under-line
William Leveson Gower, *Esq*;
John Lawton, *Esq*;
Borough of Tamworth.
The Hon. Henry Sidney, *Esq*;
Sir Henry Gough, *Knt.*

Suffolk 16.

Sir John Cordel, *Bart.*
Sir John Rous, *Bart.*

Borough of Ipswich.
Sir John Barker, *Bart.*
Peyton Ventris, *Esq*;
Borough of Dunwich.
The Hon. Roger North, *Esq*;
Sir Thomas Allen, *Bart.*
Sir Philip Skippon, *Knt.*
Sir Robert Rich, *Knt. and Bart.*
Borough of Orford.
Sir John Duke, *Bart.*
Thomas Glemham, *Esq*;
Borough of Alborough.
Sir Henry Johnson, *Knt.*
William Johnson, *Esq*;
Borough of Sudbury.
Sir John Poley, *Knt.*
Philip Gurdon, *Esq*;
Borough of Eye.
Thomas Knyvel, *Esq*;
Henry Pooly, *Esq*;
Borough of St. Edmondsbury.
Sir Robert Davers, *Bart.*
Sir Thomas Hervey, *Knt.*

Surrey 14.

Sir Richard Onslow, *Bart.*
George Evelyn, *Esq*;
Borough of Southwark.
Sir Peter Rich, *Knt.*
John Arnold, *Esq*;
Borough of Blechingly.
Thomas Howard, *Esq*;
John Glyd, *Esq*;
Borough of Ryegate.
Roger James, *Esq*;
Sir John Parsons, *Knt.*
Borough of Guilford.
Foot Onslow, *Merchant.*
John Weston, *Esq*;
Borough of Gatton.
Sir John Thompson, *Bart.*
Thomas Turgis, *Esq*;
Borough of Haslemere.
White Tichborne, *Esq*;
Denzil Onslow, *Esq*;

Sus-

Suſſex 20.

Sir John Pelham, *Bart.*
Sir William Thomas, *Bart.*
City of Chicheſter.
Thomas Miller, *Eſq;*
Thomas May, *Eſq;*
Borough of Horſham.
Anthony Everfield, *Eſq;*
John Machell, *Eſq;*
Borough of Midhurſt.
Sir William Morley, *Knt. of the* Bath.
John Lewkener, *Eſq;*
Borough of Lewes.
Thomas Pelham, *Eſq;*
Richard Bridger, *Eſq;*
Borough of Shoreham.
Sir Edward Hungerford, *Knt. of the* Bath.
John Monke, *Eſq;*
Borough of Bramber.
John Alford, *Eſq;*
Charles Goring, *jun. Eſq;*
Borough of Steyning.
Sir John Fagge, *Bart.*
Sir John Morton, *Knt.*
Borough of Eaſt-Grinſted.
Sir Thomas Dyke, *Bart.*
Thomas Sackvile, *Eſq;*
Borough of Arundel.
William Morley, *Eſq;*
William Garway, *Eſq;*

Warwickſhire 6.

Sir Richard Newdigate, *Bart.*
Sir Richard Verney, *Knt.*
City of Coventry.
Sir Roger Cave, *Bart.*
John Stratford, *Eſq;*
Borough of Warwick.
William *Lord* Digby.
William Colmore, *Eſq;*

Weſtmorland 4.

Sir John Lowther *of* Lowther, *Bart.*
Henry Wharton, *Eſq;*
Borough of Apulby.
Philip Muſgrave, *Eſq;*
Richard Lowther, *Eſq;*

Wiltſhire 34.

The Rt. Hon. Edward *Viſ.* Cornbury.
Sir Thomas Mompeſſon, *Knt.*
City of New-Sarum.
Thomas Hobby, *Eſq;*
Giles Eyre, *Eſq;*
Borough of Wilton.
Thomas Penruddock, *Eſq;*
Thomas Wyndham, *Eſq;*
Borough of Downton.
Sir Charles Rawleigh, *Knt.*
Maurice Bocland, *Eſq;*
Borough of Hindon.
Robert Hyde, *Eſq;*
John Milner, *Eſq;*
Borough of Weſtbury.
Richard Lewis, *Eſq;*
The Hon. Peregrine Bertie *the elder*, *Eſq;*
Borough of Heyreſbury.
William Aſh, *Eſq;*
William Sacheverell, *Eſq;*
Borough of Calne.
Henry Chivers, *Eſq;*
Lionel Ducket, *Eſq;*
Borough of the Devizes.
Sir William Pinſent, *Bart.*
Walter Grubbe, *Eſq;*
Borough of Chippenham.
Henry Baynton, *Eſq;*
Nicholas Baynton, *Eſq;*
Borough of Malmeſbury.
The Hon. Henry Wharton, *Eſq;*
Charles Godfrey, *Eſq;*
Borough of Cricklade.
Charles Fox, *Eſq;*
Edmond Webb, *Eſq;*
Borough of Great-Bedwin.
Sir Edmund Warnford, *Knt.*
John Wildman *the elder*, *Eſq;*

Borough

Borough of Lugderſale.
John Smith, *Eſq*;
John Deane, *Eſq*;
Borough of Old-Sarum.
John Young, *Eſq*;
Thomas Pitt, *Eſq*;
Borough of Wootonbaſſet.
Henry St. John, *Eſq*;
John Wildman, *jun. Eſq*;
Borough of Marlborough.
Sir John Ernle, *Knt. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*
Sir George Willoughby, *Knt.*

Worceſterſhire 9.
Sir James Ruſhout, *Bart.*
Thomas Foley, *Eſq*;
City of Worceſter.
William Bromley, *Eſq*;
John Somers, *Eſq*;
Borough of Droitwich.
Richard *Lord* Coote.
Samuel Sandys, *Eſq*;
Borough of Eveſham.
Henry Parker, *Eſq*;
Sir John Mathews, *Knt.*
Borough of Bewdley.
Henry Herbert, *Eſq*;

Yorkſhire 30.
Thomas *Lord* Fairfax.
Sir John Kay, *Bart.*
City of York.
The Rt. Hon. Peregrine Oſborn, *Viſ.* Dumblain.
Edward Thompſon, *Alderman.*
Town of Kingſton *upon* Hull.
William Gee, *Eſq*;
John Ramſden, *Eſq*;
Borough of Knareſborough.
William Stockdale, *Eſq*;
The Lord Viſ. Latimer
Thomas Fawkes, *Eſq*;
Borough of Scarſborough.
William Harbord, *Eſq*;
Francis Thompſon, *Eſq*;
Borough of Rippon.
Sir Edward Blackett, *Bart.*
Sir Jonathan Jenings, *Knt.*
Borough of Richmond.
The Hon. John Darcy, *Eſq*;
Thomas Yorke, *Eſq*;
Borough of Heydon.
Matthew Appleyard, *Eſq*;
Henry Guy, *Eſq*;
Borough of Boroughbridge.
Sir Henry Goodſtoke, *Knt. and Bart.*
Chriſtopher Vane, *Eſq*;
Borough of Dalton.
Sir William Strickland, *Bart.*
William Palmes, *Eſq*;
Borough of Thriſke.
Thomas Franckland, *Eſq*;
Richard Staines, *Eſq*;
Borough of Aldborough.
Sir Michael Wentworth, *Knt.*
Chriſtopher Tancred, *Eſq*;
Borough of Beverley.
Sir John Hotham, *Bart.*
Sir Michael Wharton, *Knt.*
Borough of North-Allerton.
William Robinſon, *Eſq*;
Thomas Laſcells, *Eſq*;
Borough of Pontefract.
John *Lord Viſ.* Downe.
Sir Thomas Yarburgh, *Knt.*

BARONS of the Cinque-Ports, 16.
Port of Haſtings.
John Aſhburnham, *Eſq*;
Thomas Munn, *Eſq*;
Town of Winchelſea.
Richard Auſten, *Eſq*;
Samuel Weſton, *Eſq*;
Town of Rye.
Sir John Darrel, *Knt.*
Thomas Frewin, *Eſq*;
Port of New-Rumney.
John Brewer, *Eſq*;
James Chadwick, *Eſq*;

Port of Hythe.
Edward Hales, *Esq*;
Julius Deeds, *Esq*;
Port of Dover.
Sir Bazil Dixwell, *Bart.*
Thomas Papillon, *Esq*;
Port of Sandwich.
Sir James Oxinden, *Knt. and Bart.*
John Thurbarne, *Esq*;
Port of Seaford.
William Champion, *Esq*;
Sir Nicholas Pelham, *Knt.*

WALES 24.

Angleſey 2.
The Lord Bulkeley.
Town of Bewmaris.
Sir William Williams *Knt. and Bart.*

Brecon 2.
Edward Jones, *Esq*;
Town of Brecon.
Thomas Morgan *of* Tredegar, *Esq*;

Cardigan 2.
John Lewis, *Esq*;
Town of Cardigan.
Hector Philips, *Esq*;

Carmarthen 2.
Sir Rice Rudd, *Bart.*
Town of Carmarthen.
Richard Vaughan, *Esq*;

Carnarvan 2.
Town of Carnarvan.

Denby. 2.
Sir Richard Middleton, *Bart.*
Town of Denby.
Edward Brereton, *Esq*;

Flint 2.
Sir Roger Puleſton, *Knt.*
Town of Flint.
Sir John Hanmer, *Knt. and Bart.*

Glamorgan 2.
Buſſy Manſell, *Esq*;
Town of Cardiffe.
Thomas Manſell, *Esq*;

Merioneth 1.
Sir John Wynne, *Knt.*

Pembrook 3.
Sir Hugh Owen, *Bart.*
Town of Haverford-weſt.
William Wogan, *Esq*;
Town of Pembrook.
Arthur Owen, *Esq*;

Montgomery 2.
Edward Vaughan *of* Logdiarth, *Esq*;
Town of Montgomery.
Charles Herbert, *Esq*;

Radnor 2.
Sir Rowland Gwyn, *Knt.*
Town of New-Radnor.
Richard Williams, *Esq*;

In all 513

His

His MAJESTY's Gracious Meſſage to the Convocation, ſent by the Earl of *Nottingham*, 1689.

WILLIAM R.

HIS Majeſty has ſummoned this Convocation, not only becauſe 'tis uſual upon holding of a Parliament, but out of a pious Zeal to do every Thing that may tend to the beſt Eſtabliſhment of the Church of *England*, which is ſo eminent a Part of the Reformation, and is certainly the beſt ſuited to the Conſtitution of this Government; and therefore does moſt ſignally deſerve, and ſhall always have both his Favour and Protection; and he doubts not, but that you will aſſiſt him in promoting the Welfare of it, ſo that no Prejudices, with which ſome Men may have laboured to poſſeſs you, ſhall diſappoint his good Intentions, or deprive the Church of any Benefit from your Conſultations. His Majeſty therefore expects, that the Things that ſhall be propoſed, ſhall be calmly and impartially conſidered by you, and aſſures you, that he will offer nothing to you but what ſhall be for the Honour, Peace and Advantage both of the Proteſtant Religion in general, and particularly of the Church of *England*.

The Humble Addreſs of the Biſhops and Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury*, in Convocation aſſembled, in Thanks to His MAJESTY, for His Gracious Meſſage.

WE Your Majeſty's moſt Loyal and moſt Dutiful Subjects, the Biſhops and Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury*, in Convocation aſſembled, having received a moſt Gracious Meſſage from Your Majeſty, by the Earl of *Nottingham*, hold our ſelves bound in Duty and Gratitude to return our moſt humble Acknowledgments for the ſame: And for the Pious Zeal and Care Your Majeſty is pleaſed to expreſs therein for the Honour, Peace, Advantage, and Eſtabliſhment of the Church of *England*. Whereby, we doubt not, the Intereſt of the Proteſtant Religion in all other Proteſtant Churches, which is dear to Us, will be the better ſecured under the Influence of Your Majeſty's Government and Protection. And We crave Leave to aſſure Your Majeſty, that in Purſuance of that Truſt and Confidence You repoſe in us, We will conſider whatſoever ſhall be offered to Us from Your Majeſty, without Prejudice, and with all Calmneſs and Impartiality: And that We will conſtantly pay the Fidelity, and Allegiance, which We have all ſworn to Your Majeſty and the Queen; whom we pray God to continue long, and happily to reign over Us.

His Majesty's most Gracious Answer to the Address of the Bishops and Clergy, delivered by the Lord Bishop of *London*, President of the Convocation.

My LORDS,

I Take this Address very kindly from the Convocation: You may depend upon it, that all I have promised, and all that I can do for the Service of the Church of *England*, I will do: And I give you this new Assurance, that I will improve all Occasions and Opportunities for its Service.

His MAJESTY's Letter to the Right Reverend Father in GOD *Henry* Lord Bishop of *London*, to be communicated to the two Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*, 1689.

WILLIAM R.

RIght Reverend Father in God, We Greet you well: Whereas the Advancement of the Honour and Service of Almighty God, and of the Protestant Religion, which by his wonderful Providence hath been preserved and Established in these Kingdoms, ought to be the Chief Part of our Royal Care: In Order to this, as We have oftentimes declared, That We would take the Church of *England* by Law Established, into Our particular Protection and Favour; So We take this Occasion to renew these Assurances, being resolved to do all We can for the Support and Strengthning of it; Preserving withal the Liberty of Conscience to all Our other Protestant Subjects, which by Our Laws they now Enjoy.

And because the Welfare, Peace and Honour of this Church, depends so much upon all Persons faithfully doing their Duties in their several Places and Functions; We therefore first of all Charge and Require you the Bishops of this Our Church, to Apply your selves with all Diligence and Zeal to the Duties of your Episcopal Function, according to the Word of God, the Orders of this Church, and the Laws of this Our Realm.

More especially as to Ordination of Ministers, We require you to use all possible Care and Strictness, in Examining and Enquiring into the Lives and Learning of such Persons, as desire to be Admitted into Holy Orders, and herein constantly to observe the (*a*) Canons relating thereunto, the Neglect whereof We shall strictly enquire into, and take Care that it be Punished according to Law.

(*a*) Can. 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36.

We

We alſo Charge and Require you to keep a ſtrict Watch over all the Clergy in your reſpective Dioceſſes, to ſee that they be duly Reſident upon their Livings, according to the Laws in that Caſe provided, and that there they be Conſtant and Diligent in their Duties, performing the Publick Offices of Worſhip Gravely and Devoutly, Preaching the Word of God Plainly and Practically, without running into needleſs Controverſies, and Adminiſtring the Holy Sacraments frequently, with that Reverence which is due to the Inſtitutions of Chriſt; Alſo Catechiſing the Youth, Viſiting the Sick and Diſtreſſed, and doing all ſuch Things in their Stations as may tend to promote the Honour of God and true Religion, together with Peace and Charity among all their Neighbours; Themſelves giving a good Example to their Flock, by walking before them in all holy Converſation and Godlineſs.

And the more effectually to prevent the Scandals that may ariſe by any Diſorders in the Lives of thoſe who ought to be Examples to others, you ſhall Admoniſh them Religiouſly to obſerve the * Canon Entitled, *Sober Converſation required in Miniſters.* And you ſhall Severely and Impartially proceed by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures againſt all ſuch of your Clergy, as ſhall be found guilty of any Notorious Violation of this, or any other Law or Canon relating to their Duty.

And for the better Encouragement of Deſerving Men, as We intend to make it a Rule to Our Self, ſo We alſo require it of you, in Diſpoſing of Church Preferments, to have a Special Regard to ſuch Perſons as by their Piety, Learning, Diligence and Peaceableneſs, do moſt promote the Honour of God, and the Edification of his Church.

And becauſe, as our Duty requires, We moſt earneſtly Deſire, and ſhall Endeavour a General Reformation of the Lives and Manners of all Our Subjects, and being that which muſt Eſtabliſh Our Throne, and Secure to Our People their Religion, Happineſs and Peace, all which ſeem to be in great Danger at this Time, by Reaſon of that overflowing of Vice, which is too Notorious in this as well as other Neighbouring Nations; We therefore Require you to Order all the Clergy to Preach frequently againſt thoſe particular Sins and Vices which are moſt prevailing in this Realm; And that on every of thoſe Lord's Days on which any ſuch Sermon is to be Preached, they do alſo Read to their People ſuch Statute-Law or Laws as are provided againſt that Vice or Sin which is their Subject on that Day; as namely, againſt (*b*) Blaſphemy, Swearing and Curſing; Againſt (*c*) Perjury; Againſt (*d*) Drunkenneſs; and againſt (*e*) Prophanation of the Lord's Day: All which Statutes We have Ordered to be Printed together with theſe Our Letters, that ſo they may be tranſmitted by you to every Pariſh within this our Realm.

And whereas there is as yet no ſufficient Proviſion by any Statute Law for the Puniſhing of Adultery and Fornication, you ſhall therefore require all Church-Wardens in your Dioceſes, to preſent impartially all thoſe that are Guilty of any Crimes in their ſeveral Pariſhes; and upon ſuch Preſentments,

(*) Can. 75. (*b*) 21 *Jac.* Cap. 20. (*c*) 5 *Eliz.* Cap. 9. (*d*) 4 *Jac.* Cap. 5. 21 *Jac.* Cap. 7. (*e*) 29 *Car.* II. Cap. 7.

We

We Require you to proceed without Delay, and upon ſufficient Proof, to inflict thoſe Cenſures which are appointed by Our Eccleſiaſtical Laws againſt ſuch Offenders: In doing whereof, according to your Duty, you ſhall not want Our effectual Aſſiſtance and Support.

And for the better Carrying on of ſo good a Work, We do in the laſt Place Charge and Require you to Preach frequently your ſelves, to Confer often with your Clergy, and to Enquire by all proper Means in to all Abuſes and Corruptions in your Dioceſes, in Order to a full and ſpeedy Reformation. And all this, not only as you ſhall Anſwer it to Us, but alſo as Conſidering the great Charge that God hath Committed to you, and the Account that you muſt give him for it at the Great Day. And ſo we bid you heartily Farewel.

Given at Our Court at Whitehall, *the 13th Day of* February, 1689-90, *in the Second Year of Our Reign.*

By His Majeſty's Command,

Shrewſbury.

Aphoriſms relating to the Kingdom of *Ireland*, humbly ſubmitted to the moſt noble Aſſembly of LORDS and COMMONS at the great Convention at *Weſtminſter*.

I. THAT *Ireland is part of the Dominions of* England, *and a Kingdom ſubordinate to it.*—This appears not only by the Appeals that are made from the *Chancery* there, to the Houſe of Lords here, and by Writ of Error from the *King's Bench* there, to the *King's Bench* here; but alſo by the Patents which often paſs under the Great Seal of *England*, for Lands, Honours and Offices in *Ireland*, and by the Obligation which an *Engliſh* Act of Parliament lays on *Ireland*, when it is particularly named.

II. That *the Crown of* England *hath good Title to* Ireland. — Not only by Deſcent from *Eva* Daughter of *Dermond Mac Morough*, King of *Leinſter*, whoſe Anceſtors were Monarchs of *Ireland*; but alſo by lawful Conqueſt in a juſt War, and by the repeated Oaths and voluntary Submiſſions of the *Iriſh* Potentates and Gentry in all Ages, and by ſeveral Statutes of Recognition, and Acts of Parliament in that Kingdom, and by above Five Hundred Years Preſcription.

III. That *Whoever hath the Crown of* England, *is* ipſo facto *Sovereign of* Ireland; *and to levy War againſt ſuch Perſon, is Treaſon.* — This is the natural Reſult of the firſt Aſſertion; and beſides what may be collected from the Statute of 11 *Hen.* 7. of paying Obedience to the King for the Time being; it was ſo at Common Law, and cannot be otherwiſe in Reaſon; for there is that

that Correlation between Protection and Allegiance, that they muſt ſtand and fall together, and there is no Difference in this Caſe, between *Ireland* and the Iſle of *Wight*, or any other Part of the Dominions of the Crown of *England*.

IV. That *the Lords and Commons of* England *have always been zealouſly concerned for, and liberally contributed to the Preſervation of* Ireland. — This appears by the many Subſidies and other Aids they have in all Ages given towards the Support of that Kingdom; for *Ireland* was always a Charge to *England*, until the *Act of Settlement* was made: It coſt this Kingdom near 300,000 *l. per Annum* for ſome Years in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, and the Rebellion in 1641, drain'd *England* of ſome Millions of Money, and of many Thouſands of Men, and yet all this was well ſpent, becauſe,

V. *Without the Subjection of* Ireland, England *cannot flouriſh, and perhaps not ſubſiſt.* — For every Harbour in *Munſter* would be more prejudicial to the Trade of *England*, than either *Sally* or *Algiers* ever was, that Iſland being ſo ſcituate, that *England* cannot trade with *Spain*, the *Levant*, *Africa*, the *Eaſt Indies* or the *Weſt*, without ſailing almoſt in View of the old Head of *Kinſale*, ſo that *England* muſt traffick at vaſt Diſadvantage, Hazard, and Charge in armed and double mann'd Veſſels, or with great Convoys. Add to this, that *Ireland* would be always in cloſe League with the Enemies of *England*, and yearly ſupply a vaſt Number of able Bodies to annoy it.

VI. That *Ireland was never in ſo much Danger as it is now*; — For the Confederacy was never ſo general before, the *Iriſh* never had ſuch Quantities of Arms and Ammunition, they never had the City of *Dublin*, they never had the whole Kingdom in their Poſſeſſion, or under their Power; and which is more than all the reſt, they never had the Colour or Pretence of Authority before this Time.

VII. That *the Proteſtants there, unleſs ſpeedily relieved, muſt neceſſarily be ruin'd.* — For the *Iriſh* having no Money, cannot ſupport their vaſt Army, without Free Quarter on the *Engliſh*. Add to this, the Decay and full Stop of Trade, and the many other inſupportable Difficulties they labour under, and their Ruin will appear inevitable without preſent Relief.

VIII. That *no People in the World are in ſo miſerable a Condition as the Proteſtants of* Ireland. — For they are not only inſulted over by their own Servants, and in a certain Way of Beggary, but are alſo in continual Fear, and under imminent Danger of being maſſacred.

IX. That *the* Engliſh *Government hath been eaſy and favourable to the* Iriſh. — And this evidently appears by one ſlight Inſtance, *viz.* That the Grand Jury and the whole County of *Cork* had more Trouble and Charge to get rid of two *Iriſh* Attorneys in the Sheriffs Court, and at laſt could not effect it, than the *Iriſh* have had to turn out moſt of the Civil and Military Proteſtant Officers in that Kingdom, though ſome of them had got good Patents for their Places; and it is beyond Diſpute, that for many Years paſt, the *Iriſh* never wanted ſuch Friends at *Whitehall*, as made their Affairs run glib in all Courts of Judicature, and elſewhere.

X. That *nevertheleſs many of the* Iriſh, *and ſome degenerate* Engliſh, *would rather live under any Government than that of* England. — And this happens partly from the Difference of Humours, Manners and Cuſtoms between them and us, and partly becauſe they look upon the firſt Conqueſt of *Ireland*, and the ſubſequent Confiſcations to be injurious, and think a Foreigner would reſtore them; but chiefly this Averſion is to be attributed to the Difference in Religion, they conceiving us to be obſtinate incorrigible Hereticks, and therefore they have often invited the *Pope*, *French* and *Spaniard* to accept of the Government of that Kingdom.

XI. That *Ten Thouſand* Engliſh *well furniſhed and conducted, never were, nor never can be beaten by the* Iriſh *in that Kingdom.* — The firſt Aſſertion is true, and the ſecond is rational; for allowing the *Iriſh* Gentry to be brave enough, yet the Commoners have not Courage or Skill equal to the *Engliſh*, or near it; nor can the *Iriſh* keep more than ten or twelve Thouſand Men together any long time, for want of Forage and other Neceſſaries.

XII. *However, leſs than fifteen, or perhaps twenty Thouſand Men ought not now to attempt* Ireland; — becauſe it will be neceſſary to make Deſcents in ſeveral Places; and when Garriſons, and other neceſſary Detachments are deducted, there will not remain above ten or twelve Thouſand for the Field.

XIII. *If theſe Twenty Thouſand were divided into three Bodies, in all Probability there would be none, or very weak and ſhort Reſiſtance.* — For if four Thouſand landed in *Ulſter*, ſix Thouſand in *Munſter*, and ten Thouſand in the Heart of the Kingdom, the *Iriſh* would be diſtracted, and not know where to turn; for they have neither Officers nor Soldiers capable to make three diſtinct Armies; Experience will manifeſt, that in that Caſe, finding themſelves attack'd on all Sides, *Tyrconnel* would retire to *Athlone*, and thence to *Galway*, and in the firſt Ship he could get, ſhift for himſelf as well as he could.

XIV. *However reaſonable Conditions ſhould not be denied them, if they will ſubmit quietly.* — For beſides, that it may prevent much Miſchief, and ſave the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, it is unchriſtian to force them to Deſperation; they ſhould have Indemnity for what is paſt, and a Connivance at the private Exerciſe of their Religion, by a competent Number of Prieſts for the future: This Offer juſtifies our Moderation, and if refus'd, leaves them without Excuſe.

XV. *Whatever Conditions are offered them, will be rejected or poſtpon'd unleſs back'd with a ſufficient Force.* — For they are in Hopes of Aid from *France*, and have very little Foreſight of what is future; it is not unuſual among them, to defy one Day what they tremble at the next: It has been always a principal Maxim in their Politicks, to Procraſtinate and Delay their Submiſſion, in Hopes of imaginary Succours, until they plung'd themſelves ſometimes into a Sea of Miſery, and it looks as if their Deſtiny inclines that Way now.

XVI. *That the Iriſh Eſtates are ſufficient to defray the Charge of reducing them to their Duty.* — For of ten Millions of Plantation-Acres of Land, which there

there are in *Ireland*, the Iriſh have a fourth Part, which to be purchaſed, is worth three Millions of Pounds.

XVII. *That the Proteſtants are already damnified to that Value, and in three Months more will ſuffer as much again.* — For beſides the Interruption in Trade and Buſineſs, bad Debts, and the particular Wrongs and Injuries done them, the Loſſes of thoſe that were forced to fly to *England* and elſewhere, the very Land is one third Part leſſened in the yearly Value; and the two thirds remaining, is not worth ſo many Years Purchaſe by a third Part, as it was *Anno* 1684. For example, three hundred Pound *per Annum*, at twelve Years Purchaſe, being three thouſand ſix hundred Pound, is now but two hundred Pound, at eight Years Purchaſe, which is one thouſand ſix hundred Pound.

XVIII. *The Proteſtants of* Ireland *had been eternally ruin'd, if it were not for the Glorious Atchievements of the Prince of* Orange. — For if they are in ſo ill Condition at this Day, in what Caſe would they have been, if *France* had Leiſure and Means to aſſiſt the *Iriſh*, and *England* (in a Civil War) not able to relieve the Proteſtants there.

XIX. *The Polity and true Scheme of Government was totally overturned in* Ireland. — For where Reaſon, and the Intereſt of *England* required, That the Engliſh Colony ſhould be protected by an *Engliſh* Army; and whereas a Proteſtant Parliament in *Ireland* had raiſed a great Revenue to the Crown, moſtly paid by Proteſtants, in order to maintain a Proteſtant Army, on the quite contrary that Army was diſbanded, with Circumſtances as bad as the Fact, and Papiſts introduced to guard us againſt themſelves; and *Iriſh* brought to garriſon within thoſe Walls that were purpoſely built to keep them out.

XX. *The Law was likewiſe ſubverted.* — For the Force and Energy of the Law being reſolved into Tryals by Jury: When the Judge, Sheriff, Jury, Witneſs and Party were all of a Piece, and that in a Country where Perjury is ſo frequent, that *Iriſh Evidence* is become proverbially ſcandalous; what could an *Engliſh* Proteſtant expect, but that many notorious Murders ſhould paſs unpuniſhed, many forg'd Deeds ſhould be trumpt up, and many Hundreds of *Engliſh* Indicted, drawn in Queſtion, and proſecuted without ſo much as a Probability or Colour of Truth.

XXI. *Theſe Injuries would have been perpetuated and legitimated, and our Religion and Nation deſtroyed there by Law.* — For they diſſolv'd all Corporations, on forged or frivolous Pretences, and in ſo precipitate a Manner, that they did not give competent Time to draw, much leſs to review the Pleadings. They projected to call the eldeſt Sons of Popiſh Noblemen by Writ, and ſo made themſelves ſure of both Houſes of an *Iriſh* Parliament.

XXII. *That the diſbanded Proteſtant Officers deſerve, and are fit to be employed in the Recovery of* Ireland. — They deſerve it, and all the Countenance that can be ſhewn them, becauſe they have ſuffered much (and few People conſider how much) meerly for their Religion and Country. And they are fit, becauſe they are acquainted with the Country, the Climate, and the Inhabitants, and are beyond Objection zealous in this Cauſe.

XXIII. That *the Prince wants neither Courage, Conduct, Reputation, or Zeal.* — His Attempt in *England* manifeſted his Courage, his Succeſs de-

monſtrated his Conduct, and confirmed his Reputation; and for the reſt, the ſame Motives that induced him to come hither, are ſtill in being, and will prevail to advance his victorious Arms to *Ireland.*

XXIV. *There is nothing wanting but a ſettled legal Authority and Money.* — For though Neceſſity juſtifies *pro hac vice*, yet our Laws knows no Authority but what is Regal; without that there can be no Parliament, nor indeed no Obligation to Obedience (or at moſt but temporary). And as for Money though it is impoſſible to make a general Tax ſeaſonably for the Relief of *Ireland*, yet perhaps a good Vote of eſpouſing the *Iriſh* Concern, may give Credit to raiſe a Fund, for a Service ſo neceſſary and beneficial to *England.*

XXV. *The Army will be in more Danger of Famine than Sword.* — For beſides that the Enemy will deſtroy and burn all he can, there is not in the Country Proviſion enough for both Armies, and therefore great Magazines muſt be erected at *Cheſter*, *Briſtol*, *Milford*, &c. how much Money ſoever it may coſt.

XXVI. *All private Undertakings, in this Matter of* Ireland, *are vain.* — For no one Body is able to do much, and Confederacies and Partnerſhips are lame and uncertain, becauſe the Failure of any one ſpoils all. Nor did any private Undertaker of publick Affairs, ever ſucceed in *Ireland*; witneſs Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Project in the *Ardes*, and *Walter* Earl of *Eſſex* his in *Clandeboy* and the *Ferny.*

XXVII. *That whoever takes Commiſſion here to raiſe Men in* Ireland, *does that Country a great deal of Wrong.* — For either he takes ſome poor diſpirited People, or ſuch Farmers, Labourers or Tradeſmen, as would be more uſeful in their Vocation: Or he takes others that would of their own Accord, and without Pay in the Militia, or otherwiſe fight for their Lives, Families and Eſtates; every way he robs the Country of People, he hinders thoſe that elſe would be raiſed here, and go from hence; and he makes the Government depend on a broken Reed, for it is impoſſible any Men ſhould be raiſed and accoutred there time enough to do Service, and fit to do it.

Laſtly, *Though the* Iriſh *ſhould ſubmit, yet* Ireland *will need a conſiderable* Engliſh *Army.* — For that Kingdom is much depopulated, and there will be Danger of ſome *French* Attempt. But beſides all this, he knows little of *Ireland*, who thinks that the *Iriſh* Army (when diſbanded) will ever be brought to work for their Living. On the contrary, many of them will turn Tories; ſo that if there be not a good Army in the Kingdom, it will be as unſafe and troubleſome as in time of War.

A Vindication of the Proceedings of the late Parliament of *ENGLAND*, *An. Dom.* 1689, being the First in the Reign of Their present Majesties King WILLIAM and Queen MARY.

By *JOHN* LORD *SOMMERS.*

I. THE Proceedings of the late Parliament were so fair, so prudent, so necessary, and so advantageous to the Nation, to the Protestant Interest in general, and in particular to the Church of *England*, that all true *Englishmen* must needs acknowledge they owe to the then Representatives of the Nation, their Privileges, their Liberties, their Lives, their Religion, their present and future Security from Popery, Slavery, and Arbitrary Power, had they done nothing else but enacted the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and settling the Succession of the Crown.

So that it is now, and perhaps but now, that we may call our selves the Free-born Subjects of *England*, as being fully secured, for ever, by this Act, from the heavy and insupportable Yoke of Arbitrary Power, the necessary Consequence of a Power of dispensing, or suspending of Laws, without Consent of Parliament.

II. Their settling the Crown upon the Head of a Protestant Prince, who is the very Centre, the chief Prop and Pillar of the Protestant Religion, secures all Protestants not only at Home, but likewise in all other Parts of *Europe*; insomuch that it is upon him only that we ground all our Hopes of seeing, e'er long, *Lewis* XIV. called to a just Account for all his Unjust, Arbitrary, and Tyrannical Proceedings against his own Subjects, as likewise against his injured and weaker Neighbours.

III. Their not acting in the least, after the Example of their Neighbours, against Prelacy, but rather favouring it by such Acts as fit only Episcopal Men for publick Imployments, gives all reasonable Satisfaction to the Church of *England*; without any just Offence, either given to the Dissenters, who, under the present Government, enjoy, to their own Hearts Desire, their long wish'd for Liberty, without being liable to the Lash of the Law, for serving God after their own Way: Notwithstanding all this, so hard, yea, so impossible a Thing it is to content all Parties; not a few vent their Malice in every Corner, yea, and in Print too, against the King and Parliament, though all their Proceedings hitherto tend so directly to the general Good of the Nation, that we must either want common Understanding not to see it, or prove most ungrateful to our Representatives not to acknowledge such an evident Truth as this is with our most thankful Returns. To proceed with some Method in this designed Vindication of the late Parliament, I shall, first, take a summary View of the late Condition of our Affairs; and, secondly, give a full Answer to whatever is maliciously suggested to the unthinking Mul-

Multitude; yea, and in printed Pamphlets likewiſe, to the ſeducing of the ſimple, and to the great Encouragement of the profeſſed Enemies and Diſturbers of the preſent Government.

IV. If we conſider in what Condition we were in, the two laſt Years of King *James*'s Reign, we may remember we were given up for loſt by all our Friends in *Europe*, and did think ſo to our ſelves, it being then impoſſible for us to imagine from whence our Relief ſhould come. A Power of diſpenſing with, and ſuſpending of Laws, and the Execution of Laws, was already ſo fully eſtabliſhed, that the very humble petitioning to be excuſed from concurring to the ſaid aſſum'd Power, was Crime enough for the Commitment and Proſecution of divers worthy Prelates: The Court of Commiſſioners for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes was a ſort of Inquiſition; or, at leaſt, a certain Forerunner of the new Way of converting People, by the irreſiſtible Eloquence of arm'd Dragoons: The levying Money for, and to the Uſe of the Crown, by pretence of Prerogative, for other Time, and in other Manner, than the ſame was granted by the Parliament, was nothing elſe but a preparatory Contrivance, to try afterwards a *French* Experiment upon the Gold and Silver of the Nation: The horrible and illegal Puniſhments inflicted by corrupt Judges, exceſſive Fines and Bails, and ſeveral Grants and Promiſes made of Fines and Forfeitures, before any Conviction or Judgment againſt the Perſons, upon whom the ſame were to be levyed; and all the other Injuſtices, Grievances, and Irregularities of thoſe Days, were but previous Diſpoſitions to the new Modelling of the Nation into a Frame, the more eaſily to be wrought upon by the *Romiſh* Prieſts, in Caſe their weak Arguments could not prevail, as 'twas impoſſible they ſhould have prevailed, in a Nation ſo well provided and ſtock'd with ſolid Learning, both againſt Error, and Superſtition.

V. If this was our Condition within our ſelves, it was made much worſe by the diſmal Proſpect of the threatning *French* Greatneſs: The *French* King's known and cloſe Engagements with the late King *James*, the ſudden Growth of his Power, both by Sea and by Land, ſeem'd to threaten all his Neighbours with the utmoſt Deſolation, unleſs, by laying aſide the Uſe of their Reaſon, they acted all like Fools, and turned Papiſts; which could not ſecure them neither from Oppreſſion and Slavery, ſince none are greater Slaves, nor ſo unmercifully oppreſſed as the *French* Papiſts themſelves: This is but a ſhort and ſummary View of the publick Calamities and Miſeries we lay under, till our Deliverer came over to free us from them, by the beſt Methods our Repreſentatives could fall upon for our Safety in Times to come; which are certainly ſuch as give full Satisfaction to all good Men, and loyal Subjects, that are not ſtill in love with Popery and Slavery, both of Body and Soul, which always attends it: So that the preſent Poſture of our Affairs is now ſuch, that we have all reaſon to hope, if we can but agree among our ſelves, this Kingdom may become again, as 'twas of old, the Terror of *France*. *Europe* never bid fairer for a Level of the *French* Monarch, he being now ſurrounded on all Sides, by thoſe he has made his irreconcileable Enemies, by his daily Breaches of Oaths, by his Oppreſſions and Invaſions, contrary to all Treaties made with him, either of Peace or Truce.

VI. We

VI. We cannot then but highly commend the prudent Meaſures of the laſt Parliament, for ſupplying his Majeſty with Neceſſaries, towards a vigorous Proſecution of this preſent War the Nation ſo long wiſh'd for in vain; the *French* Intereſt prevailing too much formerly at the Court of *England*, againſt the Intereſt of the Proteſtant Religion, and of the *Engliſh* Nation. Such then as complain of ſome preſent Hardſhips, always unavoidable in time of War, and would fain work the People into a Belief of a happier Condition under another Change of Affairs, ſeem not to underſtand their true Intereſt; for muſt we expoſe our ſelves to a certain Ruin, to the Loſs of our Lives and Liberties, by not contributing liberally to the Maintenance of a War, ſo neceſſary in this preſent Juncture of our Affairs? Our *All* lies now at the Stake, our Lives, Properties, Liberties, and Religion: Should any *Tax*, or *Impoſt*, put us out of Humour, and cauſe us to wiſh for a Change, as if we could pretend to any Security, in caſe Things were ſettled again upon the ſame Foundation they were on before?

VII. Are we not ſufficiently acquainted, from daily Experience, with this undoubted Popiſh Principle, *That a Papiſt is obliged to break his Oath taken not to extirpate Hereſy, as ſoon as he is in a Capacity to root out what he thinks Hereſy, under a no leſs Pain than that of Eternal Damnation?* King *Lewis* has ſatisfied all the World, by what he has lately done, that this is no Calumny; and King *James* cleared all our Doubts upon the Matter, by what he likewiſe really did, and endeavoured to do.

VIII. But a late Seditious Pamphlet tells us a Tragical Story of the Decay and Loſs of Trade by this preſent War, That *the* Dutch *run away with our Trade at Sea, and the* French *with our Ships*: This is but a meer groundleſs Flouriſh, that can only make Impreſſion upon ſome weak Minds, that neither underſtand their own Intereſt, than that of the Nation they are in; 'tis true, we have loſt ſeveral Ships, and that is unavoidable in the Beginning of any War as well as in this, till the Merchant-Men bound homewards are informed of a War declared, which muſt needs require ſome Time; but of late we have loſt none, or we have taken the Equivalent of our Loſſes from the Enemy; and for the Time to come, his Majeſty has taken ſuch Meaſures, that it ſhall not be hereafter in the Power of the *French* to put a Stop to our Trade, either into *Holland*, *Spain*, the *Eaſt Countries*, or *Weſt* and *Eaſt Indies*; and as for the *Dutch*, 'tis a groundleſs Suppoſition, though too often in the Mouths of ſuch as are diſaffected to the Government, *That they run away with our Trade*, ſince the contrary may be eaſily made out to an unprejudiced Mind; do we not trade ſtill, as well as the *Dutch*, both to the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*, to *Swedeland*, *Denmark*, *Hamburgh*, and *Poland?* Do the *French* allow them free Paſſage more than to us? And if they ſend abroad greater Merchant Fleets, and perhaps under greater Convoys than we do; by ſo doing they rather lend us a helping Hand, than wrong us; becauſe in the mean time they clear the Seas of *French* Privateers, which makes of Courſe our Voyages the ſafer, and great Convoys not ſo abſolutely neceſſary, as they would be at another time, when we were not in Union with the *Dutch*: So that ſuch Reflections are either but idle and frothy Diſcourſes, or made upon a Deſign to raiſe

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Sedition, and ſtir up the Nation againſt the preſent Government. But grant that what this diſaffected Pamphleteer ſays were really true, as it is not, in the full Meaſure he would have it, let us Balance our preſent Decay of Trade on the one Side, and on the other Hand the Conſequences of not proſecuting vigorouſly the preſent War againſt the *French*, and we ſhall eaſily diſcover either the groſs Miſtakes of ſuch as diſcourſe after this Rate, or their real Deſigns to ruin their Country, by preferring a ſmall Inconveniency of not ſo full a Trade, to the very Being of Liberty and Religion, and perhaps of the Nation itſelf.

IX. For let us allow to this pretended Politician, the deſired Change of Government he ſeems to aim at, this can never happen but in one of theſe three Ways, either by the returning of King *James* again, or by the Invaſion of King *Lewis*, or by a Civil War at Home; which laſt Thing, if ſome do really intend, they deſign nothing elſe but their own Ruin, and that of their Country; and if they would have King *James* to come again, muſt he come in by Conqueſt? If he ever recovers *England* by Conqueſt, where are then our Properties, our Liberties, our Religion, our Laws, and whatever Privileges we now glory in, and that no other Subjects in the World can boaſt of? Would they have King *James* come in again by Agreement? Beſides, the apparent Impoſſibility of the Thing, upon ſeveral and obvious Accounts, I would willingly be ſatisfied, as I was ſaying before, how we can truſt him after ſo many Violations of his Word; and ſince by the Principles of his Religion, he is obliged in Conſcience not to keep either Word given, or Oath taken, to protect and promote Hereſy, if he is once in Power to deſtroy it. If our Pamphleteer pretends to a Change of Government, by a *French* Invaſion, he muſt either be a profeſſed *French* Papiſt, or a very bad *Engliſh* Proteſtant, and quite of a different Temper from all true *Engliſhmen*, who have ſtood in Oppoſition from all Times to the *French* Intereſt, not only upon the Account of the Proteſtant Religion, but likewiſe becauſe of their Civil Rights, which both they muſt of Neceſſity part with, if the *French* ever got footing in *England*.

X. I confeſs, as Things now ſtand, there is little or no Danger at all of their attempting the Conqueſt of their ancient Conquerors, the *Engliſh*, becauſe of our Union at preſent againſt *France*, with ſo many powerful Allies; but yet, if we take not Hold of this Opportunity by the Fore-lock, I know not what may happen in another Scene of Affairs, in caſe we were left alone to deal with the *French*; who by the Connivance of the laſt two Reigns, are become ſo formidable at Sea, as to be a Match either for us, or the *Hollanders*. Now, can any Man of Reach blame the King, for recommending ſo often to the late Parliament, the abſolute Neceſſity of proſecuting vigorouſly the preſent War, in this preſent Juncture of our Affairs, or find Fault with the Repreſentatives of the Nation, for ſupplying him with the neceſſary Sinews of War, eſpecially ſince he has offered to give them an Account of the Diſpoſal of their Money, for the very Uſes they deſigned it for: Neither can we be jealous of his Majeſty's Deſign in calling in Foreigners, in Order to the ſpeedy Reduction of *Ireland*, becauſe 'tis a Matter of great Conſequence, for the

the humbling of *France*, both by Sea and Land, together with our Allies, to put an End to our Domeſtick Broils with all poſſible Expedition; and this cannot be better performed, than by joining to our own Forces a Body of Veteran and experienced Foreigners.

XI. But this looks, ſays ſome of our Male-contents, as if his Majeſty miſtruſted his own Subjects, which if narrowly looked into, is a meer groundleſs Aſperſon, ſince all his Majeſty's Forces, both by Sea and by Land, an inconſiderable Number of Foreigners excepted, are Natives, either of *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*: Does the *French* King miſtruſt his own Subjects, becauſe of his joining with them ſeveral foreign Nations, as *Switzers*, *Italians*, and both *Engliſh*, *Scotch* and *Iriſh* upon Occaſion; the true Reaſon of this common Practice is, that an Army conſiſting of Forces of different Nations, is upon this Account more formidable than it would be, if it conſiſted of meer Natives, that both thoſe Foreigners, and the Natives, fighting through Emulation, leave no Stone unturned to outdo one another; the obſerving of this Maxim made the *Dutch* a free People, to the Pitch we ſee them in at this Day. The *French* likewiſe owe in Part their preſent Greatneſs to the Valour of the *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, and *Switzers*, who fighting not ſo much out of any particular Kindneſs to them, as for their own Reputation, were wont to overthrow whatever ſtood in their Way, to the great Advantage of the *French*, under whoſe Pay they then were: Undoubtedly this is his Majeſty's Deſign in ſending for Foreigners, that the Natives may act their Parts the better by Emulation and Example; ſo that though it be allowed to be true, as certainly it is, that King *William* has a ſufficient Number of his own Subjects to reduce *Ireland*, and thoſe of an unqueſtionable Valour too; yet it is Prudence in him to call in Strangers, to give Life and a new Vigour to his Armies upon Occaſion.

XII. But in our Caſe there is another Reaſon not to be diſſembled, why the preſent Government thinks it neceſſary to make Uſe of Foreigners for our Aſſiſtance; and it is this, That tho' the Nation be full of ſtout and valiant Men, that might alone do the Buſineſs, yet 'tis to be conſidered in this unparallel'd Juncture of our Affairs, that if we divide the three Kingdoms into ſix Parts, two I doubt, at leaſt, would prove either *JACOBITES*, or diſaffected to the preſent Government: Now, what if the King raiſed an Army, conſiſting in Part of *Jacobites*, or of Perſons diſaffected to the preſent Government, ſince 'tis hard to know the Bottom of Mens Hearts; what if I ſay this happened, might not ſuch an Accident as this, not altogether impoſſible, endanger the whole Nation, and throw it into the greateſt Confuſion imaginable, either by ſetting up King *James* again, and the *French* Intereſt, or by converting this ancient and moderate Monarchy into a Common-wealth, which would prove perhaps no leſs the Ruin of the Nation, than an abſolute, arbitrary, and tyrannical Government? Is it not then more adviſable now, and I am ſure thoſe that love their Religion, and the preſent Intereſt, will be of my Opinion, to make Uſe of this Juncture of Foreigners, together with the Natives, to keep a little in Awe the hidden *Jacobites*, and ſuch as are diſaffected to this Government, leſt they undertake to ruin the Nation, upon

the first fair Opportunity to execute their treasonable and pernicious Designs? This Complaint of our Male contents had been more plausible in another Juncture of Time, than in such an one as this is, which once successfully over, and a Peace concluded, we are secured by our Laws from our own standing Forces, as well as from Foreigners. In the mean Time we ought to look to our selves, as all wise Men ought to do, and secure our selves against pressing and present Dangers the best Way we can, without minding remoter Accidents, and merely possible Events, that are not yet so much as in Prospect; for upon mere Apprehensions, and groundless Fears, of what is never like to happen, to put a Veil before our Eyes, hindering us to see the Brink of the Precipice we now stand upon, is an unaccountable Piece of Folly, or rather Madness, that no Man having his Wits about him can be guilty of; yet we must needs prove guilty of such a Piece of Madness and Folly, if through a groundless Fear of what can never happen in *England*, as Things are now ordered, we should scruple to secure our selves by the Help of Foreigners from the *Jacobites* and the Male-contents, who might perhaps get the Upper-hand, if not prevented in Time, by some good Method, as this is now thought to be.

XIII. No farther Incroachments upon our Rights and Privileges are to be feared in Time to come, since the bad Success of all our late Kings is an Example to all their Successors, wherein they may read their Destiny, if they understood so little their own Interest, as to act arbitrarily, as some of their Predecessors did, to the great Disturbance indeed of their Subjects for a Time; but at last, to the utter Ruin of themselves and their Adherents: His present Majesty is so fully persuaded of this Truth, *viz.* That the Sovereign's Greatness in *England* depends chiefly and only upon the Love of his Subjects; that taking his Interest and the People's to be the same, as really it is, and always ought to be, to shun the dangerous Factions of Court and Country, he prudently complied with their just Desires, to whatever they thought fit to be done for the Common-Good. I am then of Opinion, that *England* was never so happy as 'tis now, [laying aside the Consideration of the present War so absolutely necessary,] because of the good Understanding of the King and his Subjects, though our seditious Pamphleteer leaves no Stone unturned to divide them; whoever he is, he must needs be a Man of a strangely disaffected Spirit, since he blames the late Parliament, for allowing his Majesty so much Power, as makes him a true King, and not the bare Representation and Shadow of one, as he would really be, if according to the Project suggested by this Man, he should not be allowed so much as the Liberty of chusing his own Counsellors, nor of proroguing Parliaments either, upon Occasion, *&c.*

XIV. The suspending and stopping, or *stabing*, as he calls it, of the *Habeas Corpus Act*, puts him in a great Fit against the late Parliament, as having by this Suspension wronged the Liberty of the Subjects; yet if before we give our last Judgment upon the Matter, we consider as we should do, all Things impartially, not suffering our selves to be byassed, by a wrong Apprehension of Things, we shall easily discover that the suspending of that Act,

Act, at that Time, was the only Way to ſecure our Properties and Liberties, by preventing a Civil and Domeſtick War, which in all Likelyhood had enſued, had it not been prevented in Time, by impowering the King to ſecure ſuch as, becauſe of their Quality, or their former Engagements with the then Malecontents, were likelieſt to prove Ringleaders to new Diſturbances, in a Time when Things were not as yet ſettled upon ſo ſure a Foundation as they now are.

XV. But nothing is more inſufferable in this ſeditious Pamphleteer, than his affected Jealouſy of his Majeſty's being a ſincere Proteſtant; as if the Nation ſhould be the more afraid of him upon this Account, becauſe forſooth the Parliament is likelier to give him more Power, than if he were a Papiſt, or of a contrary Religion to that of the Nation. This is ſuch an unaccountable Reflexion, that I cannot but wonder to hear it from the Mouth of any Man, that either pretends to common Senſe or Reaſon; for, firſt, At this Rate of arguing, it would be better for us to have a King we hated and feared, than one of the ſame Religion we loved, and were ſure of; which is ſuch an abſurd Inference, that none but a mad Man can propoſe it as reaſonable. Secondly, Grant what he ſays to be true, as it is not, our Religion, however, is ſecure, and perhaps the ſecurer, the greater Power we truſt him with. But, Thirdly, As our late Repreſentatives gave ſo much Power to our glorious Deliverer, as made him a King, and a powerful one too, ſo on the other Hand, they have had ſo much Regard to the Safety of the People, as to ſecure their Privileges and Civil Rights from any future Incroachments of the Prerogative, as may eaſily be made out by the late Act, declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and ſettling the Succeſſion of the Crown.

XVI. The Popiſh Subjects are generally ſo oppreſſed, by their abſolute Sovereigns, that through an exceſſive Flattery, and Fear of Blows, they ſeem to worſhip their Kings as Gods, allowing them an illimited Power, which no Man of Senſe can admit of in a Being of a limited Nature, or at leaſt allowing them to be the Fathers, and abſolute Maſters of their People, though the Kings generally came out of the People's Loins, as being at firſt made by them, and not the People out of theirs; and though Subjects ought not to lord it over their Sovereigns as Maſters, yet they ought not to be their Slaves neither, but are to enjoy under their Government ſuch Privileges and Liberties as may ſettle them in an unalterable State of Happineſs, that the Princes themſelves may not deſtroy at Pleaſure; for as nothing is more rational than that we ſhould ſubmit in all Things to the abſolute Power of God over us, ſo nothing is more unreaſonable, than a blind Obedience to earthly Princes, as if they were as infallible as God himſelf; whereas their very Kingſhip proves ſometimes an Occaſion to make them the more liable, both to Error, as being often miſinformed of Things, and to Sin likewiſe, if they are not truly religious, as King *William* undoubtedly is, becauſe of their uncontrolled Power of doing what they pleaſe.

XVII. For theſe, and other Reaſons of that Kind, though *William* III. whom God long preſerve, be the mildeſt and moderateſt Prince that ever

ſat upon the *Engliſh* Throne, yet our Repreſentatives, to ſecure us from the Encroachments of this and all ſucceeding Ages, have thought fit to declare and eſtabliſh the Rights of the People ſo fully, and upon ſuch a ſure Foundation, that *England* now is the ſecureſt and happieſt Nation in the World, if the Natives can be but ſenſible of their own Happineſs. *Fœlices nimium bona ſi ſua nôrint Agricolas!*

XVIII. Four Things eſpecially declared in this Act, ſecure us from Oppreſſion, Tyranny, and arbitrary Power. Firſt, The rejecting of either a diſpenſing or ſuſpending Power. Secondly, All Grants of Money for, or to the Uſe of the Crown, reſerved to the Parliament for the Time in Being. Thirdly, The diſbanding of ſtanding Armies in Time of Peace, unleſs the Parliament give Conſent to the keeping them on Foot. Fourthly, The ſettling of the Succeſſion of the Crown. I need mention nothing elſe contained in this Act, to ſhew that we are the only Subjects in the World, that can boaſt of Freedom and Liberty, in caſe our Princes cannot diſpenſe with our Laws, as they cannot without our Leave, ſince they are not to give us, for the only Reaſon of their Kingly Actions, *Tel eſt noſtre bon plaiſir*, *Their Good-Will and Pleaſure*, as the *French* King does; for however the *French* Modes have taken with us of late, we could never yet fall in Love with ſo abſolute a Mode as this. As our Kings muſt act by Law, and not abſolutely, though real Kings, they do nothing of Moment, but by and with the Advice of their Parliaments: Our Happineſs then conſiſts in this, that our Princes are tied up to the Law, as well as we, and upon an eſpecial Account obliged to keep it up in in its full Force; becauſe if they deſtroyed the Law, they deſtroy at the ſame Time themſelves, by overthrowing the very Foundation of their Kingly Grandeur, and regal Power: So that our Government not being arbitrary, but legal, not abſolute, but political, our Princes can never become arbitrary, abſolute, or Tyrants, without forfeiting at the ſame Time Their Royal Character, by the Breach of the eſſential Conditions of their regal Power, which are to act according to the ancient Cuſtoms, and ſtanding Laws of the Nation. If we are happy upon this Account, that our Kings can neither ſuſpend nor deſtroy our Laws, we are no leſs to be envied, that our Purſes are ſecured fom the Encroachments of an aſpiring Covetouſneſs, by that Part of this Act, which tells us, *That levying Money for, or to the Uſe of the Crown, by Pretence of Prerogative, without Grant of Parliament, for longer Time, or in other Manner, than the ſame is, or ſhall be granted, is illegal.*

XIX. We may eaſily think our Security greater than that of any other Nation in *Europe*, if we reflect but a Moment upon this important Article, that we are never obliged to open our Purſes, but by the Order and Conſent of our Repreſentatives, whom we have truſted with the Care of our Intereſt; which being equally theirs at the ſame Time, we have no Reaſon to fear that they ever lay any Taxes upon us, but when 'tis abſolutely neceſſary for the Preſervation of our Lives, Liberties and Religion, as all ſeeing Men confeſs it to be, in the preſent Juncture of our Affairs, to prevent the Return of Popery and arbitrary Power. This Privilege has made our Government to be

be envied by all our Neighbour Nations, and the happieſt that can be imagined; for there being no ſurer Way for a Prince to become abſolute, arbitrary, and a Tyrant, than to impoveriſh his Subjects to that Degree of Want and Miſery, as may force them for Subſiſtance to comply with all his Deſires, whether juſt or unjuſt, he is diſabled by this Act from doing them any Miſchief that Way; I mean, by ſqueezing the Blood out of their Veins; that is, the Money out of their Pockets, for any Deſign he might have of ruling over them as meer Slaves: To the Want of Privilege, we may chiefly aſcribe the Slavery the *French* Nation groans under, their Prince diſpoſing abſolutely of their Eſtates at Pleaſure, and laying ſuch heavy Taxes upon his Subjects, as leave them not Money enough to buy Leather Shoes, inſtead of which they are forced to make Uſe of Wooden ones; ſo that the *French* are not ſo much in the wrong, as one would think, when in their flattering Panegyricks they ſtyle him ſometimes their God, ſince they in a Manner are his Creatures, whom he creates or deſtroys, by the leaſt Word of his Mouth; for ſo abſolute his Power is, that his Will is the only Law they can depend upon, inſomuch, that when he publiſheth his Orders for gathering of Money, if his Subjects cannot ſupply him otherwiſe, they muſt ſell their Goods, and whatever they have, to give him what he demands; yea, I have known in *France* poor People ſell their Beds, and lie upon Straw, ſell their Pots, Kettles, and all their neceſſary Houſhold Goods, to content the unmerciful Collectors of the King's Taxes. By this little Hint we may eaſily ſee, how much happier we are, as being laden with no Burthens but what we are able to bear, and enjoying ſecurely our Eſtates, and whatever we can call our own, under the Protection of our Laws. Should we then leave any Stone unturned to keep our ſelves as we are, by oppoſing to our utmoſt ſuch a cruel Conqueror, as the *French* King would undoubtedly prove, if he ever, to our great Misfortune, ſubdued us?

XX. But let us ſpeak one Word to the third Thing I mentioned before, that by this Act we are to have no ſtanding Army in Time of Peace; the Advantage whereof we may eaſily conceive, if we look a little aſide towards our Neighbours the *French*, they ſuffer patiently in Time of War the heavieſt Taxes, and would not think themſelves ſo much to be pitied, as now they are, if a Peace concluded with the Enemy bettered their Condition, for they are then in a worſe Condition, in a Manner, than they were before, becauſe the ſtanding Armies impower their Prince to do what he pleaſes in Time of Peace; 'tis then that he looks about him, to conſider who has got together any conſiderable Treaſures, that he may eaſe them of them, though lawfully gained, and by good Services done to the Crown; ſo that it is no Wonder if the *French* Subjects chuſe at any Time War rather than Peace, becauſe in Time of Peace, their King's Armies are wholly employed againſt them, whereas in the Time of a ſettled War, they are partly taken up in oppoſing a foreign Enemy. Let the impartial Reader judge from the Premiſes, of the Happineſs of the *Engliſh* Subjects, compared with the miſerable Condition of the *French*.

XXI.

XXI. The late Parliament has done another Thing, without which, notwithſtanding all our other Advantages contained in this Act, our Happineſs had not been laſting, as it is now like to be for ever; and it is the ſettling of the Succeſſion of the Crown upon Proteſtants, and none but Proteſtants: The Words of the Act are ſo remarkable, that I think it fit to inſert them here, before I give you my Reflexions upon them.

Whereas it has been found by ſad Experience, that it is inconſiſtent with the Safety of this Proteſtant Kingdom, to be governed by a Popiſh Prince, or by any King, or Queen, marrying a Papiſt, the ſaid Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do further pray, that it may be enacted, that all, and every Perſon, and Perſons, that is, or ſhall be reconciled to, or hold Communion with the See, or Church of Rome; *or ſhall profeſs the Popiſh Religion, or ſhall marry a Papiſt, ſhall be excluded, and be for ever uncapable to inherit, poſſeſs, or enjoy the Crown and Government of this Realm, and* Ireland, *and the Dominions thereunto belonging, or any Part of the ſame, or to have, uſe, or exerciſe any regal Power, Authority, or Juriſdiction within the ſame; and in all, or every ſuch Caſe, or Caſes, the People of theſe Realms ſhall be, and are hereby abſolved of their Allegiance, and the ſaid Crown, and Government, ſhall from Time to Time deſcend to, and be enjoyed by ſuch Perſon or Perſons, being Proteſtants, as ſhould have inherited and enjoyed the ſame, in caſe the ſame Perſon or Perſons, ſo reconciled, holding Communion, or profeſſing or marrying as aforeſaid, were naturally dead.*

XXII. Nothing more certain than what is here aſſerted, that it is inconſiſtent with the Safety of this Proteſtant Kingdom, to be governed by a Popiſh Prince, or by any King or Queen, marrying a Papiſt: If we look back to the publick Tranſactions, in the Days of King *Charles* I. we ſhall ſoon be convinced of this undeniable Truth, ſince we may derive all our Domeſtick and Civil Diſturbances, from his marrying a Popiſh *French* Princeſs, who at laſt became ſo troubleſome to him, that he was forced to ſend home to *France* again all her Attendants, in Hopes to bring her to a better Temper, by removing from her ſuch Popiſh Emiſſaries, as were thought to put her upon ſome dangerous Deſigns, which made the Nation jealous of her ſecret Intrigues with *France*; yea, and ſometimes of the very King's Religion, as if he had been perverted by the Queen, or her Prieſts, or had ſhewn himſelf ſomewhat too much inclined to the Popiſh Way of Worſhip; but whether Things were juſt as the People fancied them, or not, it is certain this unlucky Match was the Occaſion of our Civil Wars, and of ſo much Bloodſhed in theſe three Nations: Such another Suſpicion as this, was the ſecret Spring of all our Domeſtick Troubles, during the Reign of King *Charles* II. for though he profeſſed outwardly the Proteſtant Religion, yet the People, upon what Grounds I know not well, could not be ſometimes ſatisfied, but that he was either a Papiſt, or Popiſhly inclined; and upon this very Account, the Nation was always apprehenſive of *French* Penſioners, of Popiſh Plots, of Tyran-

Tyranny, and Arbitrary Power: Now such Apprehensions and Fears could not but be the Seed of Divisions among us, of Heart-burnings, and either of grounded, or groundless Jealousies, to the endangering the Peace and Safety of the whole Kingdom: So true it is, that it is inconsistent with the Safety of this Kingdom to be governed by a Prince thought to be Popishly affected, but sure far more to be governed by a sincere, zealous, and professed Papist, as we all know King *James* gloried to be; how near we were the Brink of our Ruin during his Reign, and how unavoidable our entire Ruin was, had he reigned longer over us, is so evident to all seeing Men, that I need not enlarge upon the Matter here. I shall only add in this Place, in order to make out the Truth of what is asserted by the late Parliament, *that it is inconsistent with the Safety of this Protestant Kingdom to be governed by a Papist*, that when our Prince is a real Papist, he is obliged by the Principles of his Religion, to do his utmost Endeavours to submit his Subjects to the Pope's Jurisdiction.

XXIII. First, because he must then of Course look upon his Subjects as real Hereticks, and Schismaticks, whom if he do not root out by all possible Means, he is liable to be deposed by the Pope, according to the famous and known Decision of the third Council of *Lateran*; how then can a Protestant Nation put any Trust in such a Prince, whose whole Business is, and ought to be, to destroy their Religion, and force them to return to the old *Romish* Superstitions again? And if Subjects cannot trust their Sovereign, it is but rational to think they will take all imaginable Measures to prevent their own Ruin, and that of their Religion, always dearer to them, if they have any Piety at all, than their very Lives; but these very Measures, how just soever, must needs breed Stirs in a Nation, to the general Disturbance of the Natives; since the Politick Body, no more than the Natural, can be a Moment in a quiet Temper, without a free and friendly Intercourse and Communication between the Head and the Members. Secondly, If a Popish Prince is obliged in Conscience, as I elsewhere intimated he is, neither to stand to his Promise, nor Word given, to protect Hereticks, and Heresy, how can he sincerely promise to maintain and defend our Church; or rather how can we be so silly as to believe he will maintain it, since it is not in his Power to do it, in Case he finds himself in a Posture to undertake its Ruin? But, Thirdly, to be somewhat more particular, the Safety of this Nation was inconsistent with the Government of the late King *James*, upon a particular Account that I shall here mention.

XXIV. Of all the different Persecutions of the Church of God, none can be compared to the late Persecution of *France*, both for its Cruelty, and Novelty. The *Roman* Emperors, I confess, exercised all imaginable Barbarities upon the Bodies of the Primitive Christians, but never attempted, or pretended any Right over their Souls, and Consciences; they banished them, tortured them, invented all sorts of Death to destroy them, but the Art of Dragooning Men into Religion, was reserved to be the Contrivance of *Lewis* XIV. Though he was engaged by the most solemn Edicts of *Nants* and *Nisme*, and by his Coronation Oath, to protect and defend the *French* Protestants, with

with all their Rights and Privileges: Had he declared he would ſuffer no longer the *Hugonots* in his Kingdom, and ordered them upon that Account to depart out of it, if they could not change their Religion, we had not complained ſo much of his Severity, how Anti-Chriſtian ſoever; but not to ſuffer his Subjects to leave him, nor to live with him, without turning to his Principle, and that not by Argument, but by all the Wounds the Dragooning Sword could inflict, that of Death only, which in this Caſe was the leaſt, excepted, is ſuch an Example of Cruelty, as is not to be paralſell'd by the greateſt Fury of the *Roman* Perſecutions; and which without doubt contributed not a little to our late happy Revolution, by determining the *Engliſh* through an abſolute Neceſſity to do what they did for their own Safety; for had they not Reaſon to look to themſelves, conſidering the Proceedings of the *French* King, contrary to all his Oaths and Promiſes, to maintain, defend, and protect the *Hugonots*; they could not but know that the late King *James* was more devoted to the Intereſt of the Church of *Rome*, than *Lewis* XIV. himſelf: ſo that they could not in Prudence but take the Meaſures they have ſo ſucceſsfully taken, for their own Preſervation, and that of the Proteſtant Intereſt in general. In one Word, nothing could be more terrible to the *Engliſh*, who are ſo much in love with Liberty and Property, than to ſee themſelves threatned to be dragoon'd out of both, by the help of ſuch a powerful Ally as *Lewis* XIV. The late Parliament then conſidering the great Progreſs King *James* had made, in a very ſhort Time, towards the bringing in of the *French* Method of converting People to Popery, and what Impreſſions ſuch a Precedent as that of *France* might make upon a Prince, that needeth no Spur to the Promoting of his own Religion, thought it fit, and abſolutely neceſſary, for the Safety of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Peace of this Kingdom, to exclude for ever from the Imperial Throne of *England* all Popiſh Princes; whereby not *England* only is ſecured from ſuch Troubles, as always enſue upon any Jealouſy between the King and the People from different Principles of Religion, but likewiſe all the Proteſtant Princes abroad, are incouraged to ſtand their Ground againſt Popiſh Invaders, ſince they may be ſure of ſeaſonable Succours upon Occaſion, from the Proteſtant Princes of this powerful Monarchy.

Though what has been hitherto ſaid, does ſufficiently juſtify all the Proceedings of the King, and late Parliament, to the Satisfaction of all ſuch as are but impartial Men, and not diſaffected to the preſent Government; yet becauſe ſome Men ſeem diſcontented at two Things not done by the late Parliament, and which they think ought not to have been omitted, as being undoubtedly of no ſmall Conſequence for the publick Concerns, and Peace of the Nation; it may not be amiſs in this Place, to clear all their Scruples upon theſe two Heads, *viz.* Why the late Parliament neither ſettled the Militia of the Kingdom, nor paſſed the Act of Indemnity, though earneſtly preſſed to it by the King, in order to the quieting of Peoples Minds. As to what relates to the ſettling the Militia of the Kingdom, it is to be conſidered, that how neceſſary ſoever it may ſeem to be, it was neither perhaps poſſible as then Things ſtood, nor expedient to ſettle it, by Reaſon of the uncer-

uncertain, and unknown Diſpoſition of moſt Men's Minds at firſt, in all great and ſudden Revolutions, but more eſpecially in ſuch an extraordinary and unprecedented one as ours was; for ſince our greateſt Strength conſiſts in our Militia, can any Man of Senſe think, or ſay, 'twas either fit, or ſecure, in the then Poſture of our Affairs, to deliver up the very Bulwark of the Nation, into the Hands of ſuch high Officers, as the Lieutenants of the Militia are in *England*, till it was better known if thoſe who were fit for ſuch Places, were really Men of ſuch a Temper, as the preſent Government might truſt to, and rely upon: For extraordinary Revolutions of State being much of the Nature of the great Waters, toſſed to and fro by boiſterous Winds, do always require ſome Time before they are ſettled again in ſuch a Calm, as may encourage both private Men to follow their former Meaſures, and likewiſe thoſe who ſit at the Helm to undertake, and proſecute the fitteſt Methods for ſecuring themſelves, and the People under their Government, from new Dangers and Storms, always to be feared after a ſudden and unexpected Calm, as ours was; we were under ſuch a diſmal Cloud of imminent and threatning Dangers, a little before the Heavens cleared up from the *Dutch* Coaſt, that we do wonder at this very Day, to ſee our ſelves eſcaped ſuch an unavoidable Shipwreck, as we thought our ſelves then expoſed to; but it is not enough that we are got on Shore, and a *Terra Firma* to ſtand upon, unleſs by looking nearer into the Matter, we conſider ſeriouſly with our ſelves, how to maintain our Ground, and ſettle what we have done upon a ſure Foundation; for as our late happy Revolution was a real one, how odd ſoever, and unlooked for, ſo conſidering how eaſily Men change their Reſolutions, and becauſe it might be immediately ſucceeded by an unhappy one after the like Manner, it was a Piece of great Prudence in our late Repreſentatives, not to be over haſty in ſettling the Militia of the Nation, till both they and the King were thoroughly acquainted with thoſe who were to be truſted with Commiſſions of ſuch an high Concern; but it being impoſſible they ſhould underſtand their real Temper, while all Things were as yet on float, no wonder if they deferred the ſettling of the Militia, till the Hearts of Men were known to be firſt ſettled, which Time only could inform them of. As to the Act of Indemnity, it is clear there was little or no Inconveniency to defer it for a while; for ſince it relates moſtly to ſuch as have been guilty of Irregularities, and illegal Proceedings in the late Reign, where is the Harm if the Government keep them ſomewhat in Awe, by deferring their Pardons to more ſettled Times, leſt they might prove Ringleaders to new Changes, if they were not check'd by the fear of the Puniſhment their paſt Crimes deſerve? For it is a groundleſs Reflection to ſay, that the not paſſing of the Act of Indemnity encourageth them to do their utmoſt Endeavours towards the bringing in of King *James* again, ſince it is clear to all Men acquainted with the preſent Poſture of his Majeſty's Affairs, both at Home and Abroad, that they muſt needs deſpair of ever being ſecure, if they hope for no Security till King *James* is ſettled upon his abdicated Throne again: And may not I be allowed to ſay, that to judge of Things to come, by the preſent Temper of the Nation, they are in no

Danger at all, or at leaſt not ſo great as ſome would have them apprehend it to be, becauſe of the great Moderation the Government has hitherto ſhewn, and will undoubtedly ſhew hereafter, to all ſuch as are willing to comply with the preſent, that is the Proteſtant Intereſt, in Oppoſition to Popery, and the *French* King's Deſigns againſt our Properties, and Liberties, if by the Help of the *Iriſh* Papiſts, and other Male-Contents, he were enabled to conquer us. But to mention here another preſſing particular relating to this Subject, ſince it is well known, that at the ſitting down of the late Parliament, the King, by the Advice, yea, and earneſt Requeſt too of our late Repreſentatives, entered into a neceſſary War againſt *France* on the one Hand, and againſt the *Iriſh* Papiſts in *Ireland* on the other Hand, I would fain know from any not deſigning Man, what was fitteſt to be done in this Caſe, was the Time to be trifled away with the ſettling of the Militia, and paſſing an Act of Indemnity, before any Supplies had been granted his Majeſty, for maintaining this Kingdom, and his Subjects, againſt the formidable *French* King's Fleets at Sea, and his *Iriſh* Forces at Land, commanded by the late King *James* in *Ireland?* Sure all Men of Senſe muſt needs confeſs, that this *Principal* was firſt to be minded before any ſuch *Acceſſories*, as undoubtedly theſe were, in that Juncture of our Affairs. Now it is methinks evident, that the ordering the Sinews of great Warlike Preparations both by Sea, and by Land then, as now ſo neceſſary, could not but take up a great deal of Time, eſpecially when the Money is to be levyed, in due Proportion, upon all the chief Subjects of the Nation; the neceſſary Debates upon ſuch Occaſions, about the Sum it ſelf to be raiſed, upon what, and the Manner how it is to be gathered, are Things of ſuch a Nature, as cannot be done on a ſudden, whatever Men's Endeavours may be to bring them in a ſhort Time to a Period. The late Tranſactions of the laſt Parliament, beſides the Nature of the Thing it ſelf, are evident Proofs of what I do here affirm, to all ſuch as underſtand any Thing in Affairs of this Kind, never done in *England*, otherwiſe than by Meetings, Conferences, Committees, Debates, Votes, and ſuch other like Methods uſed in Parliament, upon all Matters of a General, and National Concern. To conclude, notwithſtanding all that I have ſaid, grant it was expedient, though I have ſufficiently proved it was not, to ſettle the Militia of the Kingdom, and paſs the Act of Indemnity, before any Thing elſe; theſe ſo much talked of Omiſſions, are both inconſiderable in themſelves, ſince we ſmart not yet for them, and not at all dangerous in their Conſequences, which if really hurtful, may eaſily be prevented by the next Parliament.

To the moſt Reverend Fathers in God, WILLIAM Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all ENGLAND and Metropolitan, and JOHN Lord Archbiſhop of *York*, Primate of ENGLAND and Metropolitan.

JAMES R.

MOST Reverend Fathers in God, We Greet you well. Whereas the bold Abuſes, and Extravagancies of Preachers in the Pulpit, have not only by the Experience of former Ages been found to tend to the Diſhonour of God, the Scandal of Religion, and Diſturbance of the Peace both of Church and State, but did alſo (through the Licentiouſneſs of the late Rebellious Times) much increaſe, to the Inflaming, Fomenting, and Heightening of the ſad Diſtempers and Confuſions that were then among us: And whereas even at this preſent (notwithſtanding the merciful Providence of God, ſo ſignally manifeſted in Reſtoring Our Royal Family, and the Lawful Government of theſe Realms, and putting an End to the great Rebellion, and notwithſtanding the Pious Care and Endeavours of Our late Dear Brother, and Our Self ever ſince, to govern Our Realms in Peace and Tranquility) it may juſtly be feared that in ſundry Parts of this Realm, there want not Men of unquiet and factious Spirits, who inſtead of Preaching the pure Word of God, and building up the People in Faith and Holineſs, will (if they be not reſtrained) make it a great Part of their Buſineſs to beget in the Minds of their Hearers, an evil Opinion of their Governors, by inſinuating Fears and Jealouſies, to diſpoſe them to Diſcontent, and to ſeaſon them with ſuch unſound and dangerous Principles as may lead them into Diſobedience, Schiſm, and Rebellion: And whereas alſo ſundry young Divines, and Preachers, either out of a Spirit of Contention and Contradiction, or in a vain Oſtentation of their Learning, take upon them in their Popular Sermons, to handle the deep Points of God's Eternal Councils and Decrees, or to meddle with the Affairs of State and Government, or to wrangle about Forms and Geſtures, and other fruitleſs Diſputes and Controverſies, ſerving rather to amuſe than profit the Hearers; which is done for the moſt Part, and with the greateſt Confidence, by ſuch Perſons as leaſt underſtand them: We out of our Princely Care and Zeal for the Honour of God, the Advancement of Piety, Peace, and true Religion, and for the Preventing for the future, as much as lieth in Us, the many and great Inconveniences and Miſchiefs that will unavoidably enſue, if a timely Stop be not given to theſe and the like growing Abuſes; do, according to the Examples of ſeveral of Our Predeceſſors of Bleſſed Memory, by theſe Our ſpecial Letters ſtraitly Charge and Command you, to uſe your utmoſt Care and Diligence that theſe Directions, which upon long and ſerious Conſideration, Our late Dear

Brother thought good to give concerning Preachers, * and which We upon like Conſideration have approved and cauſed to be reprinted, and herewith ſent unto you, be from henceforth duly and ſtrictly obſerved by all the Biſhops and others concerned therein within your Provinces. And to this End Our Will and Pleaſure is, That you forthwith ſend them Copies of theſe Our Directions, to be by them ſpeedily communicated to every Parſon, Vicar, Curate, Lecturer, and Preacher in every Cathedral, Collegiate, and Pariſh-Church within their ſeveral Dioceſſes: And that you earneſtly Require them to employ their utmoſt Endeavour for the due Obſervation of the ſame, whereof we ſhall expect a ſtrict Account, both of you, and every one of them: And theſe Our Letters ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant and Diſcharge in that Behalf.

Given at Our Court at Whitehall, *the 5th Day of* March 1685, *in the Second Year of Our Reign.*

By His Majeſty's Command,

Sunderland P.

DIRECTIONS concerning PREACHERS.

I. THAT no Preachers in their Sermons preſume to meddle with Matters of State, to model new Governments, or take upon them, to declare, limit, or bound out the Power and Authority of Sovereign Princes, or to ſtate and determine the Differences between Princes and the People; but that upon all good Occaſions they faithfully Inſtruct the People in their bounden Duty of Subjection and Obedience to their Governours, Superiour, and Subordinate of all Sorts, and to the eſtabliſhed Laws according to the Word of God, and the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, as it is contained in the Homilies of Obedience, and the Articles of Religion ſet forth by publick Authority.

II. That they be admoniſhed not to ſpend their Time, and Study in the Search of Abſtruſe and Speculative Notions, eſpecially in and about the deep Points of Election and Reprobation, together with the Incomprehenſible Manner of the Concurrence of God's free Grace, and Man's free Will, and ſuch other Controverſies as depend thereupon: But howſoever that they preſume not poſitively, and doctrinally to determine any Thing concerning the ſame.

III. That they forbear in their Sermons ordinarily and cauſeleſly to enter upon the handling of any other Controverſies of leſs Moment and Difficulty: But whenſoever they are occaſioned by Invitation from the Text they Preach upon, or that in Regard of the Auditory they Preach unto, it may ſeem

* *Anno* 1662.

re-

requiſite or expedient ſo to do; That in ſuch Caſes they do it with all Modeſty, Gravity and Candour, aſſerting the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, from the Cavils and Objections of ſuch as are Adverſaries to either, without Bitterneſs, Railing, Jeering, or other unneceſſary or unſeemly Provocation.

IV. That for the more edifying of the People in Faith and Godlineſs (the aforeſaid Abuſes laid aſide) all Miniſters and Preachers in their ſeveral reſpective Cures ſhall not only diligently apply themſelves to Catechiſe the younger Sort according as in the Book of Common Prayer is appointed; but alſo ſhall in their ordinary Sermons inſiſt chiefly upon Catechetical Doctrines (wherein are contained all the neceſſary and undoubted Verities of Chriſtian Religion) declaring withal unto their Congregations what Influences ſuch Doctrines ought to have into their Lives and Converſations, and ſtirring them up effectually, as well by their Examples, as their Doctrines, to the Practice of ſuch Religious and Moral Duties as are the proper Reſults of the ſaid Doctrines, as Self denial, Contempt of the World, Humility, Patience, Meekneſs, Temperance, Juſtice, Mercy, Obedience, and the like; and to a Deteſtation and Shunning of Sin, eſpecially ſuch Sins as are ſo rife among us, and common to the Age we live in; ſuch are thoſe uſually ſtiled the ſeven Deadly ones, in ſhort, all Kind of Debauchery, Senſuality, Rebellion, Profaneneſs, Atheiſm, and the like. And becauſe the late Licentious Times have corrupted Religion, even in the very Roots and Foundations, that where there is an Afternoon's Exerciſe, it be eſpecially ſpent, either in explaining ſome Part of the Church Catechiſm, or in preaching upon ſome ſuch Text of Scripture, as will properly and naturally lead to the handling of ſomething contained in it, or may conduce to the Expoſition of the Liturgy and Prayers of the Church, (as Occaſion ſhall be offered,) the only Cauſe they grew into Contempt amongſt the People being this, that they were not underſtood. That alſo the Miniſter, as often as conveniently he can, read the Prayers himſelf; and when he cannot ſo do, he procure or provide ſome fit Perſon in Holy Orders, who may do it with that Gravity, Diſtinctneſs, Devotion, and Reverence as becomes ſo holy an Action: And whenſoever by Reaſon of his Infirmity, or the Concurrence of other Offices, the Time may ſeem too ſhort, or he unable to perform the Office of both Prayers and Sermon at Length, he rather ſhorten his Diſcourſe or Sermon, than omit any Thing of the Prayers, leſt he incur the Penalty of the Act for Uniformity, requiring them to be read according as the Book directs.

V. And further, Our Will and Pleaſure is, That all Miniſters within their ſeveral Cures, be enjoined publickly to read over unto the People, ſuch Canons as are or ſhall be in Force, at leaſt once, and the thirty-nine Articles twice every Year, to the End they may the better underſtand, and be the more thoroughly acquainted with the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, and not ſo eaſily drawn away from it, as formerly they have been.

VI. Since preaching was not anciently the Work of every Prieſt, but was reſtrained to the choiceſt Perſons for Gravity, Prudence and Learning; the Arch-

Archbiſhops and Biſhops of this Kingdom are to take great Care whom they licence to preach; and that all Grants and Licences of this Kind heretofore made by any Chancellor, Official, Commiſſary, or other Secular Perſon, (who are preſumed not to be ſo Competent Judges in Matters of this Nature) be accounted void and null, unleſs the ſame ſhall likewiſe be allowed by the Archbiſhop or the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, and that all Licences of Preachers hereafter to be made or granted by any Archbiſhop or Biſhop, ſhall be only during Pleaſure; otherwiſe, to be void, to all Intents and Purpoſes, as if the ſame had never been made nor granted.

VII. Laſtly, that for the better obſerving of the Lord's-Day, too much neglected of late, they ſhall, as by often and ſerious Admonitions and ſharp Reproofs, endeavour to draw off People from ſuch idle, debauched, and profane Courſes as diſhonour God, bring a Scandal on Religion, and Contempt on the Laws and Authority Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, ſo ſhall they very earneſtly perſuade them to frequent Divine Service on the Lord's Day, and other Feſtivals appointed by the Church to be kept ſolemn; and in caſe any Perſon ſhall reſort unto any Taverns or Ale-Houſes, or uſe any unlawful Sports and Exerciſes on ſuch Days, the Miniſter ſhall exhort thoſe which are in Authority, in their ſeveral Pariſhes and Congregations, carefully to look after all ſuch Offenders in any Kind whatſoever, together with all thoſe that abet, receive, or entertain them, that they may be proceeded againſt, according to the Laws and Quality of their Offences, that all ſuch Diſorders may, for the Time to come, be prevented.

Given at Our Court at Whitehall, *the 5th Day of* March, 1685, *in the Second Year of Our Reign.*

By His Majeſty's Command.

Sunderland. P.

To the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty,

The Humble Petition of *William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and divers of the Suffragan Biſhops of that Province, (now preſent with him,) in Behalf of themſelves, and others of their abſent Brethren, and of the Clergy of their reſpective Dioceſſes.

Humbly ſheweth,

THAT the great Averſeneſs they find in themſelves, to the diſtributing and publiſhing in all their Churches your Majeſty's late Declaration for *Liberty of Conſcience*, proceeds neither from any Want of Duty and Obedience to your Majeſty, (our Holy Mother the Church of *England*, being both

both in her Principles and in her conſtant Practice unqueſtionably loyal; and having, to her great Honour, been more than once publickly acknowledged to be ſo by your Gracious Majeſty;) nor yet from any Want of due Tenderneſs to Diſſenters, in Relation to whom they are willing to come to ſuch a Temper as ſhall be thought fit, when that Matter ſhall be conſidered and ſettled in Parliament and Convocation. But among many other Conſiderations from this eſpecially, becauſe that Declaration is founded upon ſuch a diſpenſing Power as has been often declared illegal in Parliament, and particularly in the Years 1662, and 1672, and in the Beginning of your Majeſty's Reign; and is a Matter of ſo great Moment and Conſequence to the whole Nation, both in Church and State, that your Petitioners cannot in Prudence, Honour, or Conſcience, ſo far make themſelves Parties to it, as the Diſtribution of it all over the Nation, and the ſolemn Publication of it once again, even in God's Houſe, and in the Time of his Divine Service, muſt amount to, in common and reaſonable Conſtruction.

Your Petitioners therefore moſt humbly and earneſtly beſeech your Majeſty, that you will be graciouſly pleaſed, not to inſiſt upon their diſtributing and reading your Majeſty's ſaid Declaration.

And Your Petitioners, as in Duty bound, ſhall ever pray.

Will. Cant.
Will. Aſap.
Fr. Ely.
Jo. Ciceſter.
Tho. Bathon, *and* Wellen
Tho. Peterburgen.
Jonath. Briſtol.

His Majeſty's Anſwer was to this Effect.

I Have heard of this before, but did not believe it. I did not expect this from the Church of *England*, eſpecially from ſome of you. If I change my Mind, you ſhall hear from me; if not, I expect my Command ſhall be obeyed.

The

The Humble Addreſs of the *Preſbyterians*, preſented to the King by Mr. *Hurſt*, Mr. *Cheſter*, Mr. *Slater*, Mr. *Cox*, Mr. *Roſwell*, Mr. *Turner*, Mr. *Franklin*, Mr. *Deal*, and Mr. *Reynolds*. With his Majeſty's Gracious Anſwer.

May it pleaſe Your Moſt Sacred Majeſty,

TO believe the Thankfulneſs of our Hearts, beyond any Expreſſions of our Lips or Pens, for Your moſt Gracious *Declaration* for *Liberty* for us, in the Worſhip of *God*, which we truſt we ſhall ever value above our Property, as that without which we could enjoy nothing which we could call our own, without the greateſt Uneaſineſs imaginable: But your Majeſty having in the ſame *Declaration* alſo ſecured that unto us, both by Your Royal *Word* and *Act*: What could Your Majeſty have done more for us? Or what is left for us further to aſk of the King? *And* foraſmuch as it hath pleaſed Your moſt Excellent Majeſty, to give this ſafe *Port* to your poor Subjects, ſo long toſſed with Tempeſts, and juſtly to believe, that *Loyalty* is not intailed to a Party, as we hope we ſhall ever juſtify the Credit, which Your Majeſty's Charity in that Point hath given us; ſo we ſhall not ceaſe to bow our Knees to the God whom we ſerve, and by whom Kings Reign, beſeeching him to recompenſe this Royal Favour to Your Majeſty, with Length of Days, uninterrupted Health, Felicity in Your Royal Relations, Succeſs in Your Great Councils and Affairs, and finally, with the moſt Glorious Liberty of the Sons of God, heartily crying, as with one Voice, *Let the King live for ever.*

Subſcribed on the Behalf of our ſelves, and the reſt of our Perſuaſion.

The KING's Anſwer.

Gentlemen,

I Have already found two good Effects of my Declaration; the Eaſing and Pleaſing my Subjects You ſpeak of, and my reſtoring to God the Empire over *Conſcience*: It has been my Judgment a long Time, that none has or ought to have any Power over the *Conſcience*, but God. I underſtand there are ſome Jealouſies among my Subjects, that I have done this in a Deſign: But you look like Gentlemen of too great Ingenuity to entertain any ſuch Suſpicion.

Gentlemen, I proteſt before God, and I deſire you to tell all Manner of People of all Perſuaſions, as you have Opportunity to converſe with them, that I have no other Deſign than that I have ſpoke of.

And

And *Gentlemen*, I hope to live to see the Day when you shall as well have *Magna Charta* for the *Liberty of Conscience*, as you have had for your Properties.

And now *Gentlemen*, do You so Preach to Your Hearers as they may be good Christians, and then I do not question but they will be good Subjects.

A short Discourse concerning the Reading his Majesty's late Declaration in the Churches. Set forth by the Right Reverend Father in God, Herbert Lord Bishop of *Hereford*. 1688.

WHEN the Command for Reading the King's Declaration came down first, accompanied with the Petition of my Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and several other Bishops, humbly praying to be excused from the Publishing those Declarations, I disputed with my self so long, that I grew into a perfect Agony at last, and could take no Rest all that Night. For two great Evils appeared before me, both contrary one to the other, and yet an absolute Necessity of my falling into one of them, either Disobedience to the King's Commands, or a Separation and Schism from my Metropolitan and other worthy Bishops, whose Judgments I truly reverenced in most Things, and whose Integrity in all Things. This made that Night very dismal to me, till at length, the Day coming on, I got up and began to consider Things with less troubled Thoughts, and more calmly and seriously to weigh the whole Matter. And the first Thing that represented it self unto me, as an Anchor to fix and hold fast my Soul, and compose my Conscience, was that Saying, *Submit your selves to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's Sake.* 1 Pet. ii. 13. and again, *Ver.* 17. *Fear God, honour the King.* This was said by St. *Peter*, who, we believe, was guided by the Holy Ghost, and therefore we take it as the express Command of God, and ought to observe it in every Thing that is not flatly contrary to the Word of God, or, at least, most evidently deduced from the Word of God, so that every common Understanding must needs see it. Now the King expressly commanding his Declaration to be Read in all Churches, without requiring him that Reads it to declare, either his Consent, Assent, Allowing, or Liking of it, I would gladly know how any Man can shew me that to do this is contrary to God's Holy Word. If you say, that this Declaration contains a Dispensing Power contrary to the Laws of the Land, as is declared in the Parliament 1662. and 1672. Let it be so. Is it therefore contrary to the Word of God? Shew it me. If the King would vouchsafe to ask my Judgment, I would humbly and earnestly beseech him not to use his Dispensing Power in that high Manner. And I farther call God to Witness, that I would readily and chearfully lay down my Life to compose the mise-

rable Breaches that are in these Nations on this Account. But if after all, the King tells me, he hath this Dispensing Power inherent in his Majesty by Right, and will use it whether I will or nill; what can I poor Wretch do? or what can all my Brethren, the Bishops, lawfully do, but submit unto his Majesty's Will and have Patience? but, as a Paper lately come forth saith, in Reading this his Majesty's Declaration in the House of God, I do thereby declare my Consent unto it: For I ought to Read nothing there but what I do approve of. Where doth he find this so expreſt in the Word of God? Or from what Text doth it necessarily and evidently follow? Can this be as clearly deduced from thence, or is it as plainly expreſt as that on the contrary Side, that I am to submit to every Ordinance of Man: This is the Saying I stick close to, and require him to shew me out of the Word of God, that to read any Thing in the House of God, is declaring my Consent unto it: And therefore his Affirmation without some such Proof from Scripture signifies nothing. Nay, to set Scripture aside, and to discourse of Matters by common Understanding: If I should read unto the People in the Church, a Paper declaring that the King of *France* doth persecute several Protestants, and deprive them of their Estates, doth my Reading this Paper any Way declare my Consent to his Persecution? So should I read a Paper in the Church declaring the King's Toleration of Sectaries, doth it any Way declare my Consent unto it? No certainly. This Argument is very frivolous and vain. But you ask me, why do I read this in the Church? And I answer, because the King commands it, and I know nothing in Scripture that forbids it, and therefore I am bound to obey it. But that Paper farther asks, if the King command a Popish Homily for Transubstantiation to be read in the Church, would I read it? No certainly, unless I read it so as to confute it, and shew the Absurdity of it. The Case is very different: This is a Doctrine I am necessarily to instruct the People in, and to shew them either the Truth or Falsity of it. And the Case is the same in all Doctrines taught in the House of God. But in Reading the King's Declaration, there is no Doctrine taught, only Matter of Fact declared. But you will say, that was known before, and sure there must be some other Intention in requiring me to read it. 'Tis true, perchance it is to try my Obedience. And our Enemies having some guess by our late not giving Thanks for that Part of his Majesty's Declaration, which was to maintain the Church of *England*, because Liberty for Dissenters was then also granted; that we will likewise refuse the Reading of the Declaration for the same Reason, and thereby displease the King, they therefore persuade his Majesty to require it of us. But for my own Part I was then as urgent for our giving of Thanks, as a necessary and grateful Duty; which, had we then performed, it would probably have prevented this Command of Reading it: Which is likely to have a very sad Consequence, and I heartily lament it, but know not how to remedy it. Yet on this Occasion I beg leave of my Brethren to tell them my whole Sense of this Matter. When the King's Majesty first of all declared his Resolution to maintain the Church of *England* in the clear Profession of its Doctrine, with its Rights and Discipline, this was such unexpected and surprizing News, that

I ſtood long amazed at it: And when at length I had compoſed my Mind and ſettled my ſelf in full Belief of it, I did then alſo in all humble Gratitude reſolve to comply and ſerve his Majeſty in every Thing that I could with a ſafe Conſcience perform, and thereby preſerve his Majeſty's moſt favourable Intention and Kindneſs towards us. And for ſo good an End as the free Enjoyment of our Religion, and the true Worſhip of God to be publickly continued and defended, I was ready both then to give Thanks, and now to read (in both which I ſee no apparent Evil) and to perform ſuch other Things as ſhall be propoſed, which ſhall appear unto me as harmleſs as I take them to be. Yea I confeſs I ſhould yet go farther, and in doubtful Caſes beg leave of God (as *Naaman* the *Syrian* did of *Eliſha*, that when he bowed down in the Houſe of *Rimmon*, with the King leaning on his Hand, the Lord would pardon his Servant in this Thing: So) that he would graciouſly pardon me in complying with his Majeſty in ſome Things, wherein there might be ſome Shadow, though no real Subſtance of Offence: And I ſhould never doubt of God's merciful Pardon in it, ſeeing I did it out of pure Obedience to my King, upon God's Command, and to ſo good an End, as the preſerving of Truth and Peace among us. Which if we loſe on this Occaſion, they will have much to anſwer for, who are the Authors of it. Yet I verily believe, and durſt lay down my Life for the Truth of it, that my Brethren who refuſe the Diſperſing of theſe Declarations, are very far from having any evil Intention in it; but will as readily obey the King as my ſelf, in what is as agreeable to their Conſciences, as theſe Things are to mine. And had I had the good Fortune to have been amongſt them at their Conſultation, I ſhould not have doubted of good Succeſs in perſuading them to this Buſineſs: Which, although it comes now too late for this; yet by the Grace of God it may prevent ſome future evil Accidents. However I reſolved to publiſh it, to give as much Satisfaction to the World as I can upon what Reaſon I diſſent from my Brethren, who, I am confident, aim at the ſame Thing, though we go clean contrary Ways unto it. And I moſt humbly implore his Gracious Majeſty to believe ſo of them, and not to give Way to Paſſion, or to hearken unto thoſe who would exaſperate him againſt them: for 'tis impoſſible a true Son of the Church of *England* ſhould have any diſloyal Thoughts in his Heart, his Principles commanding him unto entire Obedience, either Active or Paſſive, without any Equivocation, or mental Reſervation in any Caſe whatſoever. And therefore a true generous Heart cannot but be Kind and Merciful to ſuch ſubmiſſive Subjects, according to that, *Parcere ſubjectis & debellare ſuperbos.*

A Letter to a Diſſenter, upon Occaſion of his MAJESTY'S late gracious Declaration of Indulgence.

By *GEORGE* MARQ. of *HALLIFAX.* 1687.

SIR,

SINCE Addreſſes are in Faſhion, give me leave to make one to you. This is neither the Effect of Fear, Intereſt, or Reſentment; therefore you may be ſure it is ſincere: And for that Reaſon it may expect to be kindly received. Whether it will have Power enough to convince, dependeth upon the Reaſons, of which you are to Judge; and upon your Preparation of Mind, to be perſuaded by Truth, whenever it appeareth to you. It ought not to be the leſs welcome, for coming from a friendly Hand, one whoſe Kindneſs to you is not leſſened by Difference of Opinion, and who will not let his Thoughts for the Publick be ſo tyed or confined to this or that Subdiviſion of Proteſtants as to ſtifle the Charity, which beſides all other Arguments, is at this Time become neceſſary to preſerve us.

I am neither ſurprized nor provoked, to ſee that in the Condition you were put into by the Laws, and the ill Circumſtances you lay under, by having the Excluſion and Rebellion laid to your Charge, you were deſirous to make your ſelves leſs uneaſy and obnoxious to Authority. Men who are ſore, run to the neareſt Remedy with too much Haſte, to conſider all the Conſequences: Grains of Allowance are to be given, where Nature giveth ſuch ſtrong Influences. When to Men under Sufferings it offereth Eaſe, the preſent Pain will hardly allow Time to examine the Remedies: and the ſtrongeſt Reaſon can hardly gain a fair Audience from our Mind, whilſt ſo poſſeſſed, till the Smart is a little allayed.

I do not know whether the Warmth that naturally belongeth to new Friendſhips, may not make it a harder Taſk for me to perſuade you. It is like telling Lovers, in the Beginning of their Joys, that they will in a little time have an End. Such an unwelcome Stile doth not eaſily find Credit: But I will ſuppoſe you are not ſo far gone in your new Paſſion, but that you will hear ſtill; and therefore I am under the leſs Diſcouragement, when I offer to your Conſideration two Things. The *firſt* is, the Cauſe you have to ſuſpect your new Friends. The *ſecond*, the Duty incumbent upon you, in Chriſtianity and Prudence, not to hazard the publick Safety, neither by Deſire of Eaſe, nor of Revenge.

To the *firſt:* Conſider that notwithſtanding the ſmooth Language which is now put on to engage you, theſe new Friends did not make you their Choice, but their Refuge: They have ever made their firſt Courtſhips to the Church of *England*, and when they were rejected there, they made their Application to you in the ſecond Place. The Inſtances of this, might be given in all Times. I do not repeat them, becauſe whatſoever is unneceſſary, muſt

muſt be tedious, the Truth of this Aſſertion being ſo plain, as not to admit a Diſpute. You cannot therefore reaſonably flatter your ſelves, that there is any Inclination to you. They never pretended to allow you any Quarter, but to uſher in Liberty for themſelves under that Shelter. I refer you to Mr. *Coleman*'s Letters, and to the Journals of Parliament, where you may be convinced, if you can be ſo miſtaken as to doubt; nay, at this very Hour, they can hardly forbear, in the Height of their Courtſhip, to let fall hard Words of you. So little is Nature to be reſtrained; it will ſtart out ſometimes, diſdaining to ſubmit to the Uſurpation of Art and Intereſt.

This Alliance, between Liberty and Infallibility, is bringing together the two moſt contrary Things that are in the World. The Church of *Rome* doth not only diſlike the allowing Liberty, but by its Principles it cannot do it. Wine is not more expreſly forbidden to the *Mahometans*, than giving Hereticks Liberty is to *Papiſts:* They are no more able to make good their Vows to you, than Men married before, and their Wife alive, can confirm their Contract with another. The Continuance of their Kindneſs, would be a Habit of Sin, of which they are to repent, and their Abſolution is to be had upon no other Terms, than their Promiſe to deſtroy you. You are therefore to be hugged now, only that you may be the better ſqueezed at another Time. There muſt be ſomething extraordinary, when the Church of *Rome* ſetteth up Bills, and offereth Plaiſters, for tender Conſciences; By all that hath hitherto appeared, her Skill in Chirurgery lieth chiefly in a quick Hand, to cut off Limbs; but ſhe is the worſt at healing, of any that ever pretended to it.

To come ſo quick from another Extreme, is ſuch an unnatural Motion, that you ought to be upon your Guard; the other Day you were Sons of *Belial*, Now, you are Angels of Light. This is a violent Change, and it will be fit for you to pauſe upon it, before you believe it: If your Features are not altered, neither is their Opinion of you, whatever may be pretended. Do you believe leſs than you did, that there is Idolatry in the Church of *Rome?* Sure you do not. See then how they treat, both in Words and Writing, thoſe who entertain that Opinion. Conclude from hence, how inconſiſtent their Favour is with this ſingle Article, except they give you a Diſpenſation for this too, and by a *Non Obſtante*, ſecure you, that they will not think the worſe of you.

Think a little how dangerous it is to build upon a Foundation of Paradoxes. Popery now is the only Friend to Liberty, and the known Enemy to Perſecution: The Men of *Taunton* and *Tiverton*, are above all other eminent for Loyalty. The Quakers from being declared by the Papiſts not to be Chriſtians, are now made Favourites, and taken into their particular Protection; they are on a ſudden grown the moſt accompliſhed Men of the Kingdom, in good Breeding, and give Thanks with the beſt Grace, in double refined Language. So that I ſhould not wonder, though a Man of that Perſuaſion, in Spite of his Hat, ſhould be Maſter of the Ceremonies. Not to ſay harſher Words, theſe are ſuch very new Things, that it is impoſſible not to ſuſpend our Belief, till by a little more Experience we may be informed whether they are Realities or

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Apparitions: We have been under ſhameful Miſtakes, if theſe Opinions are true; but for the preſent, we are apt to be incredulous; except we could be convinced, that the Prieſts Words in this Caſe too, are able to make ſuch a ſudden and effectual Change; and that their Power is not limited to the Sacrament, but that it extendeth to alter the Nature of all other Things, as often as they are ſo diſpoſed.

Let me now ſpeak of the Inſtruments of your Friendſhip, and then leave you to judge, whether they do not afford Matter of Suſpicion. No Sharpneſs is to be mingled where Healing only is intended; ſo nothing will be ſaid to expoſe particular Men, how ſtrong ſoever the Temptation may be, or how clear the Proofs to make it out. A Word or two in general, for your better Caution, ſhall ſuffice: Suppoſe then, for Argument's Sake, that the Mediators of this new Alliance ſhould be ſuch, as have been formerly employed in Treaties of the ſame Kind, and there detected to have acted by Order, and to have been impowered to give Encouragements and Rewards. Would not this be an Argument to ſuſpect them?

If they ſhould plainly be under Engagements to one Side, their Arguments to the other, ought to be received accordingly; their fair Pretences are to be looked upon as Part of their Commiſſion, which may not improbably give them a Diſpenſation in the Caſe of Truth, when it may bring a Prejudice upon the Service of thoſe by whom they are employed.

If there ſhould be Men who having formerly had Means and Authority to perſuade, by ſecular Arguments, have in Purſuance of that Power, ſprinkled Money amongſt the Diſſenting Miniſters; and if thoſe very Men ſhould now have the ſame Authority, practiſe the ſame Methods, and diſburſe, where they cannot otherwiſe perſuade: it ſeemeth to me to be rather an Evidence than a Preſumption of the Deceit.

If there ſhould be Miniſters amongſt you, who by having fallen under Temptations of this Kind, are in ſome Sort engaged to continue their Frailty, by the Awe they are in, leſt it ſhould be expoſed: The Perſuaſions of theſe unfortunate Men muſt ſure have the leſs Force; and their Arguments, though never ſo ſpecious, are to be ſuſpected, when they come from Men who have mortgaged themſelves to ſevere Creditors, that expect a rigorous Obſervation of the Contract, let it be never ſo unwarrantable.

If theſe, or any others, ſhould at this Time preach up Anger and Vengeance againſt the Church of *England*; may it not without Injuſtice be ſuſpected, that a Thing ſo plainly out of Seaſon ſpringeth rather from Corruption than Miſtake; and that thoſe who act this cholerick Part, do not believe themſelves, but only purſue higher Directions, endeavour to make good that Part of their Contract which obliged them, upon a Forfeiture, to make Uſe of their Inflaming Eloquence? They might apprehend their Wages would be retrenched if they ſhould be moderate: And therefore, whilſt Violence is their Intereſt, thoſe who have not the ſame Arguments, have no Reaſon to follow ſuch a partial Example.

If there ſhould be Men, who by the Load of their Crimes againſt the Government, have been bowed down to comply with it againſt their Conſcience;

ſcience; who by incuring the Want of a Pardon, have drawn upon themſelves the Neceſſity of an intire Reſignation: Such Men are to be lamented, but not to be believed. Nay, they themſelves, when they have diſcharged their unwelcome Taſk, will be inwardly glad that their forced Endeavours do not ſucceed, and are pleaſed when Men reſiſt their Inſinuations; which are far from being voluntary or ſincere, but are ſqueezed out of them, by the Weight of their being ſo obnoxious.

If in the Height of this great Dearneſs by comparing Things, it ſhould happen, that at this inſtant, there is much a ſurer Friendſhip with thoſe who are ſo far from allowing Liberty, that they allow no Living to a Proteſtant under them. Let the Scene lie in what Part of the World it will, the Argument will come home, and ſure it will afford ſufficient Ground to ſuſpect. Apparent Contradictions muſt ſtrike us; neither Nature nor Reaſon can digeſt them: Self-Flattery, and the Deſire to deceive our ſelves, to gratify a preſent Appetite, with all their Power, which is great, cannot get the better of ſuch broad Conviction, as ſome Things carry along with them. Will you call theſe vain and empty Suſpicions? Have you been at all Times ſo void of Fears and Jealouſies, as to juſtify your being ſo unreaſonably valiant, in having none upon this Occaſion? Such an extraordinary Courage at this unſeaſonable Time, to ſay no more, is too dangerous a Virtue to be commended.

If then for theſe and a Thouſand other Reaſons, there is Cauſe to ſuſpect, ſure your new Friends are not to dictate to you, or adviſe you; for Inſtance, the Addreſſes that fly abroad every Week, and murther us with *another to the ſame*; the firſt Draughts are made by thoſe who are not very proper to be Secretaries to the Proteſtant Religion; and it is your Part only to write them out fairer again. Strange! that you who have been formerly ſo much againſt ſet Forms, ſhould now be content the Prieſts ſhould indite for you. The Nature of Thanks is an unavoidable Conſequence of being pleaſed or obliged; they grew in the Heart, and from thence ſhew themſelves either in Looks, Speech, Writing or Action: No Man was ever thankful, becauſe he was bid to be ſo, but becauſe he had, or thought he had ſome Reaſon for it. If then there is Cauſe in this Caſe to pay ſuch extravagant Acknowledgments, they will flow naturally, without taking ſuch Pains to procure them; and it is unkindly done, to tire all the Poſt-Horſes with carrying circular Letters, to ſollicit that, which would be done without any Trouble or Conſtraint: If it is really in it ſelf ſuch a Favour, what needeth ſo much preſſing Men to be thankful, and with ſuch eager Circumſtances, that where Perſuaſions cannot delude, Threatnings are employed, to fright them into a Compliance? Thanks muſt be voluntarily, not only unconſtrained, but unſollicited, elſe they are either Trifles or Snares, they either ſignify nothing, or a great deal more than is intended by thoſe that give them. If an Inference ſhould be made, that whoſoever thanketh the King for his Declaration, is by that engaged to juſtify it in Point of Law; it is a greater Stride, than I preſume all thoſe care to make who are perſuaded to addreſs: If it ſhall be ſuppoſed, that all the Thankers will be Repealers of the *TEST*, when ever a Parliament ſhall meet. Such an Expectation is better prevented before, than diſappointed afterwards; and

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the ſureſt Way to avoid the lying under ſuch a Scandal, is not to do any Thing that may give a Colour to the Miſtake: Theſe beſpoken Thanks are little leſs improper than Love Letters that were ſollicited by the Lady, to whom they are to be directed; ſo that beſides the little Ground there is to give them, the Manner of getting them, doth extremely leſſen their Value. It might be wiſhed, that you would have ſuppreſſed your Impatience, and have been content, for the Sake of Religion, to enjoy it within your ſelves, without the Liberty of a publick Exerciſe, till a Parliament had allowed it; but ſince that could not be, and that the Artifices of ſome amongſt you have made Uſe of the well meant Zeal of the Generality, to draw them into this Miſtake; I am ſo far from blaming you with that Sharpneſs, which, perhaps the Matter in Strictneſs would bear, that I am ready to err on the Side of the more gentle Conſtruction.

There is a great Difference between enjoying quietly the Advantages of an Act irregularly done by others, and the going about to ſupport it againſt the Laws in being: The Law is ſo ſacred, that no Treſpaſs againſt it is to be defended; yet Frailties may in ſome Meaſure be excuſed, when they cannot be juſtified. The Deſire of enjoying a Liberty, from which Men have been ſo long reſtrained, may be a Temptation that their Reaſon is not at all Times able to reſiſt. If in ſuch a Caſe, ſome Objections are leapt over, indifferent Men will be more inclined to lament the Occaſion, than to fall too hard upon the Fault, whilſt it is covered with the Apology of a good Intention; but where to reſcue your ſelves from the Severity of one Law, you give a Blow to all the Laws, by which your Religion and Liberty are to be protected; and inſtead of ſilently receiving the Benefit of this Indulgence, you ſet up for Advocates to ſupport it; you become voluntary Aggreſſors, and look like Counſel retained by the Prerogative againſt your old Friend *Magna Charta*, who hath done nothing to deſerve her falling thus under your Diſpleaſure.

If the Caſe then ſhould be, that the Price expected from you for this Liberty, is giving up your Right in the Laws, ſure you will think twice, before you go any further in ſuch a loſing Bargain. After giving Thanks for the Breach of one Law, you loſe the Right of complaining of the Breach of all the reſt; you will not very well know how to defend your ſelves, when you are preſſed; and having given up the Queſtion, when it was for your Advantage, you cannot recall it, when it ſhall be to your Prejudice. If you will ſet up at one Time a Power to help you, which at another Time by Parity of Reaſon ſhall be made uſe of to deſtroy you, you will neither be pitied, nor relieved againſt a Miſchief you draw upon your ſelves, by being ſo unreaſonably thankful. It is like calling in Auxiliaries to help, who are ſtrong enough to ſubdue you: In ſuch a Caſe your Complaints will come too late to be heard, and your Sufferings will raiſe Mirth inſtead of Compaſſion.

If you think, for your Excuſe, to expound your Thanks ſo as to reſtrain them to this particular Caſe, others, for their Ends, will extend them further; and in theſe differing Interpretations, that which is back'd by Authority will be the moſt likely to prevail; eſpecially when by the Advantage you have given them, they have in Truth the better of the Argument, and that the

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Inferences from your own Conceſſions are very ſtrong and expreſs againſt you. This is ſo far from being a groundleſs Suppoſition, that there was a late Inſtance of it, the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, in the Houſe of Lords, where the firſt Thanks, though Things of Courſe, were interpreted to be the Approbation of the King's whole Speech, and a Reſtraint from the further Examination of any Part of it, though never ſo much diſliked; and it was with Difficulty obtained, not to be excluded from the Liberty of objecting to this mighty Prerogative of Diſpenſing, meerly by this innocent and uſual Piece of good Manners, by which no ſuch Thing could poſſibly be intended.

This ſheweth, that ſome Bounds are to be put to your good Breeding, and that the Conſtitution of *England* is too valuable a Thing to be ventured upon a Complement. Now that you have for ſome Time enjoyed the Benefit of the End, it is Time for you to look into the Danger of the Means: The ſame Reaſon that made you deſirous to get Liberty, muſt make you ſolicitous to preſerve it: So that the next Thought will naturally be, not to engage your ſelf beyond Retreat, and to agree ſo far with the Principles of all Religions, as not to rely upon a Death-bed Repentance.

There are certain Periods of Time, which being once paſt, make all Cautions ineffectual, and all Remedies deſperate. Our Underſtandings are apt to be hurried on by the firſt Heats; which, if not reſtrained in Time, do not give us leave to look back, till it is too late. Conſider this in the Caſe of your Anger againſt the Church of *England*, and take Warning by their Miſtake in the ſame Kind, when after the late King's Reſtoration, they preſerved ſo long the bitter Taſte of your rough Uſage to them in other Times, that it made them forget their Intereſt, and ſacrifice it to their Revenge.

Either you will blame this Proceeding in them, and for that Reaſon not follow it, or if you allow it, you have no Reaſon to be offended with them; ſo that you muſt either diſmiſs your Anger, or loſe your Excuſe; except you ſhould argue more partially than will be ſuppoſed of Men of your Morality and Underſtanding.

If you had now to do with thoſe rigid Prelates, who made it a Matter of Conſcience to give you the leaſt Indulgence; but kept you at an uncharitable Diſtance, and even to your more reaſonable Scruples continued ſtiff and exorable, the Argument might be fairer on your Side; but ſince the common Danger hath ſo laid open that Miſtake, that all the former Haughtineſs towards you is for ever extinguiſh'd, and that it hath turned the Spirit of Perſecution, into a Spirit of Peace, Charity and Condeſcention; ſhall this happy Change only affect the Church of *England?* And are you ſo in love with Separation, as not to be moved by this Example? It ought to be followed, were there no other Reaſon than that it is a Virtue; but when beſides that, it is become neceſſary to your Preſervation, it is impoſſible to fail the having its Effect upon you.

If it ſhould be ſaid, that the Church of *England* is never humble, but when ſhe is out of Power, and therefore loſeth the Right of being believed

when ſhe pretendeth to it; the Anſwer is, *firſt*, it would be an uncharitable Objection, and very much miſ-timed; an unſeaſonable Triumph, not only ungenerous, but unſafe: So that in theſe reſpects it cannot be urged, without Scandal, even though it could be ſaid with Truth. *Secondly*, This is not ſo in Fact, and the Argument muſt fall, being built upon a falſe Foundation; for whatever may be told you, at this very Hour, and in the Heat and Glare of your preſent Sun-ſhine, the *Church* of *England* can in a Moment bring Clouds again; and turn the Royal Thunder upon your Heads, blow you off the Stage with a Breath, if ſhe would give but a Smile or a kind Word; the leaſt Glympſe of her Compliance, would throw you back into the State of Suffering, and draw upon you all the Arrears of Severity, which have accrued during the Time of this Kindneſs to you; and yet the *Church* of *England*, with all her Faults, will not allow herſelf to be reſcued by ſuch unjuſtifiable Means, but chuſeth to bear the Weight of Power, rather than lie under the Burthen of being Criminal.

It cannot be ſaid, that ſhe is unprovoked; Books and Letters come out every Day, to call for Anſwers, yet ſhe will not be ſtirred. From the ſuppoſed Authors and the Stile, one would ſwear they were Undertakers, and had made a Contract to fall out with the *Church* of *England*. There are Laſhes in every Addreſs, Challenges to draw the Pen in every Pamphlet; in ſhort, the faireſt Occaſions in the World given to Quarrel; but ſhe wiſely diſtinguiſheth between the Body of Diſſenters, whom ſhe will ſuppoſe to act, as they do, with no ill Intent; and theſe ſmall Skirmiſhers pick'd and ſent out to picqueer, and to begin a Fray amongſt the Proteſtants, for the Entertainment, as well as the Advantage of the *Church* of *Rome*.

This Conduct is ſo good, that it will be ſcandalous not to applaud it: It is not equal dealing, to blame our Adverſaries for doing ill, and not to commend them when they do well.

To hate them becauſe they perſecuted, and not to be reconciled to them when they are ready to ſuffer, rather than receive all the Advantages that can be gained by a Criminal Compliance, is a Principle no ſort of Chriſtians can own, ſince it would give an Objection to them never to be anſwered.

Think a little, who they were that promoted your former Perſecutions, and then conſider how it will look to be angry with the Inſtruments, and at the ſame Time to make a League with the Authors of your Sufferings.

Have you enough conſidered what will be expected from you? Are you ready to ſtand in every Borough by a Virtue of a *Conge d'eſlire*, and inſtead of Election, be ſatisfied if you are returned?

Will you in *Parliament*, juſtify the Diſpenſing Power, with all its Conſequences, and repeal the *Teſt*, by which you will make way for the Repeal of all the Laws, that were made to preſerve your Religion, and to enact others that ſhall deſtroy it?

Are you diſpoſed to change the Liberty of Debate, into the Merit of Obedience, and to be made Inſtruments to repeal or enact Laws, when the *Roman Conſiſtory* are *Lords of the Articles*.

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Are you ſo linked with your new Friends, as to reject any Indulgence a *Parliament* ſhall offer you, if it ſhall not be ſo comprehenſive as to include the *Papiſts* in it.

Conſider that the implied Conditions of your new Treaty are no leſs, than that you are to do every Thing you are deſired, without examining, and that for this pretended Liberty of Conſcience, your real Freedom is to be ſacrificed: Your former Faults hang like Chains ſtill about you, you are let looſe only upon Bail; the firſt Act of Non-compliance, ſendeth you to Jail again.

You may ſee that the Papiſts themſelves, do not rely upon the Legality of this Power, which you are to juſtify, ſince they being ſo very earneſt to get it eſtabliſhed by a Law, and the doing ſuch very hard Things in order, as they think, to obtain it, is a clear Evidence, that they do not think that the ſingle Power of the Crown is in this Caſe a good Foundation; eſpecially when this is done under a Prince, ſo very tender of all the Rights of Sovereignty, that he would think it a Diminution to his Prerogative, where he conceiveth it ſtrong enough to go alone, to call in the Legiſlative Help to ſtrengthen and ſupport it.

You have formerly blamed the *Church* of *England*, and not without Reaſon, for going ſo far as they did in their Compliance; and yet as ſoon as they ſtopped, you ſee they are not only deſerted, but proſecuted: Conclude then from this Example, that you muſt either break off your Friendſhip, or reſolve to have no Bounds in it. If they do not ſucceed in their Deſign, they will leave you firſt; if they do, you muſt either leave them, when it will be too late for your Safety, or elſe after the Squeazineſs of ſtarting at a Surplice, you muſt be forced to ſwallow Tranſubſtantiation.

Remember that the other Day thoſe of the Church of *England* were *Trimmers* for enduring you, and now by a ſudden Turn, you are become the Favourites; do not deceive your ſelves, it is not the Nature of laſting Plants thus to ſhoot up in a Night; you may look gay and green for a little Time, but you want a Root to give you a Continuance. It is not ſo long ſince, as to be forgotten that the *Maxim* was, *It is impoſſible for a Diſſenter, not to be a* REBEL. Conſider at this Time in *France*, even the new Converts are ſo far from being employed, that they are diſarmed: Their ſudden Change maketh them ſtill to be diſtruſted, notwithſtanding that they are reconciled: What are you to expect then from your dear Friends, to whom, whenever they ſhall think fit to throw you off again, you have in other Times given ſuch Arguments for their Excuſe?

Beſides all this, you act very unſkilfully againſt your viſible Intereſt, if you throw away the Advantages, of which you can hardly fail in the next probable Revolution. Things tend naturally to what you would have, if you would let them alone, and not by an unſeaſonable Activity loſe the Influences of your good Star, which promiſeth you every Thing that is proſperous.

The *Church* of *England* convinced of its Error in being ſevere to you; the *Parliament* whenever it meeteth, ſure to be gentle to you; the next Heir bred

in the Country, which you have ſo often quoted for a Pattern of Indulgence; a general Agreement of all thinking Men, that we muſt no more cut our ſelves off from the Proteſtants abroad, but rather enlarge the Foundations upon which we are to build our Defences againſt the common Enemy; ſo that in Truth, all Things ſeem to conſpire to give you Eaſe and Satisfaction, if by too much Haſte to anticipate your good Fortune, you do not deſtroy it.

The Proteſtants have but one Article of human Strength, to oppoſe the Power which is now againſt them, and that is, not to loſe the Advantage of their Numbers, by being ſo unwary as to let themſelves be divided.

We all agree in our Duty to our Prince, our Objections to his Belief, do not hinder us from ſeeing his Virtues; and our not complying with his Religion, hath no Effect upon our Allegiance; we are not to be laughed out of our Paſſive Obedience, and the Doctrine of Non-Reſiſtance, though even thoſe who perhaps owe the beſt Part of their Security to that Principle, are apt to make a Jeſt of it.

So that if we give no Advantage by the fatal Miſtake of miſapplying our Anger, by the natural Courſe of Things, this Danger will paſs away like a Shower of Hail; fair Weather will ſucceed, as lowring as the Sky now looketh, and all by this plain and eaſy Receipt. Let us be ſtill, quiet and undivided, firm at the ſame Time to our Religion, our Loyalty, and our Laws, and ſo long as we continue this Method, it is next to impoſſible, that the odds of two hundred to one ſhould loſe the Bett, except the Church of *Rome*, which hath been ſo long barren of Miracles, ſhould now in her declining Age, be brought to bed of One that would out-do the beſt ſhe can brag of in her *Legend*.

To conclude, the ſhort Queſtion will be, Whether you will join with thoſe who muſt in the End run the ſame Fate with you. If Proteſtants of all ſorts, in their Behaviour to one another, have been to blame, they are upon the more equal Terms, and for that very Reaſon it is fitter for them now to be reconciled. Our Diſ-union is not only a Reproach, but a Danger to us; thoſe who believe in modern Miracles, have more Right, or at leaſt more Excuſe, to neglect all ſecular Cautions; but for us, it is as juſtifiable to have no Religion, as wilfully to throw away the human Means of preſerving it.

I am,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt Affectionate

Humble Servant,

T. W.

A Copy

A Copy of an Addreſs to the KING by the Biſhop of *Oxon*, to be ſubſcribed by the Clergy of his Dioceſs; with the Reaſons for the Subſcription to the Addreſs, and the Reaſons againſt it.

To the KING's *Moſt Excellent Majeſty.*

WHereas, in Your Majeſty's Royal Declaration lately publiſhed, You have been Graciouſly pleaſed to declare, That Your Majeſty will protect and maintain the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Clergy, and all other Subjects of the Church of *England*, in the free Exerciſe of their Religion, as by Law eſtabliſhed, and the full and quiet Enjoyment of all their Poſſeſſions, without Moleſtation or Diſturbance whatſoever; we cannot but think ourſelves obliged in Duty and Gratitude, to return Your Majeſty Our moſt Hearty Thanks for thoſe Gracious Expreſſions of Your Kindneſs, and for all Your former Aſſurances of Your Royal Favour to the Church of *England*; and to expreſs our Loyalty as becomes the true Sons of the Church of *England*, and Your Majeſty's obedient Subjects and Servants.

The Reaſons for the Subſcription to the ADDRESS *are but two.*

I. That it may continue the King's Favour, whereas the Omiſſion may irrritate the Treaſury to call upon the fifth Bond for firſt Fruits at full Worth.

II. That it will Teſtify Our Unity with, and Submiſſion to the Biſhop requiring their Addreſs, and perhaps expecting it upon Our Canonical Obedience; there being nothing in the *Addreſs Præter licitum & Honeſtum.*

The Reaſons againſt it are many, to inſtance in four.

I. As Our Poſſeſſions, 'tis but Thanks for His Majeſty's continuing Our legal Rights, which either equally concerns all States of Men in the Kingdom, and ought properly to be conſidered in Parliaments; or elſe it ſuppoſes Our Poſſeſſions leſs legal and more arbitrary than other Subjects.

II. As to the free Exerciſe of our Religion, it unneceſſarily herds us among the various Sects under the *Toleration*, who for that Favour in ſuſpending the Laws, have led the Way to ſuch Addreſſes, depending for Protection upon no legal Eſtabliſhment, but intirely upon Sovereign Pleaſure and Indulgence, which at Pleaſure is revocable.

III. This *Addreſs* when ſubſcribed, is either deſigned in the Name of the Church of *England*, and then ought to have had its Birth at *Lambeth*, or a Synodal Convocation; or elſe in the Name of this Dioceſs only, which will disjoint us both among ourſelves, who differ about it, and the Body of the National *Clergy*, who as we are aſſured, diſlike it in the preſent Circumſtances; ſo that the inevitable Conſequences of this *Addreſs* (ſet on Foot by two or three Biſhops,

Biſhops, independent upon their Metropolitan, and without the previous Concurrence of the reſt of their Order) muſt be a fatal Diviſion among the Clergy, and either beget a new Schiſm, or widen the old ones, which are already deplorable, which above all Things is likely to haſten our Ruin, and promote the intriguing Projects of our Adverſaries.

IV. It forfeits the preſent Reputation we have with the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonality of our Communion, and may tempt them not only to diſguſt us for our raſh Compliance with ſuſpected Artifices (which may riſe up hereafter againſt Us to Our own and the Church's Prejudice,) but alſo to waver in the Stedfaſtneſs of their Profeſſion, when they ſee us owning the Exerciſe of Our Eſtabliſhed own Religion to be precarious.

Wherefore may it not be expedient humbly to remonſtrate Our ſelves in this Affair to Our Dioceſan, and humbly deſire and beſeech him not to (without Conſulting Us) Act in a Thing of ſo Publick and National a Concernment, in which We conceive Our ſelves obliged to proceed upon mature Deliberation and united Meaſures, which under God and the King are likely to be our greateſt Safeguard.

As to the Continuance of the King's Favour.

If the known loyal Principles and Practices of the Church of *England*, peculiarly evident to this Prince in the *Bill of Excluſion* and *Monmouth*, will not ſecure it, this *Addreſs* (which only copies out *Fanatical* Thankſgiving) will not. Yet it might be thought expedient for the Church of *England*, to addreſs for the Contents of that *Declaration*, which promiſes to engage the two Houſes of *Parliament*, in Concurrence to ſo excellent a Work, as if the Favour of continuing the Laws, (which perhaps cannot be repealed) were as great as the abrogating the Laws for the Diſſenters Sakes, which is the Reaſon of the Thanks in the *Preſbyterian* and *Independant Addreſſes*.

As to the Biſhop.

This *Addreſs* is no Inſtance of Canonical Obedience that we know of, neither is Our Unity with him ſuch, as to oblige Us to disjoint from Our Metropolitan and national Clergy; neither ſeems Our Biſhop to have had any Paternal Regard of Us, unleſs it be in treating of Us like Children of a very weak and paſſive Minority, when he requires Our Subſcription to a Formed Addreſs, wherein he hath neither conſulted Us, nor given us Leave to Word Ourſelves, or ſpeak Our own Senſe.

And till Biſhops at their Confirmation declare what Faith they are of, as they did in the *Primitive* Church, (for which there are the ſame Reaſons now) Our Unity with him muſt either be with Communication as to the whole Church, or we may follow him we know not whether.

A Letter

A Letter from a DISSENTER to the Petitioning BISHOPS.

My Lords,

HAving ſeen a Paper that goes under the Name of your *Petition to His Majeſty, for not inſiſting upon his Order for Reading his moſt Gracious Declaration in your Publick Aſſemblies:* I confeſs I was not a little ſtartled at it, that Men ſo long, and ſo much profeſſing Loyalty ſhould appear ſo miſerably defective in that Point. I challenge you (after all your exclaiming againſt the poor Diſſenters as Factious and Rebellious) to give an Inſtance of their Diſobeying their Prince's Command in any ſuch Matter, what they ſtuck at was purely for Conſcience Sake, which you have not to plead in this Thing; here was no Aſſent nor Conſent required, no interfering with any Law of God, but only a Publication of his Majeſty's moſt Pious Deſign to ſet all his Subjects at Liberty from that Bondage they ſo dolefully groan'd under. Now as *Samuel* reaſoned with *Iſrael* about their Affairs then, pray my Lords give me leave to Reaſon with you about this important Affair now; you are Men of Worth and Learning, you are Profeſſors of the Goſpel of Peace and Love, and it might therefore be well expected from you, that you ſhould have put the King upon it before he did it, and improv'd your great Intereſt in his Majeſty on the Behalf of the ſore oppreſſed and horridly abuſed *Diſſenters*; but alas, *altum ſilentium* to ſay no more, what provoking and incenſing the King there was againſt them you beſt know; However after Heaven had inſpir'd his Majeſty with this glorious Project, we expected your rejoicing at it, your thanking the King for it, and hearty cloſing with him in it. But who could imagine the Murmuring, the Grumbling, the Diſcontent this great Act of Goodneſs and Grace has raiſed among you, eſpecially the unmannerly (pardon the Expreſſion) refuſing to make it known to the People, though the King ſo abſolutely commanded it. Pray, my Lords, let me aſk you a Queſtion. Suppoſe the King inſtead of his Declaration had iſſued out a Proclamation commanding Juſtices of the Peace, Conſtables, Informers, and all other Perſons to be more rigorous (if poſſible) againſt Diſſenters, and do their utmoſt to the perfect Quelling and Deſtroying them, and had order'd this to be read in your Churches in the Time of Divine Service, would you have made any Scruple of that? Ah! no, methinks I ſee your chirping Parſons, how briſk they look in the Deſk with ſuch a Paper in their Hands, as the ſecond Courſe after the firſt Meſs of Prayers is over, being a Diſh more dainty than the reſt, and how the Paraphraſe upon it would furniſh them with Matter all the Day after, without being beholden to the Bible for any other Text.

Good my Lords conſider, what can we or the whole World think of you, who are ſo averſe to Mercy, and ſo eager to any Thing of Rigour. You intimate

intimate in your Paper that *you want no Tenderneſs to Diſſenters*; ſtrange and wonderful News if true; but pray my Lords tell us the Meaning of this Expreſſion in plain Engliſh, for it is more intricate to us than *Samſon*'s Riddle was to the *Philiſtines*; an Interpreter the other Day undertook to expound it thus, *that your Lordſhips want no Tenderneſs to Diſſenters, becauſe you never judg'd Tenderneſs a Thing fit for them*; and it muſt be carried ſome ſuch Way, for to take it in the literal Senſe, 'tis a great Untruth (which we cannot ſuppoſe your Lordſhips guilty of) to ſay *you want no Tenderneſs to Diſſenters*, when the whole Land knows you never ſhew'd any. How many Scores of Priſons were fill'd with Diſſenters not many Ages paſt, and their Families ſuffering at home; nor did your Lordſhips out of your great Revenues ever ſend a Penny to relieve them; here would have been a notable Proof of your *Tenderneſs*, and to have been a Teſtimony againſt (or at leaſt uſing Endeavours to prevent) the horrible Wrongs, Oppreſſions and Abuſes put upon them even to the ruining their Families. Something of this Nature (my Lords) would have convinc'd this unbelieving Generation of your *Tenderneſs*. But *hujus contrarium miſerimum eſt*.

My Lords, the Deſign of this Letter is to offer you good and ſeaſonable Advice, and pray be not angry with me for my good Will; I am a Perſon that has ſuffer'd much, very much by the Fury of that Church you ſit at helm to guide; and yet God is my Witneſs, I deſire not an Hair of your Head ſhould fall to the Ground, ſo far am I from Revenge; and therefore pray my Lords for your own Sake, for your Churches Sake, for *England*'s Sake, and if all this will not do, then for God's Sake debate the Matter well you are now in Hand with, weigh every Thing in a right Balance, and conſider thoroughly whether flying in your Sovereign's Face, and diſobeying his moſt juſt Command be a Cauſe will bear you out in Suffering. My Lords I pity you, and am really concern'd for you, retract, retract before it be too late, aſk God and the King Pardon for your oppoſing the beſt of Works, and give us (who would fain have) ſome Ground to believe you inclinable to heal, as you have been to deſtroy. I think you have it in your Liturgy, *From Pride, Vain glory and Hypocriſy*, &c. A good Prayer, I pray God keep you all from it. My Lords, believe me if you can (I am ſure you may) that,

I am,

London, Your well-wiſhing Servant,
June 1ſt, 1688.

The

The Solemn Oath which the KINGS of *Scotland* are to take, by Virtue of an Act made in the firſt Parliament of King *JAMES* the VI. at the Time of their Coronation, and Receipt of their Princely Authority. *Anno* 1567.

ITEM, Becauſe that the increaſe of Vertew, and ſuppreſſing of Idolatrie craves, that the Prince and the People be of ane perfect Religion, quhilk of God's Mercy is now preſently profeſſed within this Realme. Therefore it is Statute, and Ordeined be our Soveraine Lord, my Lord Regent, and Three Eſtaites of this preſent Parliament, That all Kinges, and Princes, or Magiſtrates whatſoever, halding their Place, quhilkis hereafter in ony time ſall happen to Reigne, and beare Rule over this Realme, at the time of their Coronatioun, and receipt of their Princely Authority, make their faithful Promiſe by Aith in Preſence of the Eternal God, That induring the haill courſe of their lives, they ſall ſerve the ſamin Eternal God to the uttermoſt of their Power, according as he hes required in his maiſt holy Word, reveiled and contained in the new and auld Teſtaments. And according to the ſamin worde ſall mainteine the trew Religioun of Chriſt Jeſus, the preaching of his Halie Word, and dew and richt miniſtration of the Sacraments now received and preached within this Realm; And ſall aboliſh and gainſtand all fals Religioun contrare to the ſamin: And ſall rule the Peopill committed to their Charge, according to the Will and Commaund of God, reveiled in his foreſeide Word, and according to the loudable Laws, and Conſtitutions received in the Realm, na wiſe repugnant to the ſaid Word of the Eternall God. And ſall procure to the uttermaiſt of their Power, to the Kirk of God, and hail Chriſtian Peopil, trew and perfite Peace in all time coming. The Richtis and Rentes, with all juſt Privileges of the Crown of *Scotland*, to preſerve and keip inviolated, nouther ſall they transfer nor alienate the ſamin. They ſall forbid and repreſſe in all Eſtaites, and Degrees, reife, oppreſſion, and all kind of wrang. In all Judgements, they ſall commaund, and procure that Juſtice and Equity be keiped to all Creatuers, without exception, as the Lord and Father of al Mercyes, be merciful to them. And out of their Landes and Empyre, they ſall be carefull to rute out all Hereticks, and Enemies to the trew Worſhip of God, that ſall be convicte be the true Kirke of God, of the foreſaidis Crimes. And that they ſall faithfullie affirme the things above written, be their Solemn Aith.

His MAJESTIES Moſt Gracious Letter to the Parliament of *Scotland*, together with the Parliament's Dutiful Anſwer to his MAJESTY's Letter, publiſhed by his MAJESTY's Command. 1686.

JAMES R.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE great Teſtimonies We had of your Loyalty and Affection to Our Royal Perſon and Government at your laſt Seſſion, (in which you not only made an humble Offer of your Duty in ample Manner, and ſhewed your Abhorrence of the Rebellion then raiſed againſt Us, and your Readineſs on that, and all other Occaſions to ſtand by Us with your Lives and Fortunes, but (wiſely conſidering how much the Forces which former Parliaments had given Us Supplies to maintain, ſupported by your Aſſiſtance, and bleſſed be God, were inſtrumental in ending that unnatural Rebellion) you gave Us the Occaſion by augmenting Your Supplies to add to Our Forces, and conſequently to Your own Security) for all which as We then returned You Our moſt hearty and Royal Thanks, and conſidered you the Examples to Our other Subjects of Loyalty, Duty and Affection to Us, (as you had been in Our former Difficulties) ſo it ſtirred up in Us an ardent Deſire of making ſuch Returns unto you, as might every Way make you find the Advantage of your Faithfulneſs and Duty to Us.

It is for this End that We have again deſired to meet you in this Seſſion.

We have conſidered Your Intereſt as much as Our Diſtance from You could bring into Our Proſpect, and thoſe Things which We found proper for it, whether in Relation to Trade and Commerce, or eaſing ſome Things uneaſie to You amongſt your ſelves, We have fully inſtructed Our Commiſſioner (with your Advice and Conſent) to conclude ſo, as may be moſt for the general Good of that Our antient Kingdom.

We have made the opening of a free Trade with *England* our particular Care, and are proceeding in it with all imaginable Application, and are hopeful in a ſhort Time to have conſiderable Advances made in it. We have conſidered the Trouble that many are put to daily by Proſecutions before Our Judges, or the Hazard that they lie under for their Acceſſion to the late Rebellions: And to ſhew the World (even Our greateſt Enemies themſelves) that Mercy is our Inclination, and Severity what is by their Wickedneſs extorted from Us, We have ſent down to be paſt in Your Preſence Our full and ample Indemnity for all Crimes committed againſt Our Royal Perſon or Authority. And whilſt we ſhew theſe Acts of Mercy to the Enemies to Our Perſon, Crown and Royal Dignity, We cannot be unmindful of others Our innocent Subjects, thoſe of the Roman Catholick Religion, who

who have with the Hazard of their Lives and Fortunes been always aſſiſtant to the Crown in the worſt of Rebellions and Uſurpations, though they lay under Diſcouragements hardly to be named. Them we do heartily recommend to your Care, to the End that as they have given good Experience of their true Loyalty and peaceable Behaviour, ſo by Your Aſſiſtance they may have the Protection of Our Laws, and that Security under Our Government, which others of Our Subjects have, not ſuffering them to lie under Obligations which their Religion cannot admit of. By doing whereof you will give a Demonſtration of the Duty and Affection You have for Us, and do Us moſt acceptable Service.

This Love We expect You will ſhew to Your Brethren, as You ſee We are an indulgent Father to you all.

For theſe, and ſuch other Matters as We conceive for Our Service, and the univerſal Good of the Nation, We have ſent Our Right Truſty and Right Entirely Beloved Couſin and Councellor, *Alexander* Earl of *Morray*, Secretary of State for that Our Ancient Kingdom, Our Commiſſioner to You, believing that none will be more acceptable than one ſo immediately imployed and truſted about Our Perſon, of whoſe long and faithful Services We have full Experience in every one of the ſeveral Imployments he has been in, and of whoſe Loyalty and Affection to Our Perſon and Service We are fully convinced. To him We deſire you to give entire Credit, as One fully inſtructed and truſted by Us, from whoſe Experience and faithful Endeavours, with your Loyalty, Love and Duty to Us, We have good Reaſon to expect a happy Concluſion to this Seſſion: And You may aſſure your ſelves in general, and every one of You in particular, that We ſhall have both the general Concern of the Nation and yours into our moſt particular Regard, which We ſhall expreſs by Our Royal Favour upon all ſuitable Occaſions. So not only expecting your Compliance with Us, but that by the Manner of it you will ſhew the World your Readineſs to meet Our Inclinations, We bid you moſt heartily Farewel.

Given at Our Court at Whitehall, *the* 12*th Day of* April, 1686, *and of Our Reign the ſecond Year.*

By His Majeſty's Command.

Melfort.

The Parliament of *Scotland*'s dutiful Anſwer to His MAJESTY's Letter.

May it pleaſe your Sacred Majeſty,

WE do return Your Majeſty our moſt humble and hearty Thanks, for the frequent Marks of Your Royal Favour expreſt to this Your ancient Kingdom upon all Occaſions; and particularly in Your Majeſty's Gracious Letter dated the 12th of *April* laſt: And Your Majeſty may with full Aſſurance expect, that Your Gracious Acceptance of thoſe Services we did You in the laſt Seſſion of this Parliament, will encourage us to continue our Zeal and Firmneſs in this, for Your Majeſty's Service, and the Royal Intereſt upon which, under God, we acknowledge our Happineſs and Preſervation do intirely depend.

Your Majeſty's Care of the Trade of this Kingdom (which is, at preſent, exceedingly decayed) and particularly, Your Royal Endeavours to procure us a free Trade with Your Kingdom of *England*, will very much enable us to make theſe Supplies effectual, which we have ſo heartily and willingly undertaken for the Security of the Crown, and Safety of the Kingdom; nor ſhall the Advantages that can ariſe thereby, be more acceptable to us upon any other Account, than ſo far, as they may be a Teſtimony of Your Majeſty's Kindneſs, and conduce to thoſe great Ends.

Your Majeſty's Clemency, teſtified in the Offer of an Indemnity to theſe deſperate Rebels, who could have expected Pardon from no Monarch on Earth but your Sacred Majeſty; and the greateſt Aggravation of whoſe Crimes, lies in oppoſing ſuch Gracious and Merciful Princes, will (we hope) not only convince Your other Subjects how happy they are under your Government, but reclaim them from bearing any further Enmity to it; and to let them ſee how extravagant, as well as undutiful, their Endeavours will be, in oppoſing Your Majeſty and Your Royal Succeſſors, We do again moſt ſincerely and heartily offer You our Lives and Fortunes for ſuppreſſing all ſuch, as ſhall upon any Account or Pretence whatſoever, attempt, either by private Contrivances, or open Rebellions, to diſquiet Your Glorious Reign.

As to that Part of Your Majeſty's Letter relating to Your Subjects of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, We ſhall, in Obedience to Your Majeſties Commands, and with Tenderneſs to their Perſons, take the ſame into our ſerious and dutiful Conſideration, and go as great Lengths therein, as our Conſcience will allow, not doubting that Your Majeſty will be careful to ſecure the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed by Law.

Your Majeſties Commiſſioner has, to our very great Satisfaction, ſignified to us, that he is fully inſtructed by Your Majeſty, to promote every Thing which may tend to the Improvement of the Wealth and Proſperity of this your ancient Kingdom; and we hope, that by his wiſe Care and Conduct, this Seſſion

Seſſion of Parliament may be brought to a happy Concluſion; And to him, ſeeing your Majeſty has well judged that none could be more acceptable, We ſhall give that intire Credit and Concurrence, and pay that Reſpect which is due to the eminent Character which Your Majeſty has been pleaſed to give him; and to that conſtant Loyalty and Fidelity, with which he has acquitted himſelf in all the former Truſts and Employments which he has born under Your Majeſty's Royal Brother, and Your Self; hoping that we ſhall give him juſt Reaſon to report at his Return to Your Majeſty, with how much Zeal, Duty and Affection, we endeavour to deſerve the being conſidered by Your Majeſty, as

May it pleaſe your Sacred Majeſty,

Edinburgh May 6. 1686. *Your Majeſty's moſt humble, moſt faithful,*

And moſt obedient Subjects and Servants.

PERTH CANC.

I. P. D. Parl.

The Grievances repreſented by the Eſtates of *Scotland* to the King's Majeſty, to be redreſſed in Parliament, together with His Majeſty's Inſtructions to His Commiſſioner for redreſſing the ſame, publiſhed by Authority, 1689.

I. THE Eſtates of the Kingdom of *Scotland* do repreſent, That the Committee of Parliament, called *The Articles*, is a great Grievance to the Nation, and there ought to be no Committee of Parliament, but ſuch as are freely choſen by the Eſtates, to prepare Motions, and Overtures that are firſt made in the Houſe. Inſtruct. 2.

II. That the firſt Act of Parliament 1669, is inconſiſtent with the Eſtabliſhment of the Church Government now deſired, and ought to be abrogated. Inſtr. 4.

III. That Forfeitures in Prejudice of Vaſſals, Creditors, and Heirs of Entail are a great Grevance. Inſtr. 6.

IV. That the Obliging of the Leiges to depone upon Crimes againſt Delinquents, otherwiſe than when they are Adduced in ſpecial Proceſs as Witneſſes, is a great Grievance. Inſtr. 10.

V. That

Inſtr. 7. V. That Aſſiſes of Error are a great Grievance, and that Juries be conſidered by Parliament.

Inſtr. 8. VI. That the Eighteenth Act of Parliament 1681, declaring the accumulative Juriſdiction, is a Grievance.

Inſtr. 9. VII. That the Commiſſariot Courts as they are now conſtituted, are a Grievance.

Inſtr. 17. VIII. That the twenty-ſeventh Act of Parliament 1663, giving to the King Power to impoſe Cuſtom at Pleaſure upon foreign Import, and Trade, is a Grievance, and prejudicial to the Trade of the Nation.

Inſtr. 11. IX. That the not taking an effectual Courſe to repreſs the Depredations and Robberies by the *Highland* Clans, is a Grievance.

Inſtr. 13. X. That the Baniſhment by the Council of the greateſt Part of the Advocates from *Edinburgh* without a Proceſs, was a Grievance.

Inſtr. 12. XI. That moſt of the Laws enacted in the Parliament *Anno* 1685, are impious and intolerable Grievances.

Inſtr. 14. XII. That the Marriage of a King or Queen of this Realm to a Papiſt, is dangerous to the Proteſtant Religion, and ought to be provided againſt.

Inſtr. 19. XIII. That the levying, or keeping on Foot a ſtanding Army in Time of Peace, without Conſent of Parliament, is a Grievance.

Inſtr. 15. XIV. That all Grievances relating to the Manner and Meaſure of the Leiges, their Repreſentation in Parliament, be conſidered and redreſſed in the firſt Parliament.

Inſtr. 16. XV. That the Grievances of the Boroughs be conſidered, and redreſſed in the firſt Parliament.

Hamilton.

WILLIAM R.

Inſtructions to Our Right Truſty and Right Entirely beloved Couſin and Councellor, *William* Duke of *Hamilton*, Our Commiſſioner for holding the firſt Seſſion of our next enſuing Parliament of Our ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*.

1. YOU are to paſs an Act for turning the Meeting of Eſtates into a Parliament; and the three Eſtates are to conſiſt of the Noblemen, Barons and Burgeſſes.

Grievan. 1. II. You are to paſs an Act for regulating the Articles, to conſiſt of twenty-four Perſons, beſides the Officers of State, whereof eight

eight are to be choſen by the Noblemen of their Eſtate; eight by the Barons, and eight by the Boroughs of their Eſtate: And in Caſe of the Deceaſe of any of theſe Perſons, that Eſtate out of which the Perſons deceaſed ſhall ſupply the ſame: Theſe are to prepare Matters and Acts for the Parliament, but not to exclude the Parliament to take any Matters into their Conſideration, though it hath been thrown out, or rejected in the Articles; and all former Acts, eſpecially the firſt Act, Parliament 1ſt. *Ch.* II. Seſſ. 3d. inconſiſtent with this, are to be reſcinded.

III. You are to paſs an Act recognizing Our, and the Queen's Royal Authority, and Right of the Crown; ordaining an Oath of Allegiance to be taken in Place of all former Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, Declarations and Teſts.

IV. You are to paſs an Act, eſtabliſhing that Church Govern- Griev. 2.
ment which is moſt agreeable to the Inclinations of the People, reſcinding the Act of Parliament 1669, and all other Acts inconſiſtent therewith.

V. You are to endeavour to paſs an Act for raiſing ſuch a Supply, as may be neceſſary for ſecuring the Kingdom from the preſent Danger, and foreign Invaſion.

VI. You are to paſs an Act, that Forfeitures ſhall only be ex- Griev. 3.
tended to ſuch Intereſt as the Rebel had, and that innocent Vaſſals, or lawful Creditors for Debts upon Record ſhall not be prejudged, nor ſuch Heirs of Entail whoſe Rights of Succeſſion are eſtabliſhed by a publick Infeftment.

VII. You are to paſs an Act, either to take away Aſſizes of Er- Griev. 5.
ror, or otherwiſe, that they ſhall take Place as well againſt a Jury that condemns, as a Jury that aſſolzies any Pannel.

VIII. You are to paſs an Act reſcinding the 18th Act of Parlia- Griev. 6.
ment 1681, aſſerting the Prerogative in Point of Juriſdiction.

IX. You are to paſs an Act regulating the Abuſes in the Com- Griev. 7.
miſſary Courts, and all other inferior Courts.

X. We are ſatisfied, that an Act ſhould be paſt for ſecuring the Griev. 4.
Leiges againſt Inquiries by Way of Inquiſition, but in Reſpect of the preſent Juncture of Affairs, this Matter will be well conſidered by the Parliament; and therefore when the Terms of this Act ſhall be adjuſted, you are to tranſmit the ſame to us, that we may give you particular Inſtructions thereanent.

XI. You are to endeavour to procure an Act for an effectual Griev. 9.
Courſe for redreſſing the Depredations and Robberies by the *Highland* Clans'; and when this Matter is digeſted, you are to tranſmit the Propoſals to us, that you may get particular Inſtructions thereanent.

XII. You are to paſs an Act reſcinding ſuch Acts as were Griev. 11.
made in Parliament 1685, as are juſtly grievous to the People.

XIII. You are to paſs an Act, that no Perſon be baniſhed out of Griev. 10.
the Kingdom, or from any Part thereof ſummerly without a Proceſs.

XIV. You

Griev. 12. XIV. You are to paſs an Act, that the Kings, or Queens of that Realm ſhall not marry with Papiſts under this Certification, that a Popiſh Queen Conſort, or the Huſband of a Sovereign Queen ſhall be incapable to enjoy the Benefit, or Advantage of any Proviſions or Settlements which the Law provides, or particular Contracts or Agreements may have ſecured to them.

Griev. 14. XV. You are to paſs an Act, that the greater Shires of that Kingdom, ſuch as *Lanerk*, *Air*, *Perth*, *Fife*, *Aberdeen*, and *Midlothian*, or others where it ſhall be found convenient may ſend three, or four Commiſſioners to Parliament, that the Repreſentation may be the more equal.

Griev. 15. XVI. You are to paſs an Act ratifying the Privileges of the Boroughs, and ſecuring their Rights, in electing of their own Magiſtrates for the future, and that the Boroughs of *Glaſgow* and *St. Andrews* ſhall have the electing of their own Provoſts, Baillies, and Town Council, as the other Royal Boroughs of the Kingdom have.

Griev. 3. XVII. You are to endeavour to procure an Act or Acts for the Encouragement of Trade; and if the 27th Act of Parliament 1663 be found inconvenient, it may be regulated or reſcinded, and when the Propoſals are adjuſted you are to tranſmit them to us, that you may receive our Inſtructions thereanent.

XVIII. You are to paſs an Act for regulating the Univerſities, ſo as good Order and Diſcipline may be preſerved, and that pious and learned Perſons may be employed and provided.

Griev. 13. XIX. You are to paſs an Act againſt a ſtanding Army in Time of Peace, but ſo as the Guards, Garriſons, and neceſſary ſtanding Forces may be continued.

XX. You are from Time to Time to adjourn the Parliament as you ſhall find neceſſary, and in Reſpect the Meeting may not be fully conveened upon the 5th Day of *June*, which is appointed for the firſt Dyet; therefore after paſſing the firſt Act of turning them into a Parliament, you are to adjourn them to the 17th Day of the Month.

XXI. You are impowered to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon ſuch Perſons as you ſhall find deſerving of the ſame, not exceeding the Number of Six.

You have particular Inſtructions anent what is repreſented to us as Grievances, if there be any other Things that may be neceſſary for the Good of that Kingdom to be paſt into Laws, you are to acquaint us, from Time to Time, with ſuch Overtures, that you may be authorized with particular Inſtructions thereanent.

Given under Our Royal Hand and Signet at our Court at Copt-Hall *the 31ſt Day of* May 1689. *And of Our Reign the firſt Year.*

By his Majeſty's Command.

Melvill.

WILLIAM

WILLIAM R.

An Additional Inſtruction to Our Right Truſty, and Right entirely beloved Couſin and Counſellor, *William* Duke of *Hamilton*, our Commiſſioner.

YOU are to Nominate Our Right Truſty, and Well beloved Couſin and Councellor *William* Earl of *Crawford*, to be Preſident of the firſt Seſſion of Parliament, in regard We have no Chancellor for the Time being.

Given under Our Royal Hand and Signet, at Our Court at Copt-Hall. *the 31ſt Day of* May, 1689. *And of our Reign the Firſt Year,*

By His Majeſty's Command.

Melvill.

WILLIAM R.

Additional Inſtructions to Our Right Truſty, and Right entirely beloved Couſin and Councellor, *William* Duke of *Hamilton*, Our Commiſſioner.

1. BY the Second Article of your Inſtructions, dated the 31ſt of *May* laſt, you was impowered to paſs an Act for Regulating the Committee, called the Articles, which were to conſiſt of Twenty-four Perſons, beſides the Officers of State; notwithſtanding of which, theſe are to authorize you to paſs an Act for them to conſiſt of Thirty three Perſons, beſides the Officers of State; whereof Eleven to be choſen out of every Eſtate according to your former Inſtructions, who are to prepare Matters, *&c.* as is therein expreſſed, not excluding the Parliament to take Matters into their Conſideration, though it hath been rejected in the Committee, nor to prevent their moving of any Thing, and Regulating of it to them, and the ſaid Eleven out of every Eſtate to be choſen Monthly, or oftner if the Parliament think it fit, and all former Acts, eſpecially the firſt Act *Ch.* 2. *Seſſi.* 3. inconſiſtent with this, are to be reſcinded.

2. You are to paſs what Acts ſhall be propoſed for ſettling the Church-Government, according to your former Inſtructions.

3. You are to paſs an Act reſcinding all Forfeitures paſt againſt any of Our Subjects either in Parliament, or Criminal Court, ſince the firſt Day of *January* 1665. which ſhall be thought fit by the Parliament to be reſcinded: Likewiſe you are to conſent to what our Parliament ſhall propoſe for Reſti-

tution to be made of Fines, or Compoſitions for Fines, or Forfeitures from thoſe who had the Benefit of them, and you are to reſcind ſuch Acts as were made in the Years 1681. and 1685. as are juſtly grievous.

Although the firſt of the above Inſtructions is not complied with yet, you are to move the other two, and have them paſt before any Adjournment.

Given under Our Royal Hand and Signet, at Our Court at Hampton-Court, *the 4th Day of* July 1689. *And of Our Reign the Firſt Year.*

By His Majeſty's Command.

Melvill.

WILLIAM R.

Additional Inſtructions to Our Right Truſty, and Right entirely beloved Couſin and Councellor, *William* Duke of *Hamilton*, Our Commiſſioner.

1. YOU are to touch the Act already paſt, aboliſhing Epiſcopacy as ſoon as you can, and to reſcind all Acts inconſiſtent therewith.

2. You are to reſcind the Act paſt in 1685. annexing Forfeitures to the Crown.

3. By the Third Article of your Inſtructions, dated the 4th Inſtant, We did impower you to reduce all Forfeitures paſt againſt any of our Subjects ſince *January* 1665. Now we do Authorize you to paſs what Acts ſhall be propoſed for reducing Forfeitures, *&c.* ſince the Year 1660. if the Parliament deſire it, and to conſent to what ſhall be propoſed for making Reſtitution of Fines, or Compoſitions for Fines or Forfeitures as is expreſſed in the forementioned Article, and you are to touch what Acts paſſes conform to this.

4. You are to recommend to the Parliament to raiſe a Supply of Money for paying the Army, and ſupporting the Government, according to your firſt Inſtructions.

5. You are to allow the Parliament to chooſe Committees for the three foregoing Inſtructions, notwithſtanding the Committee of the Articles be not appointed, as alſo for what concerns Church-Government.

Given under Our Royal Hand and Signet, at Our Court at Whitehall, *the 17th Day of* July 1689. *And of Our Reign the Firſt Year.*

By His Majeſty's Command,

Melvill.

Pro-

Proceedings of the Convention of the Eſtates in *Scotland*: Giving an Account of their coming to a Reſolution of Settling the Crown of that Kingdom upon KING *WILLIAM* and QUEEN *MARY* of *England*.

Edinburgh, April 4. 1689.

THE Reaſons for declaring the Throne Vacant, were again read, and argued, one by one. They are in the Terms following:

I. 'King *James* the Seventh being a profeſſed Papiſt, did aſſume the Regal 'Power, and acted as King, without ever taking the Oath required by Law, 'whereby every King, at his Acceſs to the Government, is obliged to ſwear 'to maintain the Proteſtant Religion, and to rule the People according to the 'laudable Laws.

II. 'By the Advice of evil and wicked Councellors he did invade the 'Fundamental Conſtitution of this Kingdom, and altered it from a Legal 'limited Monarchy, to an Arbitrary deſpotick Power; and by publick Pro-'clamation aſſerted an Abſolute Power to caſs, annul, and diſable all the 'Laws; and particularly, arraigning the Laws eſtabliſhing the Proteſtant 'Religion; and did exert that Power for the Subverſion of the Proteſtant 'Religion, by erecting publick Schools and Societies of the Jeſuits, and not 'only allowing Maſs to be publickly ſaid, but did invert Proteſtant Chappels 'and Churches to publick Maſs houſes, contrary to expreſs Laws againſt 'ſaying and hearing of Maſs.

III. 'By Diſarming Proteſtants, while, in the *Interim*, he employed Pa-'piſts in the Places of the greateſt Truſt, both Civil and Military, ſuch as 'Chancellors, Secretaries, Privy-Councellors, Lords of Seſſion; thruſting out 'Proteſtants to make room for Papiſts; and by entruſting the Forts and 'Magazines of the Kingdom in their Hands.

IV. 'By allowing Popiſh Books to be printed and diſperſed, by a Gift to 'a Popiſh Printer, deſigning him Printer to his Majeſty's Houſhold and 'Chappel, contrary to the Laws.

V. 'By taking the Children of Noblemen and Gentlemen, ſending and 'keeping them abroad to be bred Papiſts, making great Funds and Dona-'tions to Popiſh Schools and Colleges abroad, by beſtowing Penſions upon 'Prieſts, and perverting Proteſtants from their Religion by Offers of Places 'and Penſions.

VI. 'By impoſing Oaths contrary to the Law.

VII. 'By giving Gifts and Grants for exacting Money without Conſent of 'Parliament, or Conventions of the Eſtates.

VIII. 'By levying and keeping on Foot a ſtanding Army in Time of 'Peace, without Conſent of Parliament.

IX. 'By employing Officers of the Army as Judges through the Kingdom, 'and impoſing them where there were heritable Offices and Juriſdictions;

'and by them many of the Leiges were put to Death ſummarly, without 'legal Trial, Jury, or Record.

X. 'By uſing inhuman Tortures without any Evidence, and in ordinary 'Crimes.

XI. 'By impoſing exorbitant Fines, to the Value of the Parties Eſtates; 'in exacting extravagant Bail, and by diſpoſing of Fines and Forfeitures, 'before any Proceſs or Conviction.

XII. 'By cauſing purſue and forfeit ſeveral Perſons upon old and obſolete 'Laws, upon frivolous and weak Pretences, upon lame and defective Proba- 'tion, as particularly the late Earl of *Argyle*, to the Scandal and Reproach of 'the Juſtice of the Nation.

XIII. 'By ſubverting the Right of the Royal Burroughs, the Third of the 'Eſtates of Parliament; impoſing not only the Magiſtrates, but alſo the 'whole Town-Council and Clerks, contrary to their Liberties and expreſs 'Charters, without the Pretence either of Sentence, Surrender, or Conſent; 'and the Commiſſioners to Parliament being choſen by theſe Magiſtrates and 'Councils, the King might in effect as well nominate that entire Eſtate of 'Parliament: And many of the ſaid Magiſtrates put in by him, were avowed 'Papiſts, and the Burroughs forced to pay Money for Letters, impoſing 'theſe illegal Magiſtrates and Council upon them.

XIV. 'By ſending Letters to the chief Courts of Juſtice, not only ordering 'the Judges to ſtop and deſiſt, *ſine die*, to determine Cauſes; but alſo order- 'ing and commanding them how to proceed in Caſes depending before them, 'contrary to the expreſs Laws, and by changing the Nature of the Judges 'Gifts, *ad vitam aut culpam*, and giving them Commiſſions *ad bene placitum*, 'to diſpoſe them to compliance with Arbitrary Courſes, and turning them 'out of their Offices when they did not comply; and particularly, thoſe who 'in Parliament oppoſed the Abrogating of the Laws made for the Security 'of the Proteſtant Religion.

XV. 'By granting perſonal Protections of Civil Debts, contrary to Law, 'notwithſtanding the Repreſentation of the Privy-Council in the contrary.

After this, the following Declaration, which had been prepared by the Committee, was read, and the Vote was approv'd, as alſo the Declaration and Reaſons.

The Eſtates of the Kingdom of Scotland *find and declare, That King* James *the Seventh, being a profeſſed Papiſt, did aſſume the Royal Power, and acted as King, without ever taking the Oath required by Law; and hath, by the Advice of Wicked and Evil Councellors, invaded the Fundamental Conſtitutions of this Kingdom, and altered it from a Legal limited Monarchy, to an Abſolute and Deſpotick Power; and hath exerciſed the ſame, to the Subverſion of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Violation of the Laws and Liberties of the Nation; inverting all the Ends of Government; whereby he hath forfeited the Right of the Crown, and the Throne is become Vacant.*

The whole Houſe approved both, except Twelve; of which Number, Seven were Biſhops, *All* the Biſhops that were preſent.

This

This being done, the following Vote paſſed, That an Act be brought in from the Committee for ſettling the Crown upon *WILLIAM* and *MARY*, King and Queen of *England*, and to conſider the Terms of the Deſtination of the Heirs to the Crown. And likewiſe, to prepare an Inſtrument of Government to be offered with the Crown, for ſecuring the People from the Grievances which do affect them.

When all Buſineſs was over, one of the Biſhops offered to ſay Prayers, as the Cuſtom is; upon which it was moved, That King *James* being no more our King, he muſt pray for him at his Peril; the Biſhop diſcreetly ſaid *only* the *Lord's Prayer*. So the Houſe adjourn'd till next Morning.

His MAJESTY's Letter to the Lords and others of his Privy Council.

JAMES R.

My Lords,

WHEN We ſaw that it was no longer ſafe for Us, to remain within Our Kingdom of *England*, and that thereupon We had taken Our Reſolutions to withdraw for ſome Time, We left to be communicated to you, and to all Our Subjects; the Reaſons of Our withdrawing, and were likewiſe reſolved at the ſame Time, to leave ſuch Orders behind Us to you of Our Privy Council, as might beſt ſuit with the preſent State of Affairs, but that being altogether unſafe for Us at that Time, We now think fit to let you know, that tho' it has been Our conſtant Care, ſince Our firſt Acceſſion to the Crown, to govern our People with that Juſtice and Moderation, as to give if poſſible no Occaſion of Complaint; yet more particularly upon the late Invaſion, ſeeing how the Deſign was laid, and fearing that Our People who could not be deſtroyed but by themſelves, might by little imaginary Grievances be cheated into a certain Ruin; to prevent ſo great Miſchief, and to take away not only all juſt Cauſes but even Pretences of Diſcontent; we freely and of Our own Accord redreſſed all thoſe Things that were ſet forth as the Cauſes of that Invaſion; and that We might be informed by the Counſel and Advice of Our Subjects themſelves, which Way We might give them further and a full Satisfaction, We reſolved to meet them in a free Parliament, and in Order to it, We firſt laid the Foundation of ſuch a free Parliament, in reſtoring the City of *London*, and the reſt of the Corporations to their ancient Charters and Privileges, and afterwards actually appointed the Writs to be iſſued for the Parliament's Meeting on the 15th of *January*. But the Prince of *Orange* ſeeing all the Ends of his Declaration anſwered, the People beginning to be undeceived, and returning apace to their ancient Duty and Allegiance: And well foreſeeing, that if the Parliament ſhould meet at the Time

Time appointed, ſuch a Settlement in all Probability would be made, both in Church and State, as would totally defeat his ambitious and unjuſt Deſigns, Reſolved, by all Means poſſible, to prevent the Meeting of the Parliament; and to do this the moſt effectual Way, he thought fit to lay a Reſtraint on Our Royal Perſon; for as it were abſurd to call that a free Parliament, where there is any Force on either of the Houſes; ſo much leſs can that Parliament be ſaid to act freely, where the Sovereign, by whoſe Authority they meet and ſit, from whoſe Royal Aſſent all their Acts received their Life and Sanction, is under actual Confinement, the hurrying of Us under a Guard from Our City of *London*, whoſe returning Loyalty he could no longer truſt, and the other Indignities we ſuffered in the Perſon of the Earl of *Feverſham*, when ſent to him by Us; and then that barbarous Confinement of Our Own Perſon, We ſhall not here repeat, becauſe they are, we doubt not, by this Time, very well known, and may we hope, if enough conſidered and reflected upon, with his other Violations and Breaches of the Laws and Liberties of *England*, which by this Invaſion he pretended to reſtore, be ſufficient to open the Eyes of all Our Subjects, and let them plainly ſee what every one of them may expect, and what Treatment they ſhall find from him, if at any Time it may ſerve his Purpoſe, from whoſe Hands a Sovereign Prince and Uncle, and a Father could meet with no better Entertainment. However, the Senſe of theſe Indignities, and the juſt Apprehenſion of other Attempts againſt Our Perſon, by them who endeavoured to murther Our Reputation by infamous Calumnies, as if We had been capable of ſuppoſing a Prince of *Wales*, which was incomparably more injurious than the deſtroying Our Perſon it ſelf, together with a ſerious Reflection on a Saying of Our Royal Father of Bleſſed Memory, when he was in the like Circumſtances, That there is little Diſtance between the Priſons and the Graves of Princes, which afterwards proved too true in his Caſe; could not but perſuade Us to make Uſe of that Right, which the Law of Nature gives to the meaneſt of Our Subjects, of freeing Our ſelves by all Means poſſible from that unjuſt Confinement and Reſtraint; and this We did not more for the Security of Our Own Perſon, than that thereby we might be in a better Capacity of tranſacting and providing for every Thing that may contribute to the Peace and Settlement of Our Kingdoms; for as on the one Hand no Change of Fortune ſhall ever make Us forget Ourſelves ſo far, as to condeſcend to any Thing unbecoming that High and Royal Station, in which God Almighty by Right of Succeſſion has placed Us, ſo on the other Hand neither the Provocation or Ingratitude of Our own Subjects, or any other Conſideration whatſoever, ſhall ever prevail with us to make the leaſt Step contrary to the true Intereſt of the *Engliſh* Nation, which We ever did, and ever muſt look upon as Our Own. Our Will and Pleaſure therefore is, that you of Our Privy Council take the moſt effectual Care to make theſe Our Gracious Intention known to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in and about our Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, to the Lord Mayor and Commons of Our City of *London*, and to all Our Subjects in general, and to aſſure 'em that we deſire nothing more than to return and hold a free Parliament, wherein We may have the beſt Opportunity of undeceiving Our People,

People, and ſhewing the Sincerity of theſe Proteſtations, We have often made, of preſerving the Liberties and Properties of our Subjects, and the Proteſtant Religion, more eſpecially the Church of *England*, as by Law eſtabliſhed; with ſuch Indulgence for thoſe that diſſent from Her, as We have always thought Ourſelves in Juſtice and Care of the General Welfare of Our People, bound to procure for them; and in the mean Time you Our Privy Council, who can judge better by being upon the Place, are to ſend Us that Advice what is fit to be done by Us towards Our returning and accompliſhing theſe good Ends. And We do require you in Our Name, and by Our Authority, to endeavour ſo to ſuppreſs all Tumults and Diſorders, that the Nation in general, and every one of Our Subjects in particular may receive the leaſt Prejudice from the preſent Diſtractions that is poſſible: So not doubting of your dutiful Obedience to Our Royal Commands, We bid you heartily Farewel.

Given at St. Germains en Laye, *the* January 1687-8, *and of Our Reign the fourth Year.*

By his Majeſty's Command.

Melfort.

Directed thus,

To the Lords and others of Our Privy Council of Our Kingdom of England.

From *Sion College.* V. 5. No. 12.

To the KING and both Houſes of Parliament, in Parliament aſſembled.

THE *Propoſal* contained in this Paper is (with Submiſſion) conceived of general Advantage to the Kingdom, and thereby ſufficiently recommended to obtain Admiſſion to preſent it ſelf before you, whoſe Providence and Juſtice ſecure the Propoſer of a Readineſs to embrace and promote whatever may improve the Welfare of the Publick: 'Tis his Part to make the Propoſal appear of Advantage to your common Intereſt, wherein the Welfare of the Publick conſiſts.

The PROPOSAL.

That an Act of Parliament may paſs for building and fitting out with Expedition a Fleet of 500 Buſſes, of about 70 Tuns Burthens a Piece, to be employ-

employed in fiſhing of Herrings, Cod and Ling, in his Majeſty's Seas; and the Profits to be diſpoſed for the increaſing of the ſaid Fiſhing Veſſels to the Number of 2000 or thereabouts, as it will be thought neceſſary; and after the paying of Publick Debts, and the defraying of all neceſſary Charges, the Property of the ſaid Fleet to be ſettled in the Crown.

The ADVANTAGES.

A Fleet of 2000 Buſſes will employ yearly at Sea, at 15 Men to a Buſſe, 30000 Men, beſides at leaſt 30000 more at Land in the Service of the Fleet: It will ſave the Kingdom 300000 *l. per Annum*, paid yearly to the *Dutch* for Fiſh taken by them in His Majeſty's Seas, and ſold to the *Engliſh*,—beſides as much more in Taxes to the Poor. The firſt Year the ſaid 2000 Buſſes ſails, may (with God's Bleſſing) defray the whole Charge of Building, Tackle, Victualling, Fitting out, Officers and Seamens Wages for that Year, with an Overplus of 1835033 *l.* 6 *s.* 8*d.* and will every Year after, *Communibus Annis*, as long as the Fleet laſts, yield his Majeſty the clear Profit of at leaſt 2644033 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 d. Which is demonſtrated as followeth.

				l.	s.	d.
Fiſh uſually taken in Buſſes of 70 Tuns *Communibus Annis*, is at leaſt ——	Herrings 100 Laſt worth *de claro* at leaſt — —	1000				
	Cod 15000 worth *de claro* at leaſt	0450		2250	00	00
	Ling 1000 worth *de claro* at leaſt	0800				
The Charge of a Buſſe 70 Tuns the firſt Year (ready to be demonſtrated) will not exceed ——	Building, and fitting for Sail — —	0403	10 00			
	Victualling and furniſhing with laſting and waſting Commodities —	0695	18 08	1332	09	08
	Officers, and Seamens Wages — —	0233	01 00			
	Remains Profit *de claro* each Buſſe			0917	10	04
Which for 2000 Buſſes for the firſt Year will be Clear Profit				1835033	06	08
Profit of each Buſſe after the firſt Year as above ——				2250	00	00
Charge of Fitting, Victualling, Salaries and Wages —				0928	19	08
Profit *de claro* of each Buſſe —				1321	00	04
Which from 2000 Buſſes will amount to *per Annum*				2647033	06	08

This Fleet will be a Nurſery of Seamen no leſs neceſſary than uſeful for aſſerting His Majeſty's Dominion of the Seas, and the Rights of His Crown, in regulating Trade, againſt the Encroachments of Strangers.

The Profits of this Fleet will leſſen the Neceſſity of Taxes for Support of the Government, and will improve the Value of Land, and the Wealth of the

the Nation, by saving 300000 Pounds now yearly exported by the *Hollanders* for Fish bought of them, and by the Importation of Coin from abroad by Vent of Fish, taken and sold by his Majesty's Subjects; the Monopoly of Fish taken by the *Hollanders* in his Majesty's Seas, being one main Support of that Government.

As to Men and Materials for the Fleet, there will be sufficient of both, unless Money be wanting to carry on the Design.

I. The Interest of the King doth concern every particular Person, His undertaking of it is for every Man's Advantage; whatsoever he gets thereby saves the Nation so much in their Purses: For if the King gains as much by this as will maintain his Crown and Dignity, His Majesty may in Time come to have the less Need of Parliamentary Taxes. He may also alleviate his Customs as low as any Nation whatsoever, which will bring the Trade of *Holland*, *&c.* into this Kingdom, invite all ingenuous Manufactures into the Nation, as well as rich Men into this Kingdom, and the rest of His Majesty's Dominions, and also will preserve the Peace of this Nation from being disturbed and violated more than private Persons or corporative Bodies will or can do in their undertaking of it, who cannot protect the Fishing Fleet from the Attempts and Injury of Strangers, and may be apt upon evil Instigations and Discontents, to strengthen either Domestick or Foreign Enemies, with their Power both of Shipping and Mariners.

II. That Money is wanting is the considerable Objection, and the same that lay in *Columbus* his Way; and had it not been removed by Supplies of Men, Money and Ships adventured by *Spain*, upon far less probable Grounds of Advantage than here are proposed, it had lost to that Crown, as it did to this and to the *French*, the first Discovery of the Mines in the *Indies*; But this is addressed to His Majesty, and his Parliament, for raising six Hundred Thousand Pounds, whereof one Hundred Thousand Pounds to be imployed for Docks, and for Store-Houses and Wharfs, adjoining one to the other, that the Goods may be conveyed from the Wharfs to the Store-Houses, without the Charge of carting, (which said Sum will be demonstrated an ample Fund,) to carry on and complete this Design worthy their Encouragement, and reserved by Providence (after the weak Essays of former Times) to be perfected under the auspicious Government of the best of Princes, and wisest of Parliaments, who cannot neither want either Power or Will to complete what appears so clearly and eminently advantagious for the Publick Good, and the Interest of the Kingdom, and in Order thereto to raise the Fund proposed, and to secure the Imployment of it to the Use it is designed for.

III. The Proposers are ready when commanded, to demonstrate at large the Facility of bringing the Design to Effect, the Probability and Greatness of its Advantages when effected, and the Necessity of it in Order to any considerable Improvement of the Wealth, Strength, and Honour of the Nation: And as to the Objection, they doubt not but to clear all can be made against it, except that of the Want of six Hundred Thousand Pounds to carry on the Work; yet they conceive they have already removed this

Objection, by having demonſtrated the Return of this Fund with ſo great an Increaſe into the publick Coffers, and preſented that Demonſtration to them, who have Power to give and lay out the Money propoſed, but cannot lay it out to better Advantage, for improving their and their Poſterity's Safety, Honour and Wealth, than by bringing to Perfection this Deſign; which is not the Project of a private Brain, but an Enterprize of publick Good, approved by Queen *Elizabeth*, and upon ſolemn and mature Deliberation, embraced and encouraged by King *James*, *Charles* I. and His now Majeſty, and their ſeveral Privy-Councils, and furthered by ſeveral Grants under the Great Seal of *England*, in the reſpective Reigns of the Princes laſt mentioned; and by this preſent Parliament, by a Vote of the Honourable Houſe of Commons 17th *February* 1670: That a Bill ſhould be brought in for Encouragement of the Fiſhery.

S. WATSON.

S. WATSON.

Licenſed *March* the 26th. *Ro. L'Eſtrange.*

The Caſe of His MAJESTY's Sugar Plantations.

BEFORE *England* had any Sugar Plantations of its own, *Portugal* had about four Hundred Thouſand Pounds *per Annum* for Sugar from *England*, to the great inriching of *Portugal*, and impoveriſhing of *England*.

The *Portugueſe* having ſet high Cuſtoms upon their Sugars, and letting none Trade at *Braſil* but themſelves, gave the *Engliſh* Encouragement to adventure upon Planting it, who have ſo increaſed, that they not only ſupply *England* with all the Sugar it wants, whereby 400000 *l.* paid *Portugal* formerly for Sugar is ſaved; but great Quantitities of Sugars have been tranſported to foreign Markets, to the vaſt Increaſe of the Wealth of the Kingdom, and by Conſequence the Value of the Lands of *England*.

In the Trade to the *Engliſh* Sugar Plantations, about 400 Sail of *Engliſh* Ships, and 8000 Seamen are annually employed.

All the Ships that go from *England* are Loaden with Manufactures and Proviſions for the Supply of the Plantations with Cloaths, Tools, and Utenſils, and Victual, which all pay Cuſtom to the King outward, and on which many Families in *England* do ſubſiſt.

The Planters have, at their Coſt, brought above 100000 Negroes from *Africa*, whereby ſo many new Subjects are added to the Crown.

The *French* King taking Notice of the great Wealth and Strength the Sugar Plantations bring to the Kingdom of *England*, and alſo of the Difficulties

culties the *Engliſh* Plantations are under, by Reaſon of the Acts of Trade and Navigation, which enjoining all the Sugars of the *Engliſh* Plantations to be brought home to *England*, and there to be landed, and pay the King a Cuſtom before it can be tranſported to any Foreign Markets, which is a great Charge, hath thought it feaſible, and with great Application hath ſet himſelf to become Maſter of that Trade; and the *Dutch* hath done the ſame, and granting more Eaſe to their Planters, in producing and diſpoſing of their Sugars, than the *Engliſh* have, the *French* are ſo far increaſed, that their Sugar Plantations, which are *Martinico*, *Guadeloupe*, *Marigalant*, *Grenados*, *St. Chriſtophers*, *Kayan*, and Part of *Hiſpaniola*, do already find an Employment for two Hundred Sail of Ships, and Seamen proportionable, and are increaſing daily: And the *Dutch* have already many Ships annually loaden with Sugar from *Surinam*, which they make a Buſineſs of State to improve.

This Increaſe of the Sugar Trade of the *French* and *Dutch*, hath brought thoſe Sugars that were worth between five and ſix Pound the Hundred Weight, when the laſt Book of Rates was made, to be worth now not above thirty-five Shillings, out of which the Planter pays five Shillings Cuſtom, and four Pence Half-penny *per* Hundred to the King in the Plantations; inſomuch, that an Eſtate that was formerly worth two Thouſand Pound *per Annum* in the Plantations, is not now worth ſix Hundred Pound *per Annum*; and if any further Impoſition be laid, will yield little or nothing, to the undoing many Thouſand *Engliſh* Families, many of which reſide in *England*; for which Reaſon the Planters intended to have addreſſed to this Parliament, for reducing the Book of Rates to the preſent Value of Sugars.

This low Value of the Commodity cauſes the Inhabitants of the *Engliſh* Colonies to forſake them, and remove to other Places, whilſt the King of *France* uſeth all imaginable Induſtry to ſtrengthen and fill his Plantations (ſome of which are in Sight of ours) with Inhabitants, having made *Dunkirk* a free Port for his own Sugars, where no Cuſtoms are paid in or out; by Reaſon of which the Markets of *Flanders* and *Holland*, &c. are furniſhed with *French* Sugars at two Shillings and ſix Pence *per* Hundred cheaper than the *Engliſh* can, by Reaſon of the Acts of Trade and Naviwation.

This Increaſe of the Strength of the *French* Plantations and Decreaſe of the *Engliſh*, hath made many of the Planters conſider of withdrawing their Stocks, for Fear if a War ſhould happen with *France* all would be loſt.

The *Engliſh* Sugar Trade being apparently decaying under the preſent Impoſitions upon Sugar, can by no Means bear more and ſubſiſt; and it is of great Advantage to *France* to have our Plantations ruined by more Impoſitions on their Sugars; for ſhould the *French* gain the Sugar Trade from the *Engliſh*, *England* would loſe the Imployment of four Hundred Sail of Ships, and eight Thouſand Seamen, and *France* would gain it, which would differ the preſent Balance of Seamen ſixteen Thouſand, beſides the Loſs of a Native Commodity, that hath brought ſo much Wealth to the Kingdom, and would alſo be the Loſs of the Trade of *Africa* for Negroes.

It hath been ever the Practice and Policy of trading Nations, to ſet the Publick Taxes on Foreign Commodities, and not thoſe of their own Growth.

In the Time of the Uſurper *Cromwell*, when all Things were raked into to find a Revenue to ſupport his Uſurpation, no Exciſe was put on Sugars of the Growth of the *Engliſh* Plantations.

England is an Iſland whoſe Wealth and Strength conſiſts in Trade, which cannot be preſerved, but by being Maſter at Sea; and the Plantation Trade is near one Half of the Navigation of *England*, and whether it be ſo convenient to hazard the Loſs of it by overburthening it, ſince an Impoſition may be ſet on Commodities of Foreign Growth, that will be equivalent, is humbly ſubmitted.

And whereas ſome ſeem to be of Opinion that an Impoſition will fall upon the Buyer only, and not hurt the Planter, it is a Miſtake for the Reaſons following.

For it was found by Experience in the Time of the late Rebellion, when there was an Exciſe impoſed, the Buyer refuſed to buy Commodities of the Importer, unleſs he would clear the Exciſe, ſo that the Importer came generally to pay the Exciſe as well as the Cuſtoms. And it is well known, that all Commodities are in Value as there is a greater or leſſer Quantity of them at the Market. If the Impoſition doth not leſſen the Quantity of Sugar imported, it cannot raiſe the Price, and then by Conſequence the Impoſition muſt be born wholly by the Planter. If it doth leſſen the Quantity of Sugar imported, it leſſens the Imployment of our Shipping and Seamen, and the King's Revenue, and will conſtrain thoſe Planters who are forced to leave making Sugar, to forſake the Plantations, as having no Imployment there; which will ſo weaken them of Defendants, as they will be in Hazard to become a Prey to the *French* or their own Negroes; which will be a total Loſs of that Trade to this Kingdom, and be the Ruin of many Thouſand *Engliſh* Families, who in *England* and the Plantations ſubſiſted by that Trade of making Sugar, or by furniſhing Cloaths, Tools and Utenſils.

Reaſons humbly offered by the Inhabitants of the City and Liberty of *Weſtminſter*, and of other Places within the Weekly Bills of Mortality, to the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, againſt the paſſing of a Bill, Entitled, *An Act for the enabling of Proteſtant Stangers to exerciſe their Trades in the Places in the ſaid Act mentioned.*

I. IF this Bill ſhould paſs, Aliens would in Time engroſs all the Trade of theſe Places into their own Hands, to the great Grievance of His Majeſty's natural born Subjects.

II.

II. If they come to be once eſtabliſhed here by a Law, His Majeſty cannot then remove them upon any Occaſion whatſoever.

III. This would give any neighbouring Nation a great Opportunity of correſponding with them, and ſo make an Intereſt in caſe of a War, or of an Invaſion, or a Rebellion; and 'tis much feared, that the late great Confluence of Strangers hither, was in Order to no good End; for that theſe People were invited over, and encouraged here, by them only that were the Conſpirators in the late Plot, and were obſerved to crowd the Lord *Ruſſel*'s and *Shaftſbury*'s Door; and that that Faction were the only Patrons, is apparent, in that *Papillon*, and *Dubois*, both *Walloons*, were the greateſt Sticklers in this Affair, and both Members of the *French* Proteſtant Church, yet took the Sacrament to ſerve a turn.

IV. This would make all Foreigners promote the Sale of Foreign Manufacture, in which their Trade will moſtly conſiſt, in greater Meaſure than now they do, to the Decay of our own Manufacture, which is your worthy Care to preſerve.

V. It will diſcourage *Engliſh* Men from breeding their Children to Trades, and conſequently the Gentry will want Opportunity of diſpoſing of their younger Children.

VI. That no *Engliſh* Man, of what Religion ſoever, (be he never ſo good an Artificer) is ſuffered in *Paris*, under the ſevereſt of Penalties, *viz.* Seizing and Loſs of his Goods, to work or ſell any, except under a *French* Man, in the Nature of a Servant.

VII. That if by trading here, they get Money, they return rich into their reſpective Countries, and purchaſe Eſtates there; if poor, they run away, and leave their Children to be maintained by the Pariſh.

All which is moſt humbly ſubmitted to your Honours great Prudence and Conſideration.

A Letter to a Member of Parliament, on the Reſolution of the Houſe to ſettle a Trade from *Great Britain* to the *South Sea* of *America*. 1711.

SIR,

THE Unanimous Reſolution of your honourable Houſe, in the agreeing to the Right Honourable Mr. *Harley*'s Propoſal, of providing effectually for the Payment of the Publick Debts of the Nation, and of eſtabliſhing a Trade to the South-Sea of *America*, hath filled the Hearts of all good Subjects with Joy; and I in particular, cannot avoid to give you my grateful Acknowledgments for the ſame, and alſo my Thoughts of the happy Effects that muſt neceſſarily attend what hath been thus reſolved.

The

The Proviſion made for the Payment of the National Debts cannot but produce a laſting Credit; and an Eſtabliſhment of a South-Sea Trade, muſt tend exceedingly to the Good of all Degrees and Ranks of Men amongſt us: The Poor will be more employed in Manufactures, the Product of the Eſtates of our landed Men will become more valuable, and the trading Part of the Nation will be greatly encouraged: And thus all will have Inducements chearfully to contribute to the Support of the Publick Charge.

I have been for a long Time of Opinion, that a Trade to the South-Sea of *America* would be of the greateſt Importance to us: And I preſume herewith to ſend you ſome Reaſons that I committed to Writing for its Encouragement. And thereunto annext, is a Liſt of the ſeveral Commodities that will be ſhip'd from hence in the Commerce now deſign'd, and which will be in very great Quantities, the Country of *Peru* and *Mexico* being of a vaſt Extent.

The Returns from thoſe Countries are only Gold and Silver, and the Richeſt Dye-Stuffs.

No Trade ſo effectually anſwereth the great End of Trade as this doth; the Nation will be enriched thereby, to the laſting Honour of this Houſe of Commons, who hath ſo prudently reſolved to ſettle and eſtabliſh the ſame;

I am,

SIR,

The 3d. of *May*, 1711.

Your moſt humble Servant.

Reaſons to encourage a Trade from *Great Britain*, to the Countries ſituated in the South Seas of *America*.

TRADE is become abſolutely neceſſary to all the People of *Europe*, for the Support of their preſent eſtabliſhed Way of living, and more eſpecially for their Defence againſt the ambitious Encroachments of one Neighbouring Kingdom or State againſt another; for War in the late Ages of the World, both Offenſive and Defenſive, hath been, and is carried on by Force of Gold and Silver, and whatever be the Virtue of a Nation, if Treaſure be wanting, it is in Danger of being overrun by its Neighbours.

It is a Maxim agreed to by all Men, that that Trade is chiefly, if not only beneficial, that exports the Superfluity of the Growth and Manufactures of a Nation, and brings back in Returns, a real Treaſure, ſuch as Gold and Silver, and other Commodities not to be conſumed in Luxury at Home, but to be imployed in Trade, and ſo exported again, as Indigo, Cochineal, Dying Woods of all Kinds, *&c.*

Gold

Gold and Silver are not found in *Europe* in any Quantity, but are only procurable by a Foreign Trade.

And *South America* is indeed the only inexhauſtible Fountain of thoſe Treaſures, and from its firſt Diſcovery and Poſſeſſion by the *Spaniards*, immenſe Sums have been from Time to Time brought from thence, in Returns of the Goods of *Europe*; but the *Spaniards* from their ſlothful Temper, and from their innate Pride, or from an Inaptneſs to Manufactures, have not had the Advantages that they might have had, by the Poſſeſſion of thoſe Treaſures, but have taken from all the other Nations of *Europe*, thoſe Goods, in Return of which the Treaſures have been brought home; ſo that they have had little more than the Benefit of being Carriers, and Factors for other Nations.

But *France*, ſince the Death of *Charles* II. of *Spain*, and the intruding the Duke of *Anjou* on that Throne, hath, under Pretence of ſupplying the Neceſſities of the *Spaniſh Americans*, during the Interruption of the *Spaniſh* Galleons in this preſent War, engroſs'd that Trade to itſelf; and from the Abundance of its Native Commodities, and the Diſpoſition of its People to Manufactures of all Kinds, aſſumes to it ſelf the whole Treaſure of *America*, the fatal Conſequences of which are obvious to every thinking Man. The *French* perform thoſe Voyages in Ships of 500 Tons, 40 Guns, with Cargoes of one Hundred Thouſand Pounds a Piece in eighteen Months.

It ſeems high Time for *Great Britain*, for its Safety and its Intereſt, to vie with *France* in this Matter, before it be too late.

Great Britain is more capable of undertaking this Trade than any other Nation whatſoever, from its abounding with all the Commodities proper for this Trade either Native and manufactur'd here, or acquir'd from abroad.

And it is the Intereſt of *Spain* it ſelf, that *Great Britain* be admitted into this Trade, excluſive of *France*, until the Trade may be ſettled again, in its ancient Channel from old *Spain:* For *Great Britain* gives no Jealouſy of deſigning a univerſal Monarchy, as doth *France*; but contents it ſelf with the Honour of giving a juſt and equal Ballance to the Powers of *Europe*.

It appears, by what hath been premiſed, that no Trade can be ſo neceſſary and beneficial at this Time to *Great Britain* as this. It is ſo extenſive, that every Man amongſt us may ſome Way or other reap a Benefit by it, for there is hardly any Thing manufactur'd in *Great Britain*, but is valuable in *South America*.

Another Encouragement to this Undertaking is, the Healthfulneſs of the Climate, which in this exceeds the North Side of the *Spaniſh America*, to the greateſt Degree imaginable.

Here under is a Liſt of Commodities proper for a Trade to the *South Sea.*

ALL Sorts of Woollen Goods are very valuable in thoſe Countries.

Cloth coarſe and fine, ſells in the moſt Southerly Parts of *Peru*, towards *Chili*, and in the Northern Parts of *Mexico.*

Colcheſter Bays is univerſally worn all over the Country, white and dy'd, and ſome of thoſe Goods are dy'd of the richeſt Scarlets.

Flannels, Cottons, Serges, commonly called Perpetuanos, made in *Devonſhire*, and ſold at *Exeter*, and ſome made at *Colcheſter*, and dy'd into all Kind of Colours, and ſome of rich Scarlets.

Mix'd Serges made in *Somerſet*, and ſold at *Taunton.*

Shalloons, Says, Druggets made in ſeveral Counties.

Worſted Stuffs of all Kinds, made at *Norwich*, and other Places.

Stuffs mix'd with Silk, Worſted Crapes, Silk Crapes, Silks of all Kinds, Velvets, Silk Handkerchiefs, Worſted Hoſe, Silk Hoſe for Men and Women, Thread Hoſe for Men and Women, Hats, Beavers, and Carolins, *Flanders* and *Engliſh* Lace, Silver and Gold Lace, Siſters Thread, Sowing Silk of all Colours.

Linens of all Kinds, from the coarſeſt to the fineſt.

The Vermillions and Cotton Goods of *Lancaſhire.*

Callicuts and Goods of *India.*

All Sorts of Iron Ware neceſſary in Buildings, and in Country Affairs.

All Sorts of Houſhold Goods that are made of Iron.

Stilliards, Scales and Weights for Gold and Silver, Shares for cutting Gold and Silver.

Tools of all Kinds for Carpenters, Joyners, Smiths, *&c.*

Arms, Clocks, Watches, and many Curioſities of Iron and Steel.

Glaſs Ware of all Sorts.

Round Coral for Necklaces and Beads.

Paper, Sealing-Wax, White Wax for Tapers, Caſtle Soap, Pepper, Cinnamon, Cloves, Mace, Nutmegs, Cheſhire Cheeſe, Pickles and Sauces, Oil.

Of

Of LOVE, by ALGERNON SIDNEY, Esq; never published.

The following Letter is a Proof of the Truth of CICERO*'s Observation, that some of the most seemingly incompatible Passions, namely,* Love for the Fair Sex, *the* Ardour of the Warrior, *and the* Judgment of the Statesman, *are often lodged in the same Breast.*

IN writing on this Subject I am very jealous of myself, having ever been so inclined unto this Passion, that though my Experience of the Power of it may make me more knowing in it, than those that have never felt the Effects of it; yet, I very much doubt my own Weakness may shew itself in the Discourse of Love (which I confess hath with more Violence transported me, than a Man of Understanding ought to suffer himself to be by any Passion) more evidently than in any other, in which I am less concerned: But it is better to speak passionately, and, perhaps, unadvisedly, of that we know, than universally, darkly, and ignorantly of those that we feel nothing of; and therefore, what we say must be what we hear from others (that is to say) not our own. I could wish that all Men would do the like, write and speak what they know in themselves, and leave the Judgment to others, whereby we should come to a much more exact Knowledge of our own Natures, than either we can attain unto by reading the painted artificial Writings of those that rather aim at setting forth what should be, than what is, and speaking nothing of themselves but their Praises, do rather desire to be thought wise Men, than to be good, and aiming at Honour more than Truth, disguising themselves delude others: Or those who, *Ixion* like, embrace Clouds, fill themselves with airy abstracted Speculations, that please the Fancy but never inform the Judgment, both seeking for Applause, neither care to benefit themselves or others. I am perfectly free from any Consideration without myself: I write my Thoughts at one Time, that, in perusing them at another, I may come to the Knowledge of myself, that, by seeing without Passion that which I write in Passion, I may know what I am, how I improve or impair, as one that hath his Picture drawn when he is emaciated by Sickness, may, in his Recovery, by comparing that with his present Countenance, judge, in some Degree, of the State of his own Health; and we are so often transported by Passions, that we shall never judge rightly by the present Sense of our Condition; we must see what we are in all Accidents, how temperate in Love, how strong against Fear, and the like, by an impartial Consideration, when we are free from any Disturbance, as all Men are by Intervals, and our Memories will not so exactly represent unto us what we were, as these Kinds of Writings, which are the Representations of the present Thoughts. But that I may no longer swerve from my Subject, I will now endeavour to examine the Nature and the Effects of it. Love is the Passion that hath passed all Censures, as various as the Kinds of it, or the Effects.

It is by all esteemed the most powerful of Passions, by most the best. Some stick not to say it is the worst, because the least controulable by Reason. It is of as many Kinds as there are Objects in the World, and Inclinations in Men; but I intend, at this time, only to speak of that to Beauty, the Height of which we commonly call, being in Love. This consists of as many Sorts as Beauty, which are two, that of the Mind and that of the Body; the Platonics add a third, which is of Sounds: And if every thing may be called Beauty that hath Proportion and Correspondence of Parts, that Name may certainly agree with Sounds, though they are to be judged neither by the Eye nor the Understanding, which are generally esteemed the Powers that distinguish betwixt Beauty and Deformity; but, howsoever, these two only will fall under my Discourse; for what Excellence soever is in Sounds, that can only be an Invitation, not the Object of Love, unless a Man could be fancied to be nothing but Ear, as Echo is nothing but Voice, that is to say, nothing at all, and so incapable of any thing, or of Being. The Stoics, general Enemies to all Passions, do also reject this, as that which doth too much soften the Mind, depriving it thereby of that Firmness of Temper, which is that only in which Reason delights and governs: Nevertheless, Stories are full of those wise Men, who, for all their pretended Austerity, have fallen as deeply under the Power of that Passion, as any other in the World; as if the Divine Power had made Use of it to shew them the Vanity of their Principles. *Epicureans* allow so much of it as conduceth to Pleasure, but reject the transporting Part; and, to shew how well they make this good, *Lucretius*, one of the chief Fathers of that Sect, for all his Philosophy, grew so desperately in Love with a young Wench, who, rejecting him for his old Age, he in Rage threw himself down a steep Rock into the Sea. But the *Platonics* are the perfect Patrons of that Passion, even to the Degree of disliking hardly any thing that carries that Name, without enjoining Difference of Sexes: But that of Man to Man, if it go further than Friendship, (which little cares for Beauty) I only take it to be rooted in the most unnatural of Vices, therefore detestable; and, understanding nothing of it, I leave the Discourse to those that do; and for that which I intend to mention, conclude it doth imply necessarily Difference of Sexes. Love is the most intensive Desire of the Soul to enjoy Beauty, and, where it is reciprocal, is the most intire and exact Union of Hearts. Divers Reasons are given for the Birth and Growth of it; some esteem Likeness of Natures, others like Constellations ruling at the Time of Birth; for my own Part, I can only conclude, that whatsoever pleaseth the Eye and the Fancy, is beautiful; whatsoever we think beautiful, we desire to enjoy, and that Desire is Love. There are also two Kinds of this Love, the one perfectly spiritual, which is called the *Celestial Venus*, and having its Seat only in the Mind, hath the Mind only for its Object, delights in Virtue and Excellence of Understanding, neglects the visible Beauty, contents itself solely with that Fruition which is to be had by Conversation. The other is absolutely sensual, makes the exterior Part its Object, and hath no other End but sensual Pleasure; the first is an Affection for Angels, pure and contemplative; the other for Beasts, filthy and sottish: Man is a Creature composed of both

these,

theſe, a celeſtial and angelical Part, which is the Soul, and of the terreſtrial fleſhy beſtial Part, which is his Body; ſo that his Affections ought to participate of both his Natures, rejecting that which ſolely conſiſts in the Admiration of the Soul, as that which he can very imperfectly judge of; and where the Knowledge is imperfect, the Deſire muſt needs be very cold: Neither is he pleaſed with the other; thoſe are but weak Chains which take hold only of our Senſes; the principal Part in us challengeth a Share in all our Pleaſures, and muſt have wherewithal to content itſelf, or elſe there is nothing fixed; therefore, a Man to love as a Man, muſt have Regard to both, and as long as he is in any Degree reaſonable, can fix his Heart neither abſolutely upon that which is too high to be underſtood, nor too low to be approved; a mixed Creature muſt have mixed Affections, and can love only where he finds a Mind of ſuch Excellency as to delight his Underſtanding, and a Body of Beauty to pleaſe his Senſes; and the Mind being by much the moſt conſiderable Part in us, the principal Care is for the pleaſing of that; for the Mind being the only fixed Power in us, fixed Affections can only grow from thence: The Eyes are wandering, the Senſes uncertain, the Deſires that proceed from them muſt be ſo alſo: The Neceſſity of which appears in this: Every Thing acts according to a Principle within itſelf; an Angel loves ſpiritually; a Beaſt that is all Fleſh, comprehends not ſpiritual Things any more than an Angel taſtes carnal Things; and a Man, that is compoſed of Reaſon and Senſe, rationally and ſenſually, both together. Beſides, every Agent propoſeth unto itſelf Enjoyment of Good, that is, Pleaſure, for all that is good is pleaſant, and nothing ought to pleaſe but that which is good; that is good only that ſatisfies; that can never ſatisfy, which is agreeable only to one Part of a compoſed Creature; the Soul diſdains ſenſual Pleaſures, the Senſes taſte not the ſpiritual; ſo that, to pleaſe both, the Object muſt be ſuch as both may join in the Enjoyment. I will conclude this Point with this Aſſertion: The ſpiritual Affections are ſo cold as hardly to have any Being, ſenſual ſo mad as to be unworthy of any Thing that pretends to a reaſonable Soul, and the ſtrong, laſting, high, and perfectly human Paſſions, are only thoſe which proceed from the Admiration of an excellent Mind, clothed with a beautiful Body; this is a rare Jewel well ſet, and fit to be ſought after with all the Powers of the Soul and Body, as that only which can content both with the fulleſt and moſt abſolute Happineſs that our Natures can be capable of, in Compariſon of which all other worldly Pleaſures are vain and empty Shadows, unworthy of being ſought with Intention of Mind, or enjoyed with Satisfaction: Happy therefore is he who hath his Hopes and Deſires crowned with Succeſs, or that in the Search of them being denied Pleaſure in Life, finds Eaſe and Reſt in Death. To this I may add, that every Thing is received according to the Meaſure of the Receiver; and every Man loves more or leſs ſpiritually or ſenſually, as he doth more approach to the angelical or beſtial Nature; for the ſame Degrees and Differences that are in our Perſons are alſo in our Affections: And though it be true, that ſome Men love as ſenſually as Beaſts, yet will it not follow that others attain to the Spirituality of Angels; for it is very ordinary to ſee thoſe that have the Shapes of Men ſo abſolutely corrupted with

Vice, that they ſeem to have no Soul, or ſo much as ſerves them inſtead of Salt only, keeps them from corrupting and ſtinking; but the other Sort is not ſeen amongſt Men, I mean thoſe of angelical Perfection. The beſt of Men are troubled with Frailties and Vices, the worſt have nothing elſe; for which no other Reaſon perhaps can be given, than that it ſo ſeemed good to the Divine Wiſdom, unleſs you will take this for one, that we have within ourſelves a Power of doing or being ill, but that our Recovery from that Condition of Illneſs, which is natural to us, is, by the Power of God upon our Hearts, who gives his Graces unto ſuch Men, at ſuch Times, and in ſuch Proportion as he pleaſeth, leaving us ſtill with many Infirmities, that we may humble ourſelves, and acknowledging God to be the Author of all Good, depend upon him for a Delivery from all interior and exterior Ills, and reſerves the State of Perfection, to fill up the Meaſure of our Happineſs when we come to that of Immortality. To this I may add, that morally Vice is eaſy and natural to us, but Virtue is to be underſtood only by Diſcourſe, and practiſed by Care; into the firſt every Fool can run blindfold, the other is only the Work of an excellent Spirit, refined by great Maturity and Strength of Wiſdom; to the one Facility invites, from the other Difficulty deters, which is as much more eminent in the one than the other, as it is harder for one that is placed in the midſt of a ſteep Rock to climb up to the Top thereof, than to throw himſelf down to the Bottom. The next Point is to ſhew what is the Strength and Power of this Affection. It is generally concluded by all to be the ſtrongeſt of all; and beſides what every Man that hath taſted of it finds within his own Breaſt, all Books are full of Stories of ſuch as, in Compariſon of the Perſon loved, have deſpiſed all worldly Things, and, being poſſeſſed by that Paſſion, been tranſported to Actions much beyond their ordinary Faculties, either good or ill, as the Nature of the Perſon, Affection, or the preſent Occaſion inclined and required: But all that is alledged by others is cold and weak, in Compariſon of what thoſe find within their own Hearts, who have been capable of this beſt and nobleſt of Paſſions; their whole Mind is full of but one Thought. The Allurements of the World, which other Men call Pleaſures, they have no Taſte of; the Buſineſs is tedious and inſupportable; their whole Care and Induſtry is ſolely employed in ſerving and pleaſing the beloved Perſon. They are ſtrangers to Fear, Joy, Grief, Hope, Anger, but ſuch as hath its Spring from Love: Their Deſires are moſt intenſively placed upon one Object, which, by a ſtrange Violence, tranſports us beyond ourſelves, gives Courage to the moſt fearful, ſharpens the Wit of the moſt ſimple, gives Fidelity to moſt depraved Minds, Conſtancy to the moſt unſettled, and, of itſelf alone, hath Power to draw thoſe Hearts which have received it, to Acts of Goodneſs, Honeſty, Virtue and Gallantry, with more Efficacy than all the moſt exact Examples of Hiſtory and Philoſophy. The Reaſon of this I take to be, that Love for its End propoſeth the Enjoyment of Beauty; Beauty conſiſts in Order, Harmony and Uniformity; unto which all Actions have an abſolute Contrariety, having neither Rule, Order, Form, or Meaſure, but are like Vice, the Spring from whence they flow, full of Confuſedneſs and Deformity. Beſides, he that loves deſires to render himſelf acceptable to the Perſon loved, which

which being full of virtuous Inclinations, (or at leaſt thought to be ſo by the Lover) doth abhor all that is not agreeable to Reaſon and Goodneſs; and the Lover finding nothing to be pleaſing, but that which is ſuitable of the Affections of the Object of his Paſſion, rejects and hates all depraved Deſires, as deſtructive to his chief Deſign, and therefore, with an active Earneſtneſs, applies himſelf to correct the Defects of his own Nature, which hath produced more excellent Actions than all the Affections in the World put together; unleſs I am miſtaken in this, that it is not Love that makes them virtuous, but being virtuous inclines them to Love. But leſt that by propoſing the Enjoyment of Beauty for the End of Love, I ſhould be thought too much drowned in Senſuality, I muſt explain myſelf a little. It is very certain, that all Deſire is for Fruition; but that Fruition that ſatisfies a Deſire, muſt be of the ſame Nature with the Deſire itſelf; ſenſual Deſires are ſatisfied with ſenſual Fruition, ſpiritual with ſpiritual, mixed with mixed: Or, that I may not trouble myſelf with Terms, I may in one Word comprehend all; the Deſire of a Lover is to be loved, and that perfect Union of Hearts, is the Perfection of Lovers Happineſs; for though we are inclinable to deſire the Senſes may not be excluded, yet having the principal End of our Deſires, we may reſt fully ſatisfied, though that in ſome Particulars we find ourſelves croſſed by Fortune; for he cannot be ſaid to want any Thing, that is made One with the Perſon that is full of all Excellencies. Neither is it extravagant for me, who profeſs Love to Beauty, to be contented with ſpiritual Fruition; for though in my Choice I aim at the Beauty of the Body, it is principally thereby to diſcover the Beauty of the Mind; for Nature, which delights in Proportion, ſuits not an excellent Mind with a deformed Body, nor a vicious (that is, deformed) Mind in a beautiful Body; Nature's Works are not like Hypocrites, or Sepulchres, beautiful without, and Rottenneſs and Corruption within; it were a Deceit to cover the wretched Wickedneſs of a vicious Mind, with thoſe glorious Ornaments of Beauty, which make up one of the Attributes of the Deity. And whereas Beauty, which is the greateſt Excellency of Things created as well as uncreated, and is, in Things created, a Motive to us to admire the Greatneſs and Goodneſs of the Creator, if it did palliate Vice, would be the greateſt Snare to us that is imaginable, and inſtead of delighting in the outward Reſemblance of God, bring us to worſhip the Devil: But an Intention to deceive our weak Natures, cannot proceed from the Spirit of Goodneſs; that is a Diamond ſet in Gold, and the other a worthleſs Flint which he ſuffers to lie in the Dirt. That is truly excellent which God hath cauſed to ſhine with the Glory of his own Rays; whereſoever there is Beauty, I can never doubt of Goodneſs. Thoſe Parts of the Sea that are ſafe have calm and ſmooth Waters, but where dangerous Rocks lie at the Bottom, even the Surface is perpetually rough and troubled. It is true, that not only Age impairs all Beauties, but many are deſtroyed by Accidents, from which even the moſt excellent are not exempted, as the ſafeſt Parts of the Sea may be diſturbed and troubled with Storms; but that oppoſeth not my Purpoſe, for aiming at real not fantaſtical Excellence, I look for

for the natural, not the accidental Beauty or Deformity, and will no more grant that a beautiful Face can by the Small-Pox, or any other Accident, grow deformed to one that knew and loved it before, than that a deformed can change it's Nature by Painting, though both will deceive any Eyes that have not excellent Faculties of diſcerning. Upon all which it will appear, that as the Beauty of the Body gives the Beginning to Love, but that after the Image thereof is graven upon a Heart, and the Beauty of the Mind diſcovered, it is not in the Power of Age, or any natural or accidental Cauſe to root it out or deface it; for that which at the firſt was only the Act of the Fancy by the Help of the Eyes, is now grown to be the Act of the Underſtanding, firmly fixed in the Heart and Mind, which being the governing Power in Man, finding its own Deſires ſatisfied in being loved, finds reſt within itſelf; and though there is a Flame remaining in the Senſes which mutiny for their Part alſo of Fruition, they are not able to cauſe any great Diſturbance in a Man that is reaſonable. But if the Mind fail of its Deſire, the whole Frame of Man is in Confuſion, the Heart is rent aſunder by the Violence of the Paſſion, and there is no Power left to appeaſe the Rage of the Senſes. This Extremity of Diſorder and Torment ſeems fabulous to thoſe that have not felt it within themſelves; every one is apt to ſay, if he cannot obtain the Affections of one Perſon, why doth he not apply his to another, who is more kind; but they little underſtand Love's Myſtery who uſe theſe Diſcourſes; for no Man is in Love, but with an Opinion of the Excellency of the beloved Perſon above all others, and hath abſolutely reſigned his Heart unto her; the moſt exact Beauties ſeem but vain Shadows, the excellenteſt Minds but imperfect Images of her Perfection, and failing of his Deſire in enjoying her only who hath the Power of his Heart, deſpiſeth all things elſe, and being deſpiſed by her, hates all that himſelf deſpiſeth: And that which fills up the Meaſure of the rejected Lover's Torment, is, that Deſpair will not cure it; for to love without Hope is but a ſeeming Contradiction: For though Hope is to Deſire as Fuel is to Fire, the elementary Fire burns without Fuel, and Paſſion grounded upon Confeſſion of Excellence outlives Hope. Or if there be ſuch a Power of Man to confine his Deſires to his Hope (which I believe only in thoſe that are weak, faint, and grounded only upon ſome trifling Convenience) they are of all Men moſt happy, their calm Breaſts are free from Diſorder, and while other Wretches are in Trouble, they find perfect Peace, their Love ſerves only to procure Pleaſure, and like a ſtrong, well-tempered Stomach, either draws Nouriſhment out of whatſoever it receives, or caſts it up; ſo they try all, and retain only ſuch as increaſe their Happineſs. Nevertheleſs a true and perfect Lover would not procure his own Reſt, by defacing the beloved Image which with ſo much Joy he printed in his own Heart: But I think this Part of Diſcourſe is frivolous as impoſſible; and that ſame Image doth take ſuch Root, and grows ſo entirely one with the Heart, that both muſt live and die together without Poſſibility of Separation: At leaſt, with me I am ſure it is; my Paſſion hath made itſelf Maſter of all the Faculties of my Mind, and hath deſtroyed all

that

that is in Oppoſition unto it. I live in it and by it, it is all that I am, take away that, and I am nothing. I can neither conform my Deſires to my Hopes, nor raiſe my Hopes to my Deſires; the Lowneſs and Meanneſs of my Fortune and Perſon, forbids me to hope; the Beauty and Lovelineſs of the Perſon whom I love, makes my Deſires approach as near to Eternity, as that can do which is ſeated in a mortal Foundation. My Conſtancy is both my Fault and my Puniſhment, Death only can give me a Diſmiſſion from either. Having ſpoken ſomething of what Love is, and of the Effects of it, it is now Time to ſee whether it ought to be reproved or commended, denied the Entrance into Hearts, turned out, or embraced; or rather, if I had obſerved any Method, when I ſpoke ſomething of others Opinions upon it, ſhould have finiſhed my own; but I writing only to-day that which I ſhall read the next Week or Month, and then burn, having no other Intention but to eaſe my troubled Thoughts, and to attain to the Knowledge of myſelf, by ſetting down neatly the true State of my Mind, I little care for thoſe Rules which are neceſſary to thoſe who are to depend upon others Judgments; I content myſelf with ſetting down my Thoughts without caring for Rule or Order, as appears by breaking and returning to my Story; by affirming firſt, That one of the principal Works for which we are ſent into this World, is to admire the Works of him that made both us and it; thoſe are the moſt excellent that are the moſt beautiful, (for Beauty is the Perfection of Excellence) and thoſe Works of Nature are of moſt perfect Beauty, which are living; and of the living, the Reaſonable only can content the reaſonable Soul; the moſt excellent therefore in Beauty of reaſonable Creatures doth beſt deſerve our Admiration, and thereby we do fulfil a great Part of the End for which we were created: But who can admire any thing without deſiring the Fruition of it, and that Deſire is Love. For what Reaſon can be imagined for the Difference that we ſee in Perſons (for the ſame Power that made all Things, could have made all alike perfect) but to make thereby a Difference in our Affections towards them? Why are ſome made glorious in Beauty, but to draw our Affections unto them? Why others curſed with Deformity, but to give the greater Luſtre unto thoſe that are contrary to them, or to ſhew the Illneſs of their Natures, as Marks that Men ſhould beware of them? How blind a Sottiſhneſs is it, not to ſee and diſtinguiſh of Beauty? And what a beaſtly Malice is it, not to love that which we acknowledge to be excellent? The Glory of Divine Rays do appear in Faces, but much more in Minds: Who can then without Barbarity (I think I may ſay Impiety) deny to ſuffer himſelf to be raviſhed with the Admiration of ſuch an Excellence of a Created Beauty, as is an Image of the Uncreated? or to be inflamed with the Love of it, and the Deſire to enjoy it? If Deſires were abſolutely ſinful, they had never been given us; if Beauty might not be deſired, it had never been created; there is no forbidden Fruit out of Paradiſe; we have a free Liberty of enjoying all that is good. Goodneſs and Beauty are convertible Terms and indiviſible Things. They that are wiſe deſire that which is beſt, and they happy that attain unto it. But ſome will ſay, we ought to deſire even the beſt Things with Moderation, which Love deſtroys.

ſtroys. Ah! let that extend to ordinary Things, deſire Riches, Honours, and the like coldly, and unpaſſionately, they cannot content the Mind, therefore ought not to poſſeſs it; but where Beauty of Mind and Body meet, both in ſuch Excellency as leave not Liberty to the Fancy to imagine any Thing more perfect; who can attribute too much either to it or the Author, ſince that alone is able fully to ſatisfy all our Deſires? Worldly Things do often cloy us, but never content us. Some conſiſt wholly in Contemplation, entertain the Mind, neglect or deſtroy the Body; others that ſatisfy the Senſes, diſtaſte the Mind, perhaps hurt it; but moſt of our Pleaſures have their Worth only from our Vanity, but this; a Perſon ſo qualified, leaves no part of us unſatisfied, nor any thing in relation to this World to be wiſhed to compleat our Happineſs; were it not then much better to uſe that Prudence by which they pretend to moderate their Affections, only in making Choice of ſuch a Perſon to be the Object of them, as may abſolutely deſerve their utmoſt Attention? Beſides, what can reaſonably be brought to fortify this Opinion? If we examine what Men have been free, or poſſeſſed with this Paſſion, we ſhall find few that have not taſted of it, unleſs they be ordinary and vulgar Spirits, or ſuch as by the Vanity of Ambition, or ſome other furious Paſſion or Vice (which Love abhors) tranſported even unto Madneſs, which nevertheleſs hath not defended ſome of them from being made Slaves to *Venus:* And amongſt the Heathens, the Poets, who were their wiſeſt Men, and in their Fables comprehended all the Myſteries of Philoſophy, exempted not their Gods from this Paſſion: And amongſt Chriſtians I know but two Cautions that are put by Men of Underſtanding; which are, that Love to the Creature, be not of ſuch a Degree as to take us from the Worſhip and Love of God: The other, that we defend ourſelves from unlawful Deſires. Both of which I grant, and yet have as much as I deſire; for that ſame Love, for which God created and beautified the World, is the only Means for us to return unto him, who is the Fountain of our Being; and through the Imperfections of our own Natures, being not able to ſee or comprehend his Greatneſs and Goodneſs, otherwiſe than by his Works, muſt make us from viſible Things to raiſe our Thoughts up to him. And for unlawful Deſires, they are not more contrary to Religion than to Love, which delights only in Beauty and Virtue, hates the Deformity of Vice, and of that Brutiſh Luſt which diſtinguiſheth not of Honour or Juſtice. He cannot be ſaid to love a Woman, that would buy his own Pleaſure with her Diſhonour or Crime; he only loves himſelf. Beſides, the Love which I defend, being in a great Degree ſpiritual, cannot deſire any thing that is vicious; Vice deſtroys the principal Object of Love, which is the Mind, and the Benefit that is reaped by ſuch Pleaſures, can only ſatisfy the Senſes; which therefore Love not only deſires not, but hates. But the greateſt Reaſon why we ſhould apply ourſelves to oppoſe the Birth and Growth of this Paſſion, is the infinite Pains and Sorrows that it cauſeth. How many are made miſerable for one that attains to Happineſs by it? and even thoſe are firſt expoſed to all Miſeries before they obtain their Deſire. And truly to

this

this I have very little to anſwer; only this, that as Love is the Cauſe of the greateſt Ills that Men ſuffer, it is the Cauſe alſo of the moſt perfect Pleaſures, conſiſting only in Extremes; and as many are made miſerable by Love, none are made happy without Love: It is the moſt active Inſtrument of our Natures, and cauſeth the moſt good or hurt to us. But though a quiet indifferent State, void of great Griefs or Joys, were to be choſen rather than this ſlippery Precipice from whence we are ſo likely to fall into Miſery, Diſcourſes on it were vain; for our weak Reaſon, which ſhould be our Guide, is carried away Captive by the Power of Beauty and Virtue, againſt which Blindneſs only and Stupidity are able to make any Defence. There is another Sort of People who are great Pretenders to Wiſdom, who ſay, that the Objects of our Devoirs ſhould be ſuch as ſatisfy the Mind; and that if any ſuch can be found, too great a Value cannot be put upon it; but deny that can be found amongſt Women, they are only light Creatures, fit to ſatisfy the Senſes, maintain our Species, and quench our natural Deſires, and have not ſuch Minds, as can give Delight to a wiſe Man. How great an Ignorance is this? *Socrates* learned his Philoſophy from *Diotima*, though ſhe received her firſt Principles from him, ſhe grew ſo excellent, as to be able to teach her Maſter, who was able to teach all the reſt of the World. And *Pericles*, to whom all *Greece* gave the Preference of Wiſdom, confeſs'd he knew nothing but what he had learned from the fair *Aſpaſia*; both of which were as excellent for their Beauty as Underſtanding: And who is it that doth not know, that every Age hath produced ſome very excellent in thoſe Things for which Men moſt prize themſelves; and yet theſe grave Fools deſpiſe them. It is true, that Women have not theſe Helps from Study and Education as Men have, but in the natural Powers of the Mind are no ways inferior. They exempt themſelves from the Trouble of thoſe knotty Sciences that ſerve only to deceive Fools, which furniſh the Tongue with Words, but tend nothing to the framing of the Underſtanding; and inſtead of this they have a Pleaſantneſs of Wit in Converſation very much beyond Men, and a well Compoſedneſs of Judgment, which if they did not deſerve our Love, would move our Envy: And unto whatſoever they apply themſelves, either Learning, Buſineſs, domeſtick or publick Government, ſhew themſelves, at leaſt, equal to our Sex. I ſhould be glad if I could except Military Buſineſs, naturally diſliking any thing of Violence amongſt them; but even in that many have been excellent. But above all, the Softneſs, Gentleneſs, and Sweetneſs that is in them, doth juſtly move our Love and Admiration; whereas Mens Minds are as rugged and harſh as their Faces, fit for boiſterous Action by the Strength and Hardineſs of their Bodies, but incapable of giving Pleaſure, and even in that Quality which Men ſo much prize in themſelves, which is Courage, how many of them hath been fain to take Example in generous and bold Reſolutions from their Wives, Daughters, or Miſtreſſes. *Epicharis* ſuffered Torture better than any of Forty the moſt eminent Senators of *Rome*, or divers hundreds of the chief of the Soldiery, concealing by her Conſtancy the Conſpiracy, which the Weakneſs of the others revealed. *Se-*

neca was glad to receive Encouragement and Example to die from *Paulina*; *Petus* from *Arria* in his Extremity; and the famous *Brutus* often from *Porcia*; beſides infinite Numbers of Examples of Virtue, by which that ſweet Sex ſhows they can, when it is needful, excel ours in Gallantry as well as Beauty, and gives us ſufficient Reaſon to conclude, that they can only mitigate the Troubles of our Lives, which we through a turbulent Illneſs of Nature create to one another, but by their Examples mollify our Hardineſs by Pleaſures we receive from them, muſt recompenſe the Miſchief our harſh Tempers expoſe us unto; and that they are only the worthy Objects of our Affections, it being as evident that we owe our Pleaſures to them, as our Birth; they are only able to eaſe our Griefs and Cares; and, which is more beneficial unto us, ſoften that rugged Fierceneſs of Mind which is our Crime and Plague, the Inſtruments of our own and others Miſeries, by the ſweet Allurements of Pleaſure that we receive from them. Let not any Man then, through a fond and impudent Preſumption in his own Merit, deſpiſe that Sex.

[*From the Collection of* William Pary, *Eſq*;]

A full ENQUIRY into the Original Authority of that Text, 1 JOHN v. 7. *There are Three that bear Record in Heaven, &c.* containing an Account of Dr. MILLS's Evidences from Antiquity, for and againſt its being Genuine: With an Examination of his Judgment thereupon. Humbly addreſſed to both Houſes of *Convocation.*

Jerem. xxiii. 28. *He that hath my Word, let him ſpeak my Word faithfully: what is the Chaff to the Wheat? ſaith the Lord.*

'TIS poſſible the laborious Inquiries of many learned *Criticks*, who with great Diligence and Accuracy have ſifted and ſcann'd the *Claſſick* Authors, ſome of them of no great moment, may be eſteem'd by others only as the ingenious Diverſions of a dextrous and ſagacious Mind: ſince, when they have preſented their Authors a-new, with their Emendations and Corrections, in reſtoring their old, or giving them new Beauties; 'tis oft of ſo little Uſe or Conſequence to the World, that 'tis well if their painful Studies eſcape the Cenſure of being a laborious Loſs of Time.

But when learned and judicious Men do, with Serioufneſs and humble Reverence, apply their Induſtry and Sagacity to examine the far more important Writings that are to guide us in the Way of Salvation; when they ſhall diſcover the Interpolations and Additions, the Errors or Defects, which *theſe*, as well as other Writings, by oft tranſcribing, may in ſo long a Tract of Time

Time have been liable to; when, by diligent comparing antient Manuſcripts and Verſions, and the frequent Citations of the *Text* in the primitive Chriſtian Writers, they become able to inform us certainly what is *original* and genuine, and what not, in any part of the Bible, more eſpecially where ſome matter of great Moment is concern'd; their learned Induſtry is then ſure to be well employ'd, and will be recompenſed not only with the Applauſes of the Curious, but the Thanks, and which is more, the real Edification and Satisfaction of the ſerious Inquirers after Truth; who greatly deſire to know what God would have them believe and do; and to have the *Chaff* ſeparated from the *Wheat*, and the τὸ ἄδολο γάλα, the *ſincere* unadulterated *Milk* of the Word, for their ſpiritual Growth.

The peculiar Veneration due to the Sacred Writings, requires us to keep that precious *Depoſitum* as pure as poſſible, and free from all human ſpurious Additions. Why then ſhould the learned Criticks exhauſt all their Learning, Reading, and diſcerning Skill, upon the Trifles of a witty or wanton *Poet*, or a fabulous and remote *Hiſtorian*; and wholly neglect to make as ſevere an Inquiry into the Holy Scripture, in which are the Words of eternal Life; in order to diſcover what is the genuine Text, among the various Readings of different Copies; that we may build our Faith upon it, with the greateſt Certainty we can attain to?

I know, a late ingenious Author of *the Difficulties and Diſcouragements which attend the Study of the Scriptures*, has pointed at the worldly Diſcouragements, which, he judges, have tempted our cautious Criticks to turn their Studies another Way. I wiſh him Succeſs in his Addreſs to have theſe Hindrances remov'd; that it may be as ſafe, where 'tis more important, to do juſtice to the Writings of the Apoſtles, as of any other Author.

The very learned and judicious Dr. *Mills* has done much for one Man, in his celebrated Labours on the New Teſtament; which, whatever may be wanting, will long ſtand, as a laſting Monument of his praiſe-worthy Zeal and well-employ'd Abilities. A *Specimen* of what he has done upon one ſingle *Verſe*, I am now to produce: And if upon a full and impartial Conſideration it ſhall appear to your unbyaſs'd Judgments, that there is abundant Evidence of a ſpurious Addition; may I not juſtly hope that the Rulers and Guides of the Church, who can better judge of ſuch Evidence than the Unlearned can, will yield their conſcientious Compliance, and not render ſuch commendable Inquiries fruitleſs, by refuſing to receive the Truth, and to rectify our Books, when the true Reading is found? Elſe to what purpoſe do Men inquire how it was *in the beginning*, if we reſolve not to return to it? or to ſearch after the right, if we will ſtill adhere to what is wrong, and will rather maintain Cuſtom than Truth?

This is what I ſhall have ſome right to inſiſt upon, and for the ſake of Truth to preſs upon your Lordſhips and the Clergy; when I ſhall have made it appear, from his *Diſſertation* on 1 *John* 5. 7. that the Doctor himſelf has overthrown the Credit of *that* Text, by the Evidence that he has

given that it is not original and genuine, tho' he has not acknowledg'd himſelf overcome by it.

In order to manifeſt this, I ſhall,

I. In the firſt Place (for the Sake of others, who need more Information) lay down the Sum of that Evidence which the Doctor has produc'd, to ſhew that theſe Words in the ſeventh Verſe, *There are Three that bear Record in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit; and theſe Three are One:* or rather theſe Words in the ſeventh Verſe, *In Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit; and theſe Three are One: And* (ver. 8.) *there are Three that bear Witneſs in Earth:* were not in the original Text, but have been added in later Times without juſt Authority.

II. I ſhall put down what he had to offer on the other ſide, for eſtabliſhing the Authority of theſe Words, and upon which he has determined in favour of their being original and genuine.

III I ſhall ſhew the Weakneſs of thoſe Arguments by which he endeavours to ſupport the Authority of this Text: that ſo it may be judg'd whether he had juſt reaſon to make ſuch a Determination, or we to abide by it.

I. I muſt lay down the Evidences produc'd againſt the Authority of *this Text*, as not having been originally in St. *John*'s Epiſtle. Only let me *firſt* obſerve, that the Text itſelf, and Context, have no *internal* Evidence, to perſuade us that the Words are genuine: for as theſe Words themſelves are not to be match'd with any in the whole Bible, ſo the Context is compleat without them, and rather more ſmooth and eaſy. The *three* following Witneſſes having been already diſtinctly ſpoken of, it was very natural to ſum them up in one Concluſion; *There are Three that bear Witneſs, the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood.* But the other *three* Witneſſes had not been mention'd, to give Occaſion for the like to be ſaid of them.

Nor was it likely the *Spirit* ſhould be produc'd as another Witneſs *on Earth*, if it had been numbered before among the Witneſſes *in Heaven*. The *Spirit* was no more an Inhabitant of the Earth, than the *Father* and *Word* were; who alſo operated and gave their Teſtimony, not in Heaven, but on Earth. Nay, the *Word Incarnate* was more properly an Inhabitant of the Earth than the Spirit, and yet is not reckon'd among the Witneſſes on Earth. Is it likely the Spirit ſhou'd be made twice a Witneſs in the Matter, and ſo give two Teſtimonies for one of the *Father* and *Word?*

But ſince the Doctor's Inquiry was only after *external* Evidence from Authorities and Teſtimony, it ſhall be my preſent Buſineſs to examine them.

And here it muſt be own'd, that Dr. *Mills* has done juſtice; ſo that very little more can be ſaid in the Caſe. 'Tis a Subject which had been long and often examin'd, with Niceneſs, from the Beginning of the Reformation, and very much illuſtrated by the great Sagacity of the late learned and laborious Critick, Father *Simon*, in his *Critical Hiſtory of the New Teſtament*, chap. 18. Dr. *Mills*'s Buſineſs was, not ſo much to ſearch for Evidences, as

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to collect, with no small Pains, what had been offered; and to present it in one View, and in good Order.

These Evidences are taken, (1.) From antient *Greek* Manuscript Copies. (2.) The antient *Versions*. (3.) The Writings of the antient Christian *Fathers*. And indeed whither should we go to learn what was in the Apostles Writings, but to the oldest Copies of those Writings (which are lost or consumed themselves) and the oldest Versions made from them, and to the old Christian Writers who have transcribed very much of them into their own Books?

(1.) Let us hear how many antient Manuscript *Greek* Copies are without this Text. The Doctor tells us, in his *Notes* on the Words, That 'tis certain all these Words, *in Heaven, the Father, Word, and Holy Spirit; and these Three are One: And there are Three that bear Witness in Earth*, are wanting in most Copies. Then he enumerates them particularly, in his *Dissertation upon this Subject*; beginning with our famous *Alexandrian* Copy, which elsewhere he calls *Ingens Thesaurus Orientalis* *, and *the most precious Treasure the Christian World ever saw for these twelve hundred Years, and by far the most antient Copy in the World, which most exactly expresses the Original.*

Next comes the famous *Vatican* Copy, which he extols much after the same manner, as of very great Credit, and above twelve hundred Years old †; by which, according to Pope *Leo*'s Order, the *Complutensian* Edition was to be made. 'Tis enough to shake the Credit of this Text with all impartial Men, that 'tis wanting in these *two*, the most valuable and antient Copies we know of in the World. Yet besides this, the Doctor gives a long Roll of the other very valuable Manuscript *Greek* Copies, in the most famous Libraries of the Learned, and of our two Universities, and of the *French* King (where Father *Simon* made a diligent Search, and says he found not one that had *these* Words, of all the seven which he view'd, nor of the five Manuscripts of Mr. *olbert*, though some of these be of later Date ‡) also *two* at *Basil*, *one* at *Venice*, and many more. All these want *this* Text, though in some of the later Manuscripts there are in the Margin short Notes, by Way of Gloss or Comment, over against *the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood*; applying *these* to the *Father, Word, and Spirit*, according to an antient mystical Interpretation, of which hereafter. And from the Margin, F. *Simon* judges *these Words* did afterwards slide into the Text, which are in our *seventh Verse*. Which is a very natural and easy Account, and the only Way by which Dr. *Mills* himself accounts for so many other Interpolations, in his Notes, and his *Prolegomena*.

And whereas Dr. *Mills* once thought *Robert Stephens* had found the *Words* in *eight* Manuscripts (because of *fifteen* Copies which he had, he mentions but *seven* as wanting this Verse; whence the Doctor slipt into the common Mistake, and took it for granted that the other *eight* had it) he found upon Exa-

* Proleg. p. 143, 144. † P. 108. ‡ Crit. Hist. p. 18.

mination

mination that those eight Copies of *Stephens* had not St. *John*'s Epistle in them: So that all which had the *Epistle*, wanted *this Verse* *.

To these of Dr. *Mills*, the Learned Dr. *Kuster* adds one Authority more, from the *Codex Seidelianus*, brought out of *Greece*, and about 700 Years old †. So that I think I may say, in one Word, all the *Greek* Manuscripts, which are found, do agree in rejecting the Text under Consideration.

(2.) He considers the antient *Versions* of the New Testament. These were made for the Use of such People, as in early Times were converted to the Christian Religion, but did not understand the *Greek* Language, in which the New Testament was written; for their Benefit it was translated into their own Language. The most ancient of these Versions were the *Syriac*, *Coptic*, *Ethiopic*, *Arabic*, *Latin*, all which, with the *Russian*, have not the Text: So that when these Versions were made, there was no such Passage in the *Greek* Copies or Original, whence they were made. Of the *Latin* Version the Doctor says ‡, *'Tis certain this Verse was wanting in all the most antient* Latin *Copies*, *except some in* Africa, *in* Tertullian's *and* Cyprian's *Time*, &c. Which Exception is a mere Supposition grounded on his Mistake (as I shall shew) that *Tertullian*, and especially *Cyprian*, had cited these Words in their Books.

The antient *Italic* Version §, he says, *was made near to the Apostles Time*, *from the best Copies*. Of the *Coptic* **, that it was from one of the *best* and *earliest*. Of the *Syriac* ††, that the Learned agree it was *made in the very next Age to the Apostles*. He tells us moreover, that even the *Latin* Manuscripts at *Basil*, *Zurich*, *Strasburgh* (800 or 900 Years old) and two others, *Duo Donatianici*, want these Words: That the Words however are inserted in the Bottom of the Page in *one*, by another Hand; and in the Margin, by the same Hand, in *another*.

F. *Simon* observes, that in these later Copies of St. *Jerom*'s Bible, where these marginal Notes are found, the Order of the Words, and the *three Witnesses* are various and diverse; which he takes to be a good Proof that they were not in the *first* Copies; who adds also one very old *French* Version, of a thousand Years ‡‡, which has not the Words.

I need but mention the first Editions of the New Testament, corrected by the Manuscript Copies, about the Beginning of the Reformation; *viz.* by *Erasmus*, *Aldus*, *Colinæus*, printed in divers places; which he owns had not *this* Verse, nor the Versions of *Luther*; because these are of no Authority beyond the Manuscript Copies by which they might be directed; which, it appears, did then want *this Verse*, otherwise they durst not have left it out, in prejudice to a received Opinion of the Church, and in Contradiction to the *vulgar Versions* at that Time.

* Proleg. p. 117.

† In his Edition of Dr. Mills's Test. Rotterdam 1710, which is what I make use of.

‡ Certum est hunc Versiculum abfuisse è vetustissimis Cod. Latinis omnibus, præter Africanos quosdam, &c. p. 140.

§ P. 141. ** P. 152. †† P. 128. ‡‡ Crit. Hist. ibid.

(3.) He examines the Writings of the primitive Chriſtians or *Fathers:* Foraſmuch as theſe very frequently cite the ſacred Writings on all Occaſions, and had ſuch frequent and great Occaſions to ſpeak of the *Trinity*, and of the *Holy Spirit*; it may well be concluded, ſuch a *Text*, of ſingular Importance, and ſo exceeding pertinent to their Deſign, and where there is no *other Text*, to ſupply the want of it, fully or directly in the whole New Teſtament, could not be forgotten by *all* of them, and *at all Times*, if it had been known by them. And here,

1*ſt*. He makes Inquiry among the *Greek* Fathers, to ſee if he can hear of *this Text* among them, who were moſt likely to have ſeen the authentic *Originals* of the Apoſtles, and need not a Verſion into another Language. Of theſe he gives this melancholy Account; *Neminem unum*, &c. *That not one* Greek *Writer from the Beginning of Chriſtianity to St.* Jerom's *Time* (about 400 Years) *has ever cited this Verſe.* And adds, *'Tis certain it has been wanting in the* Greek *Copies very near from the Apoſtle's writing this Epiſtle*, Diſſert. p. 583, 584. And therefore wonders at the Author of the *Preface to the Canonical Epiſtles*, in the *Latin* Bibles, which paſſes under the Name of St. *Jerom*, for ſaying this Verſe was in all the *Greek* Copies: whereas, ſays the Doctor, *not one of the Antients had ever heard a Word of it* *. For which, and other Reaſons, he juſtly concludes, as do other *Criticks*, that it is not St. *Jerom*'s.

Not content with theſe *Generals*, he runs over the particular moſt eminent *Greek* Fathers, and thoſe who were moſt likely to have produced *this Text*, if they had known of it, who yet never mention it.

1. Not *Irenæus*, l. 3. c. 18. who to prove the Deity of Chriſt cites this *firſt Epiſtle* of *John* (more than once) nay, he cites this *fifth Chapter*, and yet ſays nothing of *this Verſe* which had been ſo appoſite to his Deſign.

2. Not *Clemens Alexandrinus*.

3. Not *Dionyſius Alex.* or the *Epiſtle*, under his Name, to *Paul* of *Samoſata*, almoſt wholly about the Trinity, and the Deity of Chriſt; in which the *eighth Verſe* is cited, and the three other Witneſſes, the *Spirit*, the *Water*, and the *Blood*, but not the Words in diſpute.

4. Not *Athanaſius* himſelf, who had his Wits about him, and as much at work in theſe Matters as any Man; in whoſe *genuine* Works (more to be regarded ſurely than the *ſpurious* Books falſly attributed to him for the other Side) even *thoſe* in which he labours to prove the Trinity, and Deity of Chriſt and the Holy Spirit, by all the Texts he could think proper, we find no mention of *this* great Text, as he muſt have deemed it. So that the Doctor again confeſſes, he knows not of one *Greek* Father, before the Time of the *Nicene* Council, who ever cited it.

5. Not the Fathers of the Council of *Sardica* in their Synodical Epiſtle †; in which, for Proof of a Trinity of Perſons in one Eſſence, they alledge *John*

* De quo nemo Veterum quidquam inaudiverat.

† Theodor. l. 2. c. 8.

x. 30. but not these Words, *The Father, the Word, and the Spirit*; *and these Three are One*: which had been much more fit to their Purpose. They needed not twice have cited, *My Father and I are One*, which yet did not include the *Spirit* at all; once urging this Passage, *These Three are One*, had been better for their Purpose than a hundred Repetitions of that other Text.

Certainly all those Fathers, who came from so many several Quarters out of *Asia*, *Africa*, and *Europe*, as the Preamble of the Epistle shews, could not be ignorant of this Text which they so much wanted, if there had been any Knowledge of it in any Part of the Christian World.

6. Not *Epiphanius*, who among the many Texts alledged against the *Arians* and *Pneumatomachi*, quite omits this.

7. Not *Basil*, in his Book of the *Holy Ghost*, whom he had a mind to join with the *Father* and the *Son* in the Doxology, but was kept in awe by such as watched his Words.

8. Not *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, among the many Texts for the Unity of the Father and Son, in his Epistle, *Theodor.* l. i. c. 4.

9. Not *Nyssen*, in his thirteen Books against *Eunomius*, of the Trinity and Deity of the Holy Spirit.

10. Not *Nazianzen*, in his Oration against the *Arians*, or in his fifth Oration *de Theologia*; where, to prove the Spirit to be God, he alledges the *next* Words, but not these.

11. Not *Didymus*, in his Book of the Holy Spirit.

12. Not *Chrysostom*, on the same Subject.

13 Not *Cyrill* of *Alexandria*, though he cites the Verses *before* and *after*, to prove the Deity of the Spirit; *Thesauri Assert.* 34.

14. Not the *Author of the Exposition of the Faith*, among *Justin Martyr*'s Works; who endeavours to prove the *Father*, *Son*, and *Spirit* to be of one Essence, from their being joined together in *Mat.* xxviii. 19. but not from *this Text*, more directly for his Purpose.

15. Not *Cæsarius*.

16. Not *Proclus*, though both of them upon a Subject that gave Occasion.

17. Not the *Nicene* Fathers themselves, according to *Gelasius*; for *Leontius* Bishop of *Cappadocia* answering, in their Name, the Arguments of a certain Philosopher, who opposed the Deity of the Holy Spirit, among other Texts insisted on the Words immediately preceding, *viz. It is the Spirit that witnesseth, because the Spirit is Truth*: but omits *this* Verse.

Here let me add what *Du-Pin* observes, That as no *Greek* Father, for *five hundred Years*, quoted this Passage, so two of them, *viz. Didymus* of *Alexandria* in the 4th Century, and *Oecumenius* in the 11th, have written Commentaries upon *this* Epistle of St. *John*, and yet mention not *this Verse*; *which*, says he, *proves that either they did not know it, or not believe it to be genuine* *.

* Hist. of the Canon, Vol. 2. p. 78.

Thus

Thus far then the Way is clear through the antient *Greek* Writers for ſo many hundred Years; even to *an Age or two after* Athanaſius, as the Doctor confeſſes *.

2*dly*, For the *Latin* Fathers; the Doctor grants, that neither the *Author of the Treatiſe of the Baptiſm of Hereticks*, among *Cyprian*'s Works (though he mentions the *Verſes* both before and after) nor *Novatian*, nor *Hilarius*, nor *Calaritanus*, nor *Phæbadius*, have ever cited *theſe* Words. Nor *Ambroſe*, who alſo has the *Verſes* on both Sides; nor *Jerom*, nor *Fauſtinus*, nor *Auſtin*, who yet would have the *Father*, *Son*, and *Spirit*, to be myſtically ſignified by the *Spirit*, the *Water*, and the *Blood*, in the *next* Verſe. Nor *Eucherius*, who has the ſame Notes on the next Verſe; nor *Leo Magnus*, nor *Facundus Hermienſis*, who alſo cites the *eighth* Verſe. Nor *Junilius*, nor *Cerealis*, nor *Bede* (in the eighth Century) who, in his Comment on *this Epiſtle*, expounds the *three* other *Witneſſes*, but not this *ſeventh Verſe*.

Though ſoon after his time, the Doctor ſays, *the Weſtern Bibles began to have it common*; which I ſhall not much diſpute.

The Reader muſt *note*, that all theſe antient Writers are here produced, not merely for not mentioning *theſe Words* (for then a much greater Number might have been brought) but becauſe they treated profeſſedly of ſuch Subjects as required the Aſſiſtance of *this Text*, and many of them of the *Context*, and *next* Verſes. And therefore, though others might omit it, as not having Occaſion to alledge it, yet *all theſe* could never have omitted it on any other Reaſon but this, That they had it not in their *Bibles* (as the Doctor juſtly argues) for *above 700 Years*.

Now, methinks, here is a pretty large Stock of Evidence, and as much as one can well require for a Negative, to ſhew that *this Verſe* was not *originally* any Part of the New Teſtament: and one had need have very direct and peremptory Teſtimonies to the contrary, to make him ſo much as to heſitate in the Matter. There muſt be great Weight, to cauſe an *Æquilibrium*, and much greater to turn the Scales, and make him determine for what ſeems hitherto irrecoverably loſt. But I forbear, till I have conſidered,

II. What Dr. *Mills* has offered for *ſuperior* Evidence on the other Side, to prove *this Verſe* genuine, againſt all that has been ſaid.

And now he has a *hard Taſk* indeed, to undo all that had hitherto been done, and to prove *this Text* authentick, againſt all theſe Manuſcript *Greek Copies*, all the *old Verſions*, all the before-mentioned *primitive Writers*, both *Greeks* and *Latins*, down to the eighth Century, who, all that while, knew nothing of it.

No doubt it would be a grateful Service to the Church, of which he was a worthy Member, if he could juſtify her putting it into her *Bible* as current

* Quinimo nullum omnino Codicem Græcis Eccleſiis in uſu fuiſſe credo, niſi qui ad mutilatos quos dicimus, deſcriptus ſit, pene ab ipſius Archetypi Scriptura uſque ad ſeculum unum vel alterum poſt Athanaſium.

Scripture, (though that has been but of late) and could ſupport the Credit of a *Text*, on which, principally, ſome important Branches of her *Creed* and *publick Offices* ſeem to be founded. Here is a great deal to excite one to try what can be ſaid, by a kind Friend, in the Caſe, who was unwilling to leave the Matter fairly ſtated on both Sides, without giving it the Weight of his own Judgment on *one Side*, which, no doubt, had otherwiſe been thought to be for the *contrary*. 'Tis well known how many are apt to regard a Learned Author's own Opinion, more than to examine his Premiſes, or weigh his Arguments. But what has he to ſay in *this* Cauſe?

In the *firſt* place, I muſt ſhew what *Arguments* he refuſes to make uſe of; eſpecially *two*, which have been often urged by others, through Miſtake, or want of Judgment, or popular Prejudice. As,

1. That the *Arians have raſed this Text* out of the Bible, becauſe it thwarted their Opinion. This paſſes for current among the People, and is taught them by their Expoſitors, even by Dr. *Hammond*, and many other leſs judicious Commentators. But the Learned Dr. *Mills* rejects the Suſpicion of this with Indignation and Scorn: For *how ſhould the* Arians, ſays he, *put out the Words which were out already*, 150 *Years before* Arius *was born**? And he ſays, that *Ambroſe*, *who*, *alone of the Antients*, *objected this*, *in relation to another Text*, John iii. 6. (not the Text in diſpute) *was under a Miſtake*; as he ſhews in his Notes on that Place.

Nor will the Doctor ſuſpect any of the *Gnoſtick* Hereticks in former Times; whom their Oppoſers accuſed indeed of making *new* Goſpels, but not of corrupting the *old*: Only *Marcion* was charged with interpolating the Goſpels and St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, but not the *Catholick Epiſtles*. Nor could they corrupt the Copies in *other* Chriſtians Hands, nor yet thoſe in their *own*, without being ſoon diſcovered. Thus the Doctor clears the Hereticks, as being without juſt Cauſe ſuſpected in this Matter: *I don't think any Heretick corrupted the Text in any Part, much leſs in this famous Teſtimony of St.* John †.

2. He utterly rejects the Authority of the Preface to the Canonical Epiſtles, under the Name of St. *Jerom*, in the firſt printed *Latin* Bibles; which pretends that all the *Greek* Copies had *this Verſe*, and that the *Latin* Tranſlators had done unfaithfully in omitting it. And though even the *Latin* Bibles which had this Preface, wanted this Verſe, after the Complaint made, (which ſhewed that the Preface and the Verſion were not by the ſame Author) yet this gave great Trouble to *Eraſmus*, and others, how to reconcile this to the plain Evidences of the contrary: *He* was well aſſured the *Verſe* had not been in the *Greek* Copies, and therefore charges *Jerom* with Falſhood and Forgery. And the Learned Biſhop *Fell* was at the needleſs Pains of vindicating St. *Jerom*, and juſtifying his Preface, *in his Notes on* Cyprian; when, after all, our

* Quid enim illis cum hac Pericope, ſublata è contextu Græco 150 annis antequam Arius naſceretur?

† Non puto quenquam hæreticorum S. Textum in aliquo, nedum in hoc nobiliſſimo Johannis teſtimonio, depravaſſe.

our Learned Doctor, who acknowledges that himself once had a great Regard for this *Preface*, before he had examined into it, is fully convinced (with F. *Simon* and *Du Pin*) that 'tis not St. *Jerom*'s, nor is it found in the most antient Manuscript Copies of his Version; nor with *his* Name, in some other Copies where it is, as F. *Simon* tells us, *Crit. Hist. c.* 18. but is the Work of some *silly Rhapsodist* after *Bede*'s time, as the Doctor says, and then joined to the *Bible*, which contradicted the *Preface*.

So that the Learned will no more be troubled with this pretended Authority of St. *Jerom*'s Preface, nor get any Aid from it, towards the Support of the Credit of *this Verse* we are inquiring after.

I am next to consider what Authorities the Doctor *does* insist on, on behalf of *this Text*.

As for Testimonies from the antient *Greek* Writers, he had left himself very little to say from them, having confessed there is not one of these, before the Council of *Nice*, who takes any Notice of this *Text*. And therefore, though he puts down *Scriptores Græci* for one of his *Topicks*, he is hard put to it to find any, and is content to mention only *one* oblique Testimony, which he would have pass for *probable*, from a spurious Work falsely ascribed to, but long after *Athanasius* *. And he is suspected to be a *Latin* Author too; who only says, Ἰωάννης φάσκει οἱ τρεῖς τὸ ἕν εἰσιν. John *says these Three are One*. Which τὸ ἕν, with the *Article*, are neither exactly the Words of the seventh nor eighth *Verse*: and F. *Simon* judges they refer to the *latter*, which was usually applied to the *Father*, *Son*, and *Spirit* at that time; as Dr. *Mills* owns it was in St. *Austin*'s. Hence he leaps at once down to the Council of *Lateran* under *Innocent* III. in the 13th Century; and to *Calecas* in the 14th, who was a *Greek*, and turned to the *Latins*. All which is to no Purpose at all, but to increase the Number of Testimonies.

The *Greek* Manuscripts he pretends (which will be found only supposed) are, 1. A Manuscript in *Britain* of which *Erasmus* speaks, and by which he was moved (against his own *free* Judgment) to put *these Words* into his last Editions of the New Testament, against the Evidence of all the other Manuscript *Greek* Copies. 2. Some Manuscripts which the Doctor supposes *Robert Stephens* to mention, as having most of the Words; all, except ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, *in Heaven*. 3. The antient *Vatican* Copies, which the Editors of the *Complutensian* Bible say, in general, they were directed by, and the Doctor hopes they were so in *this* particular, which they have taken into this Edition.

I think it will appear that all these are but Suppositions of such Copies as never were seen, nor produced by any others to this Day. To all which, Dr. *Clarke*, in his *Reply to Mr.* Nelson, p. 207. has given a learned and full Answer, except to *Stephens*'s Manuscripts, where he seems to have mistaken the Objection; of which hereafter.

* Auctor Disputationis in Concil. Niceno.

As to the *Verſions*, Dr. *Mills* had none very antient to bring. The *Vulgar*, of which *ſome* Manuſcripts have it, and *others* want it, as is noted by the *Louvain* Editors; the *Italick*, printed at *Venice* in 1532. (while the old *Italick*, and St. *Jerom*'s Correction of it was otherwiſe) are not worth regarding in this Matter: nor the *Apoſtolos*, or Collection of Sections out of the *Apoſtles* Books, with ſome Remarks, printed at *Venice* 1602. Only, whereas the Doctor mentions the *Armenian* Verſion for having this *Verſe*, as he was informed; the very Learned *Sandius* teſtifies the contrary, having himſelf ſeen it, with the *Armenian* Biſhop, at *Amſterdam*, *Append. Paradox.* p. 376.

Laſtly, The Doctor produces his *Latin* Fathers, which are, indeed, his main Strength and *Confidence*.

1. *Tertullian*, *contra Prax.* c. 25. his Words are: *The Paraclete ſhall take of mine, ſays Chriſt, as he did of the Father's. Thus the Connexion of the Father in the Son, and of the Son in the Paraclete, makes the Three cloſely united, which Three are One, but not one Perſon; as 'tis ſaid, I and my Father are One* *. Which the Doctor thinks, with Biſhop *Bull* and Dr. *Hammond*, are an Alluſion to our Text in diſpute.

2. *Cyprian*, *de Unitate Eccleſiæ*, his Words are: *'Tis written of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, theſe Three are One* †; or, *Three are One*, as ſome Copies have it: And, in his Epiſtle *ad Jubaianum*, *Tres Unum ſunt*, *Three are One*; without any Reference to the Scripture expreſſed. And near 300 Years after, comes *Fulgentius*, a Biſhop of *Africa*, and ſays that *Cyprian* in the former Words, had reſpect to St. *John*'s Teſtimony.

3. *Victor Vitenſis*, who tells us of a Confeſſion of Faith preſented by *Eugenius* Biſhop of *Carthage*, and other Biſhops, to *Hunnerick* King of the *Vandals*; in which *this Text* is cited as from St. *John*, in the manner we now have it, in the Year 484.

4. *Vigilius Tapſenſis*, *Fulgentius*, and the Author of the *Explication of the Faith*, *ad Cyrillum*.

And thus you have the Whole of what muſt over-balance all the Evidence on the other Side; which, whether it will do or not, is to be conſidered under my next *Head*. Therefore,

III. I ſhall ſhew the Inſufficiency of *theſe* Arguments brought to ſupport the Authority of this *Text*, againſt *thoſe* produced to overthrow it.

I ſuppoſe no Man of Reaſon will deſire me to give any Anſwer to what the Doctor could lay no Streſs upon: I mean, ſuch modern Teſtimonies as *Calecas* and the Council of *Lateran*, our late Editions and *Verſions*, or the vulgar *Latin* Bibles ſince *Bede*'s time. Therefore I ſhall ſay no more to them; nor indeed to *Vigilius Tapſenſis* and *Victor Vitenſis*, nor to any Writer ſo long after the Heats between the *Arians* and *Athanaſians*, and when the Invaſions of the barbarous

* De meo ſumet, inquit, ſicut ipſe de Patris, ita connexus Patris in Filio, & Filii in Paracleto, tres efficit cohærentes, alrerum ex altero. Qui tres unum ſunt, non unus; quomodo dictum eſt, ego & Pater unum ſumus.

† De Patre, Filio, & Spiritu Sancto ſcriptum eſt; & hi Tres unum ſunt.

barous Nations had thrown all into Confuſion and Ignorance. Such modern Teſtimonies will only tell me, that *theſe Words* did at laſt appear. All this I know well enough; for I ſee they are brought into the *Latin* Verſions, and ſince that into our *printed Greek* Copies; and into our *Engliſh* Tranſlations, firſt in *little Characters* for Diſtinction, and next with as good a *Face* as the reſt of the *Text*. And if this began to be done in the fifth, or ſixth, or ſeventh Century, what is that, any more than if it was in the fifteenth or ſixteenth? But if the *Words* were not in St *John*'s Epiſtle for ſo many hundred Years, nor known to the Chriſtian Church as ſuch, I ſhall conclude, that no Man can give a good Reaſon for admitting them ſince.

And a thouſand ſmooth Suppoſitions (which are, in like Caſes, found to be falſe by daily Experience) that ſuch and ſuch a Writer would not, in later times, have uſed *the Words*, or put them into the Bible, if he had not good Evidence they were in the Original; are of no Force againſt all the *Greek* Manuſcripts and Fathers, which plainly ſhew they certainly were not *there*. If upon the whole Matter there can be found not one *Greek* Manuſcript, or one *Greek* Writer, who mentions it for a thouſand Years; nor one *Latin* Writer to the fifth Century (if St. *Cyprian* be not the Man, which ſhall be inquired into) what ſignifies all the reſt? Men may be fond of a ſpurious Iſſue, but that will not legitimate it.

Only with relation to *Victor Vitenſis*, becauſe the Doctor lays ſuch a Streſs upon it, as if the urging *theſe Words*, in a Confeſſion of Faith, ſo publickly preſented to *Hunnericus*, in Midſt of the *Arians*, in the Year 484. was a good Proof that *they* had been well known and received; at leaſt, *ante unum Seculum aut alterum*, *an Age or two before*; and ſo will carry the Evidence much higher than the Year 484. Therefore I ſhall take ſome notice of this, and ſhew that in fact it was not thus, as he plauſibly imagines.

What the Credit of *Victor*'s Hiſtory, as we have it, is, I cannot well tell. I know it has found little with many, in his relation of ſtrange Miracles, not unlike thoſe of *Monkiſh*-Legends, *viz.* of many who could ſpeak freely and articulately, when their Tongues had been cut out by the Roots; and ſending his Reader to *Conſtantinople* for an Inſtance to prove it: with other Miracles. But let that be as it will, I take it for granted, that he ſays true, in the Matter before us; that in the Creed preſented to *Hunnericus*, this *Text* was cited as from St. *John*. But that it had not been commonly and long received, and well known as ſuch, I think, is plain by what the Doctor could not deny, *viz.* That St. *Auguſtine*, *Eucherius*, and *Cerealis*, all of the ſame Country, and in the ſame Age, knew nothing of *this Text*. *Eucherius* lived within thirty Years of the Time when this Creed was preſented; and the Doctor tells us, he ſays it was common in his Time to interpret the *Spirit*, the *Water*, and the *Blood*, of the *Father*, *Word*, and *Spirit*; as did *Auſtin*. Now if *this Text* had been received *then*, what place had there been for ſuch a myſtical Interpretation of the *three Witneſſes* on Earth? Nay, *Cerealis* was one of the *African* Biſhops at the ſame Time, probably; for he flouriſh'd in the Time of the Perſecution under *Hunnericus*; and who drew up a Confeſſion of Faith alſo, at the Demand of the *Arian* Biſhop *Maximinian*; and had the ſame Reaſon to have made uſe of

this

this Text, as *Eugenius*, if it had been current, as the Doctor insinuates. Where then is the *Seculum unum aut alterum, the Age or two before*, in which *this Text had been admitted?* I rather think it must have been some private Composure, tho' it might be in the Name of the other Bishops, who were now scattered and banished. It is signed only * *à Gasis Medianis Episcopis Numidiæ*; *Bonifacio Foratianensi, & Bonifacio Gatienensi, Episcopis Vizacenis.* So that it carries the Evidence no higher, than to *that Time*, and that at the *latter end* of the *fifth Century* some pretended *this* for *Text*, which had been only an *Interpretation.*

There remain then only *two* Things of Weight to be clear'd:

First The pretended *Greek* Manuscripts.

Secondly, The Testimonies of *Tertullian*, but chiefly of St. *Cyprian.*

First, His *Greek* Manuscripts pretended: These are of three sorts.

(1.) The *British* Copy which *Erasmus* speaks of; who not finding one *Greek* Copy which had this Passage, would not put it into his two first Editions of the New Testament: But upon Information of a Copy in *England* which had it, did, against the *Faith* of all his Copies, afterwards insert it; † rather, as he confesses, to avoid the Reproach of others, than that he judg'd it to be of sufficient Authority. For which F. *Simon* thus rebukes him: ‖ *With what Warrant cou'd he correct his Edition by one single Copy; which, as himself believ'd, had suffer'd some Alteration?*

And it appears he had Reason to suspect it: For who ever saw this *British* Copy since, or that would produce it? Dr. *Mills* does not tell us where it was, or that ever he heard more of it. Such rare Discoveries, so useful and grateful to the Publick, are not wont to be lost again, in so critical an Age. What! cannot all the Learned Men of our two Universities, nor our numerous Clergy, give us some account of it? Surely either there was no such Copy, or it is not for the Purpose: Else it had probably, long before this Time, been produc'd. I am apt to think it did the best Service it ever could do, in the Cause, in thus imposing upon the Great *Erasmus.* Strange! that a *British* Copy is only to be mentioned by one beyond the Seas, while all *Britain*, and such an inquisitive *British* Critick as Dr. *Mills*, can know nothing more of it. Foreigners will expect to hear of it from us, rather than we from them. F. *Simon* says *Erasmus* saw it: but where does *Erasmus* say so? He only says (in his *Annotations) There is found one* Greek *Manuscript among the* English, *which hath it.* † He needed not then have said, *Suspicor, &c.* he could, I think, have made a clearer Judgment of it, if he had seen it. And if he was abus'd by *Misinformation* or otherwise, 'tis hard first to deceive him, and then to make his Mistake an Authority in the Case.

(2.) The

* Biblioth. Patrum.

† Ex hoc Codice Anglicano repositimus, quod in nostris dicebatur deesse, ne sit causa calumniandi, tametsi suspicor Codicem illum ad nostros esse correctum.

‖ Crit. Hist. c. 18.

† Repertus est apud Anglos Græcus Codex unus, in quo habetur.

(2.) The Doctor depends on the Manuſcript Copies, by which he ſuppoſes the *Complutenſian* Edition was regulated; becauſe *theſe Words* are there, and the Editors ſay, in general, they followed the beſt and moſt antient Manuſcripts of the *Vatican*.

But, as they don't ſay, that they were directed by *thoſe* Manuſcripts in putting in this Verſe, ſo it appears they were not; becauſe, by the Doctor's own Confeſſion, the *moſt antient and moſt correct Copy* of the *Vatican*, which is ſo juſtly extoll'd by him, (and comes, at leaſt, very near to the famous *Alexandrian Manuſcripts* in the *Royal* Library here) *wants* theſe Words which *thoſe Editors* have put in: And how then did they follow *it* ſo cloſely as is pretended. Nay, this excellent *Manuſcript* was that which Pope *Leo* recommended to them, as the Ground-work and Standard of their Edition, to *which* they were to keep, and to note the Variations of *other* Copies in their Margin, and which for the moſt part they did; and yet in this they forſook it. * And 'tis no wonder, if they did ſo by the *reſt of the Vatican Manuſcripts*, as appears.

For *Caryophilus* afterwards, having by Order of Pope *Urban* VIII. examined theſe *Vatican Manuſcripts*, tells us plainly, that all of them which have *this Epiſtle* of St. *John*, want this *ſeventh Verſe*: tho', out of reſpect to St. *Cyprian*, he was for keeping it in †. Of which, Dr. *Clarke* has given an Account, in the Place already refer'd to; together with an Account of *ſixteen Manuſcripts* (*eight* of them in the King of *Spain*'s Library) collated by the *Spaniſh* Marquis, *Peter Faxard* (as F. *Simon* names him) and publiſh'd by *La Cerda*, in his *Adverſaria Sacra*, c. 19. from all which Manuſcripts nothing is alledg'd to juſtify their *vulgar Verſion*, in keeping *this Verſe*. How then could Dr. *Mills* preſume ſo ſtrongly that the *Complutenſian Editors* kept to their *Manuſcripts* here? ‖ F. *Simon* ſaw the contrary, and ſays they follow'd the Reading of the *Latin* Copies here; and to vindicate it, have inſerted a Note from *Aquinas*, in the Margin.

(3.) He pretends the *ſeven Manuſcripts of* Robert Stephens, to warrant *the Words* to be genuine. *Stephens* tells us he made uſe of *fifteen* Manuſcripts in his Edition of the *New Teſtament*, only *ſeven* of which he has ſet down in the Margin, as wanting ſome, at leaſt, of *the Words* in diſpute: hence it was concluded formerly, even by Dr. *Mills* himſelf, as well as others, that the other *eight* wanted nothing, but had the Whole, as we have it. To this, the Doctor's *remarkable* Words cited from his *Prolegomena*, by Dr. *Clarke*, are a compleat Anſwer; ſhewing that thoſe *eight Manuſcripts* did not include *this Epiſtle of St. John*, at all; and ſo were of no Concern here. But Dr. *Mills* was ſenſible of this, in his *Diſſertation* on the *Text*, where he ſays of theſe eight Manuſcripts, *Reliqui has Epiſtolas non exhibent*. And therefore he urges but the *other ſeven*, which are noted as wanting only ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, *in Heaven*, and authorizing the reſt; *The Father, the Word, and the Spirit; and theſe Three are One.*

But as Dr. *Mills* was too judicious not to ſee through this Miſtake, in placing a *little Mark*; ſo he fairly owns his Doubt about it, in his *Notes* on the Verſe:

* Proleg. *p.* 108. † Ad finem Catenæ in Marcum. ‖ Crit. Hiſt. *par.* 2. *c.* 9.

Verſe: *If indeed the little Hook be placed aright* *. For this depends wholly upon placing the *Semicircle*, which marks the Words that are wanting in ſuch *Manuſcripts*, as are noted in the *inward* Margin. In *Stephens*'s fair *Folio Edition*, this Mark or *ſmall Hook* falls after the Words ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ; as if theſe only were wanting: whereas it ſhould have been placed after the *whole Verſe*, as F. *Simon* obſerves (or rather after the Words *in Earth*, in the *eighth Verſe*: which, the Doctor owns in his *Notes*, was the Caſe of the *moſt* and *beſt* Copies; and *Simon* intimates the ſame in his Remarks upon the *Louvain Latin Bible* by *Hentenius*, which had the like Error.) And I wonder the Doctor ſhould ſay upon it, *Neſcio qua autoritate, neque dicit ſe iſtos libros conſuluiſſe*; or that *he* had not conſulted the Copies, when he expreſly ſaid, ‖ *he had conſulted the Manuſcripts of the King's Library*: And I think it was there *Stephens* found his †. It appears by Dr. *Mills*'s Account in his *Prolegomena*, that *four* of theſe *ſeven* Manuſcripts were in the *French King's Library*; and ſince F. *Simon* cou'd find none there, that wanted *only* the Words *in Heaven*, nor any one elſe pretends to find ſuch elſewhere, I may ſafely conclude 'twas a Miſtake in placing the Mark in *Stephens*, which the Doctor was willing to take hold of. And the ſame *Stephens*, in his *Latin* Edition of the New Teſtament, (as F. *Simon* tells us, *Crit. Hiſt. part* 2. *c.* 11. and as I have ſeen) included the *whole Paſſage* within the Mark. So that I think the Caſe is plain, that all *Stephens*'s Manuſcripts wanted *this Verſe*.

'Tis probable *he* put it into his own Edition, from the *Complutenſian*, and we from *his* into *ours*; (ſo one Error begets another, by preſuming too well of the Care and Faithfulneſs of ſuch as went before) for the Doctor tells us, *Stephens* govern'd himſelf by the *beſt* Manuſcripts: but then he ſays, ††*He always judged thoſe to be beſt which agreed with the* Complutenſian. Elſe it would be very ſtrange, that all *Stephens*'s Manuſcripts ſhould differ from all of them of *Eraſmus* and *Simon* and *others*; as they muſt if only ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ were wanting.

And whereas the Doctor lays a Streſs on *Stephens*'s ſaying *he departed not one Letter from the beſt and moſt of his Copies* ‖‖‖; I would aſk then, how he came to put in the ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, *in Heaven*, when every one of his *ſeven* Manuſcripts wanted them? 'Tis plain *Criticks* are not always to be truſted in what they ſay of their own Fidelity: The Doctor was right, in inferring that it *ought* to have been as he ſaid, but 'tis plain in Fact it *was* not ſo.

Thus having examin'd all his Pretences to the *Greek Manuſcripts*, I think it fully appears there is not ſo much as *one* found to authorize *this* Paſſage, nor one ancient *Verſion*, made from the *Greek*; and for others, they are not of Value in the Caſe. Indeed the Doctor has dealt more fairly than our common unaccurate *Commentators*; who, without any Examination, talk roundly of *many*

* Si quidem Semicirculus ſuo loco ſit collocatus; *which* Lucas Brugenſis *had ſaid before.*
‖ Crit. Hiſt. *par.* 2. *c.* 9.
† Regia Bibliotheca ſuppeditavit, *Proleg. p.* 117.
†† Proleg. *p.* 117.
‖‖‖ Ne in una litera diſceſſerit à meliorum & plurium codicum ſuffragio.

many, the moſt antient and the beſt Copies, which have *theſe* Words, not knowing what they ſay: whereas he pretends but to *few*, and rather ſuppoſes and hopes, from ſome Hints in others, that they had ſuch Copies, than knows of any himſelf.

Let me cloſe *this Head* with the very pertinent Remark of the moſt learned *Phileleutherus*, *Part* 1. againſt the *Diſcourſe of Free-thinking*: *The preſent Text was firſt ſettled almoſt* 200 *Years ago, out of ſeveral Manuſcripts, by* Robert Stephens, *Printer and Bookſeller at* Paris; *whoſe beautiful and generally ſpeaking* (it ſeems, not in all Points) *accurate Edition, has been ever ſince counted the Standard, and follow'd by all the reſt. Now this ſpecifick* Text *in your Doctor's* (Whitby's) *Notion, ſeems taken for the Sacred Original* in every Word and Syllable; *and if the Conceit is but ſpread and propagated, within a few Years that Printer's Infallibility will be as zealouſly maintained, as an Evangeliſt's or Apoſtle's.*

Dr. Mills, *were he now alive, would confeſs that this* Text, *fixed by a Printer, is ſometimes by the various Readings render'd uncertain, nay, is prov'd certainly wrong; but that the real Text lies not in any ſingle Manuſcript or Edition, but is diſperſed in them all.*

I now come to the *Second Head* of his Arguments, *viz.* from ancient *Teſtimonies* of the *Latin* Writers, *Tertullian* and *Cyprian*.

As for *Tertullian*, in the Words already ſet down, *he* had only ſaid, ſpeaking of the *Father*, *Son*, *and Spirit*, *theſe Three are One*; and *'tis written, the Father and I are One*. But the *former* of theſe he ſays from *himſelf*, not as any part of *Scripture*, as he ſays the *next* Words are. And indeed he needed not have cited theſe *latter* Words at all, if the *former* had been of the ſame Authority; for *they* had been ſufficient, whereas the *latter* Words were not to his Purpoſe for proving the *Holy Spirit*'s Unity with the *Father* and *Son*. Only not having a *Text* for the Unity of all the *Three*, he was willing to alledge *theſe* Words for the *Two* as a Step to the other.

Nor can it be thought, but that in ſo voluminous a Writer we muſt have had *that Text* many times over, on ſeveral proper Occaſions, if he had known it *as ſuch*. *He* repeats *John* x. 30. *I and the Father are One*, very frequently, even *five* Times in a few Pages in *his Book contra Praxeam*, and again *contra Hermog.* and *de Oratione*. Whereas *this pretended Text*, ſo much more for his Purpoſe, he omits: which could hardly have been, if he had taken it to be of as good Authority as the *other Text*. And therefore Dr. *Mills* had reaſon to urge it but ſoftly, ſaying Dr. *Bull* and Dr. *Hammond putant ſe alluſiſſe, ſuppoſe that he might allude to the Words of St.* John: which is but a Conjecture, inſtead of a Proof.

So that St. *Cyprian* is left *alone* to bear the Weight of all. And indeed 'tis eaſy to ſee, the Doctor's chief Confidence is in *his* Teſtimony, (with a little Help from *Tertullian*, whom he owns to be not ſo clear) inſomuch that he ſays, *This is Evidence enough of the Words being authentick, tho' none of the* Greek *Writers ever ſaw them, and tho' they never appear'd in any Copy to this Day.* It ſeems then 'tis to no purpoſe to withſtand *this* Evidence; or rather it ſeems,

having nothing elſe to truſt to, the Doctor was reſolv'd *this muſt* and ſhall do the Buſineſs.

Cyprian's Words are, * *Of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, it is written, Theſe Three are One*; (the other Teſtimony, in *Epiſt. ad Jubaianum*, is but like *Tertullian*'s *ſuppoſed Alluſion* to the Text, and may have the ſame Anſwer.) Upon *theſe* Words the Queſtion is, Whether *Cyprian* refers to the *ſeventh Verſe* in diſpute, or to the *eighth*, by a myſtical Interpretation of the *Water*, the *Blood*, and the *Spirit*, as ſignifying the *Father*, the *Son*, and the *Spirit?* Father *Simon* † is out of doubt for this latter, and brings a ſtrong Proof of it from the Words of *Facundus*, who was of the ſame *African Church*, in the *fifth Century*; and who not only *himſelf* ſo interprets Words of the *eighth Verſe*, but expreſly adds, that St. *Cyprian* ſo underſtood them too, in *this* very Place. Says he, ‡ *Of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, he* (St. *John*) *ſays there are Three that bear witneſs on Earth, the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood*; *and theſe Three are One: by the Spirit ſignifying the Father, by the Water the Holy Ghoſt, and by the Blood the Son. Which Words of* John *the Apoſtle, St.* Cyprian *the Martyr, in his Book of the Trinity, (Unity* it ſhould be, as *Simon* obſerves) *conceives to be ſpoken of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.* And tho' Dr. *Mills* would make light of this Teſtimony, 'tis without all Reaſon, and from mere Neceſſity: ſince *this* will overturn all he had to ſay from the *Latin Fathers.*

What *Facundus* ſays, is ſo far from being improbable, that the Doctor himſelf owns St. *Auſtin*, who was of the ſame *African Church*, did make the ſame Interpretation afterwards; and after him *Eucherius* declares it was a common Expoſition of *thoſe* Words: And then why might it not be *Cyprian*'s? Does not *Facundus* expreſly ſay it? Does he tell an unlikely Story? Why is it then *levis momenti?* Truly the Doctor thinks none, till St. *Auſtin*, made *this* myſtical Interpretation, and therefore not St. *Cyprian.* But why might not *Cyprian* begin it as well as *Auſtin? Facundus* tells us he did interpret ſo, and it does not appear that he had any *other* ſuch Words to apply to the Trinity, but *theſe.* Is it not as good an Argument againſt the Doctor, to ſay that *Cyprian* did not cite the *ſeventh Verſe* in diſpute, becauſe *that Verſe* never appear'd in any Writer till the *fifth Century*, as *his* is, *viz.* That *Cyprian* did not ſo interpret, becauſe *that* Interpretation appears not till the *fifth Century?* Only I can prove my Aſſertion by a proper poſitive Teſtimony, that *Cyprian* did uſe *this* Interpretation; whereas he had *none* to prove that St. *Cyprian* met with a *ſpecial Copy* of St. *John*'s *Epiſtle*, which had *that Verſe.*

'Tis

* De Unitate Eccleſiæ. † Crit. Hiſt. *c.* 18.

‡ De Patre, Filio, & Spiritu Sancto, dicit tres ſunt qui teſtimonium dant in terra, Spiritus, Aqua, & Sanguis, & hi tres unum ſunt; in Spiritu ſignificans Patrem, in Aqua Spiritum Sanctum, in Sanguine verò Filium ſignificans ——— Quod Joannis Apoſtoli Teſtimonium *beatus Cyprianus* in Epiſtola ſive Libro quem de Trinitate (de Unitate *rather*) ſcripſit, de Patre, Filio, & Spiritu Sancto, dictum intelligit. *Facundus pro Defenſ. Tri. Cap.* l. 1. c. 3.

'Tis true indeed, *he* alledges for the other ſide *Fulgentius*, Contemporary with *Facundus*, ſaying, ‖ *St.* John *teſtifies there are Three which bear witneſs in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and Spirit; and theſe Three are One: which alſo St.* Cyprian *in his Epiſtle of the Unity of the Church, confeſſes; alledging from the Scriptures, that of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, 'tis written, And Three are One.* But as *Facundus* is as good an Evidence as *he*, and more particular, ſo even *this* does not contradict *Facundus*. For *Fulgentius* and *he* both ſay the ſame Thing, *viz.* That *Cyprian confeſſed St.* John's *Teſtimony of the Father, Son, and Spirit, theſe Three are One.* Only *Facundus* tells us, that he took this Teſtimony from the *eighth Verſe*, and *Fulgentius* does not ſay it was *otherwiſe*; and therefore there is no reaſon to oppoſe *him* to *Facundus*. *Cyprian* might own the ſame Thing as is now contained in the *ſeventh Verſe*, tho' he deduc'd it from the *eighth:* He that ſuppos'd the *Spirit*, the *Water*, and the *Blood*, in St. *John*, to mean the *Father*, the *Son*, and the *Spirit*, as much *confeſſed* this Doctrine, and from St. *John* too; as if he had found the very Words *Father*, *Son*, and *Spirit*, in the *Text*. And this is all which *Fulgentius* himſelf ſays of him. Neither of *them* ſays that *Cyprian* found in St. *John*, the *Father*, *Son*, and *Spirit*, beſides the *three* Witneſſes in the *eighth Verſe*. No, it was *there* he thought he might find the *Father*, *Son*, and *Spirit*, myſtically repreſented. And I obſerve *two* Things to confirm it.

1. *Fulgentius* ſpeaks of it as a remarkable *Conceſſion* in St. *Cyprian*, *Quod etiam B. Cyprianus confitetur, which alſo St.* Cyprian *confeſſes. Confeſſes* what? That St. *John* had thoſe Words, the *Father*, *Word* and *Spirit*, and *theſe Three are One?* Was that ſuch an Acknowledgment, if he found it in his *Epiſtle?* No, but he acknowledged the *Father*, *Son*, and *Spirit* to be *One*, out of St. *John*, by a myſtical Interpretation of the *Spirit*, the *Water*, and the *Blood*, *which are One*. This indeed was ſomewhat far-fetch'd, and not ſo clear a Point, but *Cyprian*'s *confeſſing* it might give it ſome Credit: but it could give none to an undoubted *Text* of St. *John*, to ſay *Cyprian* acknowledg'd it to be true. I will not ſay the Doctor had any Deſign in it, but I find in reciting *the Words*, he has happen'd to change the *confitetur* into the more convenient Word, *conteſtatur*.

2. I obſerve *Cyprian*'s *Words* are not the exact Words pretended to be found in St. *John*: for *Cyprian* ſays, *Father*, *Son*, (not the *Word*) and *Spirit*. Now tho' the *ſame* Perſon may be intended by *both* Words; yet 'tis plain there cou'd be but *one* of them in the *Text*. And therefore if our preſent *printed Text* be right, *Cyprian* had no *ſuch* Copy, or elſe he did not keep ſtrictly to it: And if he did not cite the Words *exactly*, only the *Senſe* of them as an Interpreter; then in ſuch a looſe way of ſpeaking it might well be, as *Facundus* ſays it was, *viz.*

‖ *Fulg. cont. Arianos, ſub finem.* Beatus Joannes teſtatur dicens, Tres ſunt qui teſtimonium perhibent in cœlo, Pater, Verbum, & Spiritus; & tres unum ſunt. Quod etiam B. M. Cyprianus in Epiſtola de Unitate Eccleſiæ confitetur, dicens—— de Patre, Filio, & Spiritu Sancto ſcriptum eſt, & tres unum ſunt.

his Senſe of the *eighth Verſe*. So that the Doctor was too forward in ſaying that *Cyprian could not have cited the Words of St.* John (as we have them) *more exactly, if he had them before his Eyes.*

Let the Interpretation be never ſo *forced*, that is nothing, ſo it was; and there are enough as *ſtrange* Interpretations of *Texts* in the *Fathers*, and in St. *Cyprian* himſelf, to ſatisfy us *this* is no good Evidence it was not *his* *. And why may not *Cyprian* father a weak Interpretation as well as St. *Auſtin?* Nor was it unuſual with *Cyprian* to cite Scripture more by *his Senſe* of it, than by the ſtrict *Letter of the Text*. Thus, inſtead of † *Lead us not into Temptation*, he cites it, *Suffer us not to be led*, &c. Again, he cites ‡‡ *Rev.* xix. 10. *Worſhip thou the Lord Jeſus*, inſtead of *worſhip thou God*. Will any ſay, upon this, that *he* found a particular Copy which had *theſe* Readings? No ſurely, but rather that it was *Cyprian*'s Expoſition of the true Reading in *all* the Copies. Even ſo, I doubt not, his Words, *the Father, the Son, and Spirit, theſe Three are One*, was *his* Senſe of the *eighth Verſe* of St. *John*'s *fifth* Chapter.

I ſhall conclude *this* with Mr. *Du Pin*'s Judgment upon the Caſe ‖: *'Tis not then*, ſays he, *abſolutely certain, that* Cyprian *hath quoted the ſeventh Verſe of St.* John*'s Epiſtle.* And F. *Simon*'s ‡; who ſays 'tis *out of Doubt* that he hath not. Though 'tis probable *this* Miſtake of *Cyprian*'s *Words* led ſome following *African Writers* into the Opinion that St. *John* had ſaid them *expreſly.*

And thus I have *fairly* accounted for St. *Cyprian*'s Words, without the Suppoſition of his having a *ſpecial Copy to himſelf.* And then I think there is not *one* tolerable Pretence left of any *antient* Authority. Now it remains that we ſee how the Doctor accounts for the Difficulties that lie *againſt him*; from *all* the *Greek Copies* and *Fathers* before and after *Cyprian*, who knew nothing of *this Text:* How then had *Cyprian* ſuch a particular Copy above all others? Does the Doctor clear himſelf *as fairly* of this, as we have of his Objection from *Cyprian*'s Words?

He puts very proper Queries here: *If theſe Words were in St.* John*'s Original, how comes it to paſs that for three Ages following, the* Greek *Fathers had it not in their Copies? How came* Cyprian, *an* African, *to know it, when it was unknown to* Irenæus, *who was a very curious Inquirer into all Learning*, (which is *Tertullian*'s Character of him §) *and who converſed with* Polycarp, *the Diſciple of St.* John *himſelf.* But in *Anſwer* to theſe Queries, he is forced to frame many unreaſonable Suppoſitions: he knows not which way *it was*, but he can imagine how poſſibly it *might have been*, and then ſeems to believe it was *ſo.* Let us hear *his own Account.*

If we aſk how came *theſe Words* to be out of *all* the known *Greek Copies?* he anſwers, *by mere Chance, and Careleſneſs of the Tranſcriber, who caſt his Eye upon the Word* μαρτυροῦντες, *or Witneſs, in the eighth Verſe, inſtead of the ſame Word in the ſeventh; and ſo went on, unawares omitting the one* μαρτυροῦντες, or

* See Dr. Whitby's Diſſert. de S. Script. Interpretat.
† Cypr. de Orat. Dom. c. 4. ‡‡ Ibid. de Bono Patientiæ, c. 15.
‖ Hiſt. of the Canon, Vol. ii. p. 78. ‡ Crit. Hiſt. N. T. Part 1. c. 18.
§ Curioſiſſimus omnium doctrinarum explorator, Irenæus. *Tertul. cont. Valent.*

or Witneſs, *and all the Words between them both. And then, by reaſon of Perſecution, Chriſtians were in haſte, and then ſtayed not to reviſe the Tranſcript, nor to compare with one another's Copies, which were but few, becauſe of the Pains and Expences of tranſcribing: And the Original being at a Diſtance from them, when diſperſed, they could not examine by that.*

I grant, Miſtakes of *this kind* have happened to Tranſcribers, where ὁμοιοτέλευτα, Words of the *ſame ending*, or the *ſame* Words have often occurr'd: But that it was not ſo here, is plain, becauſe the Tranſcriber had *then* taken the *next* Words to the *ſecond* μαρτυροῦντες, which are ἐν τῇ γῇ, *in Earth*; whereas the Doctor confeſſes *theſe Words* were wanting alſo. This he was aware of, and therefore *ſuppoſes once more*, that the Words *in Earth* might be in the *firſt Tranſcript*, but that the *next* time it was tranſcribed, or ſoon after, it was thought *thoſe* Words *were ſuperfluous, and ſo were left or daſhed out* *; and *then* Copies were taken by other Churches, and *ſo they ſpread abroad through* Greece, Egypt, *&c.* And this is the Reaſon that the *antient Verſions* and *Writers* knew nothing of *this Text*, becauſe there were none but theſe *maimed Copies* among all the *Greek Churches* †. But, in proceſs of time, *he* thinks, ſome *correct Copies which lay hid in* Aſia (where the *Original* was) *or ſome other Parts*, ſome way or other, *got into Africa*, which *Tertullian* and *Cyprian ſaw: And the Times being troubleſome, few Copies only were taken for the Uſe of the* African *Churches, where they ſeem to have continued*; *and about* 100 *Years after they became common*, elſe the *African Biſhops would not have alledged theſe Words in a Confeſſion of Faith, if they had not been in their common Copies, and in the Body of St.* John's *Epiſtle, more than one or two Centuries.* And *about* 250 *Years after* Cyprian, *the ſpurious Author of the Diſputation, falſely aſcribed to* Athanaſius, perhaps *might meet with a perfect* Greek *Copy*; and then all was ſet right. And ſo we have his Anſwer to *another Queſtion, viz.* How the true Copy at laſt came to light again?

I believe *this* Account will ſatisfy very few: If any Man ſhould trace his Pedigree after this manner, through ſuch a Train of wild *Suppoſitions*, and improbable Imaginations of this and the other *bare Poſſibility*, I fear he would ſtill paſs for a *ſpurious Pretender*. And yet *all this* the Judicious Dr. *Mills* could ſeem to believe, rather than this *one Suppoſition*, which is alſo well *atteſted*, That St. *Cyprian*'s Words were *his* Interpretation of the *eighth Verſe:* For allow but this, and there was no need of racking his Invention, at this Rate. And I'll appeal to Men of Candor, which of the *two* is more probable; that *all theſe Suppoſitions* ſhould happen, or that *Facundus* ſhould ſay true; eſpecially, when theſe few *Remarks* on the Doctor's imaginary Account ſhall be duly conſidered.

1. Why ſhould *he* ſuppoſe, they who were at the Pains or Expence, and had Leiſure of tranſcribing, would not be at a very *little more*, to review and examine their *Tranſcripts?* which is ſo natural and uſual, in Matters of much leſs Moment

* Curato hoc uno, ut verba ἐν τῇ γῇ tanquam *ſuperflua* delerentur.

† Nullum omnino codicem Eccleſiis Græcis in uſu fuiſſe credo, niſi qui ad mutilatos, quos dicimus, deſcriptus ſit.

Moment than what concerns the Intereſts of another Life, which to the *primitive Chriſtians* were very dear. While they had the *Original* in their Hands, it was eaſy to be done. Surely they were not ſo careleſs as the Doctor makes them to be: It appears what Senſe they had in early Times of the Neceſſity of comparing *ſuch Tranſcripts* with the *Originals*, by *Irenæus*; to whoſe Writings this *ſolemn Adjuration* is annexed: *Adjuro te per Dominum Jeſum, ut conferas poſtquam tranſcripſeris*, &c. *I adjure thee who ſhalt tranſcribe this Book, by the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and by his glorious Appearance to judge the Quick and the Dead, that thou compare after thou haſt tranſcribed, and amend it by the Original very carefully.* To which Purpoſe St. *John*'s Words, *Rev.* xxii. 18, 19. are probably to be underſtood, as a Terror to all negligent and deceitful *Tranſcribers of his Books.*

But the *Doctor* pretends the *Perſecution of the Chriſtians*, and their *not daring to aſſemble but in the Night*, might hinder them: *So far were they from having Leiſure to review their Books, that they could not aſſemble but before Day* *. As if *this* hindered them from examining or comparing their Copies *at home*. Muſt they needs do it in a *publick* Aſſembly? Rather, was it not much better to be done in *private?* Therefore the *Doctor* has another Imagination to help it out; and that is, that *Chriſtians* were in ſuch *eager Haſte to catch the ſacred Copies, that they carried them off as they were* †. As if, after ſo much Pains or Expence for a *Copy*, they would not take care to have it *right*. Beſides, if the Deſire was *ſo great*, then we may conclude the Tranſcripts were very *many*, of ſo ſhort an *Epiſtle*. And ſince *all* the Tranſcribers could not make the *ſame Miſtake*, nor many of them, I aſk,

2. Why muſt only *this one defective Copy* be carried away into remote Countries, to become the fruitful Parent of *all* the Copies in the World that we can find; and all the *others* ſtay behind, or never be heard of more? Is this likely? Were not the Poſſeſſors of the *other* Copies (which he ſuppoſes there were) as much perſecuted and ſcattered as the Poſſeſſor of *this one faulty Copy?* And if they brought away *theirs*, ſurely there would have been ſome *more* and *better* Signs of them than what is pretended from *Cyprian.*

3. Had not the *Chriſtians* of that time often heard St. *John*'s *Epiſtle read* to them, before they had *it* tranſcribed, as well as after? *This* was the conſtant Practice of *their* Aſſemblies, to read ſome part of the *Goſpels* and the *Apoſtles* Writings, as *Juſtin Martyr* and *Tertullian* tell us in their *Apologies*; which the *Apoſtle Paul* expected, and ſometimes required to be done, *Col.* iv. 16. 1 *Theſſ.* v. 27. Therefore, if there had been an *Omiſſion in the Tranſcript*, would not ſome or other eaſily have *miſs'd* ſo memorable a Paſſage as *this Text* contains? 'Tis ſo ſingular and remarkable, that the Omiſſion could ſcarcely be unobſerved, when they came to *read* it over again.

4. Why ſhould he ſuppoſe *again* (to back his *former hard* Suppoſition) that any *Chriſtians* would ſo *evilly treat* the ſacred Scriptures, as to *ſtrike out* the Words

* Adeo non vacabant recenſioni librorum, ut ne quidem convenire iis licuerit niſi ante lucem.

† Libri cum primum exarati, avidiſſimè a Chriſtianis arrepti ſint, & in varias regiones diſtracti.

Words *in Earth, for ſeeming to be ſuperfluous?* Had they ſo little Reverence for theſe *Sacred* Records, as to daſh out what they liked not? And yet with *thoſe* Words the Senſe and Context are *no way diſturbed:* There are a *hundred Texts* which contain Words *more* ſeemingly needleſs, and *more* hard to be accounted for, and which may as well be ſpared, if we make our own Fancy the Judge, as *theſe Words*, which have, indeed, no Difficulty at all in *them*; and yet I am well ſatisfied thoſe *Chriſtians* never would, nor did preſume to daſh them out of their Copies, upon this ſlight Pretence, That *they were ſuperfluous.*

5. Doth *Cyprian*, after all, ſay *one* Word of any *ſuch Thing*, as his having had a *better Copy* than the reſt of the Churches had? Not a *Word*; and yet one would think he ſhould not wholly forbear taking *ſome* Notice of ſo happy an Event. Or do any after *him* ſay they found ſuch a correct Copy, or that ever they underſtood *he* had one? And what became of this valuable *Treaſure*, after it had got into theſe ſafe Hands? For,

6. How came it that St. *Auſtin*, ſo long after *him*, in a neighbouring Church, knew nothing of *this Matter?* And that in *his* Diſputes with the *Arians*, none ſhould let him know what might have been ſo ſerviceable to *him?* In ſuch times of eager Conteſts, *it* muſt have ſoon *flown about* into the Neighbourhood, when adjacent *Biſhops* ſo frequently met and confer'd; and the *rather*, becauſe *Cyprian*, and others after him, muſt know that *other Copies* were defective in *this* Place, and therefore it concerned them to ſend Intelligence to all round about them, how the *true Text* ſtood: And yet the Doctor grants that St. *Auſtin knew not of it.* And therefore I think it very apparent there was *no ſuch Thing* as *Cyprian*'s having *ſuch* a Copy, notwithſtanding the Doctor could ſay *certiſſimum eſt*, upon no manner of Evidence but *his* uſing *thoſe* Expreſſions *which* are already otherwiſe accounted for; and of *which* Mr. *Du Pin* ſays, *'tis not certain that St.* Cyprian *quoted St.* John's *Words*; and F. *Simon*, that without Doubt he did *not.*

By theſe Things it appears, that Dr. *Mills* not only could not give any *true* Account, how it *really* came to paſs that all the *Greek* Manuſcripts and Writers ſhould be ignorant of *this Verſe*, and yet *Cyprian* recover *it* from the *Original*; but that ſetting *his* Imagination to work, he could not ſo much as *invent* or contrive a Way how it could *poſſibly* be done, with any tolerable *Shew* of Probability, or Conſiſtency of Circumſtances.

Since therefore *he* has made ſuch a *ſurprizing Concluſion* in favour of *this Text*, ſo unſuitable to *his Premiſes*, and againſt *all the Rules of Criticiſm*, in preferring *one* Copy to *all* the Copies beſides; *one* Father to *all* the Fathers: Nay rather, without *one* Copy, rejecting all the Manuſcript Copies; and ſetting *one ſuppoſed*, at beſt but *dubious*, Teſtimony of *one* or *two Fathers*, againſt *all* the certain Evidences from *all* the Copies and *all* the Fathers for near five hundred *Years:* I ſay, ſince 'tis thus, I cannot wonder at the *Remark* made by the famous *Le Clerc* upon the *Doctor*'s great *Candor* and *Juſtice* in ſtating the Evidence, and his ſtrange *Caution* in concluding *againſt it*, in

in the *Preface* to *Kuſter*'s *Edition* * : *If Dr.* Mills (ſays *he* in relation to *this Text*) *hath not concluded here like a judicious Critick, yet certainly he hath ſhown himſelf to be a candid and ingenuous Man, in producing the Arguments which effectually overturn his own Opinion : Nor would I impute this to his want of Judgment, in not yielding to the Force of* ſuch Arguments, *ſo much as to the Prejudice of a ſort of Men, who are wont ſpitefully to reproach thoſe who freely own the Truth ; as if they favoured I know not what Hereſies, merely becauſe they will not argue againſt them from corrupted Texts. Truly the beſt Men are ſometimes under a Neceſſity of giving way to the Froward, which we muſt forgive.*

And yet at the ſame time I willingly conſent, that *his* great *Learning*, *his* indefatigable *Labour*, *his* accurate *Judgment*, and worthy *Deſign*, in this *noble* Undertaking, ſhall not fail to perpetuate *his* high Eſteem, and very honourable Remembrance to *remoteſt Ages*. Nor indeed is *his* Judgment given in *this* Point, but with the Modeſty of one ready, upon *better Information*, to alter it; which he ſeems to ſuſpect there might be Ground for, in the Cloſe of *his Diſſertation* †.

BUT whatever Reſtraints Dr. *Mills*, in *his* private Capacity might lie under, from declaring his Mind more *openly*, they affect not *your Lordſhips* and the *Reverend Clergy in Convocation* ; whom, with all the Reſpect due to ſo *Venerable* a Body, and with the Humility of a *Suppliant*, I beſeech to conſider of this Matter, as *in the Sight of God* ; whether here be not ſufficient Evidence that *this Text* either *certainly*, or at leaſt very *probably*, never was *originally* in the *Holy Writings of St.* John, but unwarrantably *thruſt in* in later times. And if ſo, whether from the conſcientious Regards *you* bear to the Sacred Scriptures, *they* ought not to be purg'd of all ſuch *injurious Additions*. In order to which, permit me, I pray, without the leaſt *Affectation* of being *your Monitor*, or the *Arrogance* of an aſſuming *Director*, humbly to beſpeak your very ſerious Thoughts upon theſe following *Conſiderations*.

1. Whether *ſuch* Evidence, as is brought againſt *this Verſe* before us, would not be judged by *you* ſufficient againſt *any* Paſſage in *any Claſſick* Author whatever? Would not *ſuch* a Paſſage preſently be pronounced *ſpurious*, and be brought under a *Deleatur* by the unanimous Voice of the *Criticks*, when they had no Concern in it but to judge what is true and genuine, and *what not?* Nay, would a *Court* of Judicature allow any *Paragraph* to be good, in a Writing of Conſequence, *for which* no more, and *againſt which* ſo much can be fairly ſaid? And will not the *ſame* Sincerity and Impartiality well become us in *this* which we can not only well juſtify, but commend in the Examination of *other* Writings?

* Si acutum Criticum hic ſe minime præſtitit Millius, at certe ingenuum & candidum virum ſe oſtendit, in proferendis rationibus, quibus ſententia, quam ipſe amplexus eſt, evertitur. Nec tam ejus judicio aſcripſerim, quod rationum pondere ſe permoveri non paſſus ſit, quam *iis* qui libere veritatem profeſſos maligne infamare ſolent, quaſi hæreſibus neſcio quibus faverent, quia nolunt ea depravatis locis oppugnari. Scilicet, optimi quique viri factioſis nonnihil concedere neceſſe ſæpe habent, quod facile ignoſcimus. *Clerici Epiſt. de Editione Milliana.*

† Meliora, ſi quid melius certiuſque dederit longior dies, diſcere parato.

Writings? Shall we preſs Men to take that for Evidence *here*, which will paſs *no where elſe?*

2. Whether an awful Regard to *that* dreadful *Anathema*, or Denunciation left on Record by St. *John*, *Rev.* xxii. 18. againſt all who *add to*, or *diminiſh from his* Writings, will permit *you* to be unconcerned in the Matter before you? It cannot be ſuppoſed that *thoſe* Words ſhould not, at leaſt by Parity of Reaſon, concern *his other* Writings, as well as the *Revelation*; eſpecially when we remember how *general* the Precept was, not to *add* nor to *diminiſh*, *Deut.* iv. 2. *Prov.* xxx. 6. The Threatening is very *ſevere: God ſhall add to him the Plagues that are written in this Book*, are Words of ſo much *Terror*, as will ſufficiently juſtify your *Lordſhips* and the *Reverend Clergy's* utmoſt Caution to avoid *them*; whatever more careleſs People may think or ſay. Whether the keeping in an unjuſt *Addition* to the Word of God, when 'tis *our Part* and in our *Power* to rectify it, comes, or not, within the *Prohibition*, none concerned can think below their ſober Conſideration. It might, perhaps, *come in* with leſs Guilt through Ignorance, than it can be *kept in*, when the Fault is diſcovered.

The *Oracles of God* are a Sacred *Depoſitum* lodged with the Church; *Rom.* iii. 2. *To them are committed the Oracles of God*; in *this* Truſt, ſurely, that *they* be kept inviolable, and be tranſmitted to Poſterity *pure and clean* from all known *human Additions*; *whoſe* Authority is ſo infinitely inferior to the *Words of God*, that they ought not knowingly to be intermixed therewith; eſpecially by thoſe who are *the Stewards of the Myſteries of God*, and who expect that others ſhould *ſeek the Law at their Mouths*; of whom *'tis required that they be found faithful.*

Our *twentieth Article* tells us, *The Church is the Witneſs and Keeper of Holy Writ*; and therefore muſt not bear either *falſe* or *uncertain Witneſs* in ſo ſolemn a Matter, as to ſay *that* is Holy Writ, *which* ſhe has the greateſt Reaſon to judge is not *ſuch*. 'Tis a diſmal Thing to have it ſaid to *your* Flocks, *Thus ſaith the Lord, when the Lord hath not ſpoken it*; and a hard Taſk it is on him that reads *this* in the Church for St. *John*'s Words, who doth not believe *it* to be *ſuch*.

3. Whether the *Honour* and *Intereſt* of our holy Religion will not be *better* ſerved by diſowning ingenuouſly what we find to be an *Error*, *even* though it have long paſſed current as *Truth?* Weak People, I confeſs, may be apt to cry out of *Innovation* (as upon all Sorts of *Reformation*) *That Religion is ſubverted, that all is uncertain*, &c. Archbiſhop * *Laud* once made *this* ſad Complaint: *When Errors are grown by Age and Continuance to Strength, they which ſpeak for the* Truth, *though it be far* older, *are ordinarily challenged for the Bringers-in of* new *Opinions*; *and there is no greater Abſurdity ſtirring this Day in* Chriſtendom, *&c.* This indeed may grieve a good Man; but muſt *Truth* and *Piety* therefore be ſacrificed to the *Ignorance* and *Perverſeneſs* of Men? Muſt we then *propheſy to them ſmooth Things*, only *becauſe they love to have it ſo*; and not acquaint them with their Errors, becauſe they'll murmur againſt us? I remember St. *Paul* once made ſome of his Friends to *become his*

* Preface againſt *Fiſher*

Enemies, by telling them the Truth, Gal. iv. 16. God forbid that any of *his Succeſſors* ſhould be ſo diſcouraged by it, as not to *tell the Truth*, for fear of making Men *their* Enemies. If ſo, we ſhould appear to take more Care of *ourſelves*, than of the *Intereſts of Chriſt*, and his Religion.

Pardon me, if I ſpeak with *humble Freedom*, what I think not of without *real Grief*, that *this falſe Notion of Peace* has often well nigh ruined Religion. Chriſtianity had never come in, if our *Bleſſed Maſter* had ſtifled the Truth for Fear of diſquieting the Family, by *dividing the Father againſt the Son, and the Mother againſt the Daughter*, Luke xii. 51, 52, 53. This political Wiſdom, which is *firſt* peaceable, and *then*, or *never*, is pure; is juſt the Reverſe of that *Wiſdom from above*, which is *firſt* pure. *If it be poſſible, we muſt live peaceably with all Men*, Rom. xii. 18. but, *we can do nothing againſt the Truth*, ſays the *ſame* Apoſtle, 2 *Cor.* xiii. 8. εἰ δυνατὸν muſt give place to ὰ δυνάμεθα.

For true Religion is never more *in Credit*, than when her Votaries, and eſpecially her Guides and Teachers, who miniſter in her Holy Offices, deal ſincerely and openly in Things appertaining to God: *Not walking in Craftineſs, nor handling the Word of God deceitfully, but by Manifeſtation of the Truth commending themſelves to every Man's Conſcience in the Sight of God.* Not by putting *falſe* Colours upon what *they know* they cannot juſtify, or ſeeking to deceive Men in ſacred Matters; *which* being once diſcovered, *weak Minds* are apt to think the worſe of Religion, for *what* is none of *her* Fault, but is acted in a plain Violation of *her* Laws.

Nothing will tend more to *harden Unbelievers* in their *unjuſt* Suſpicions and Reproaches, than to ſee that no Amendment can be obtained upon the moſt *manifeſt* Diſcovery of an Error; but that *right or wrong*, their Teachers and Guides will *continue* with Reſolution, what they find *came in by Miſtake*. What will it avail for honeſt Men to *ſtudy* and inquire after *Truth*, when *convincing* Men will not make them *reform?* As if Reformation was ſuch an *unreaſonable* Thing, that it were better to *continue* our Faults, when *they* can't be *forſaken* with a general Approbation.

In the Caſe before you 'tis *too late* to conceal the Evidence *againſt the Text* I have treated of: It has been *long* obſerved, *oft* objected, and *much* needs Satisfaction. And if *your Lordſhips* and the *Reverend Clergy* ſhall pleaſe to inſtruct us, by *better Evidence*, that there is *no wrong* done to the *Text* of St. *John*; or, being convinced that *there is*, ſhall hereupon promote a juſt Alteration of *this* in our *printed* Books, according to *all* the *Greek Manuſcripts*, that ſo *your People* may ſee that, at leaſt, you take it for *doubtful*; will not *this* upright Method ſhew to the World that you are *fair* and ingenuous beyond Exception, and that you ſeek after *Truth in the Love of it?* This ſhall convince *them* that you are their *faithful* Guides; which will enable you, in a very *ſerious* and not *far diſtant* Hour, with St. *Paul*, *rich* and *happy* in the *ineſtimable Treaſures* of a good Conſcience, to make that triumphant Boaſt, 2 *Cor.* i. 12. *That with Simplicity and godly Sincerity, and not with fleſhly*, or worldly, *Wiſdom, by the Grace of God, you have acted towards the World, and towards your Flocks.*

I think

I think I may ſafely add, that *what I propoſe*, will greatly ſilence the *Cavils* of the *Anti-Scripturiſts*, when they object the *different Readings* in the ſeveral Copies of the *New Teſtament*. To *which* 'tis a very good *Anſwer*, that *theſe* Differences are only in *Circumſtances*, or in Matters of very *little Conſequence* to Religion; and which 'tis morally impoſſible ſhould be otherwiſe, in a *Book* ſo oft tranſcribed, and in ſo long a Tract of Time. In *other* Inſtances 'tis truly ſo; the *Differences* are very ſmall, as Dr. *Mills*'s Collection of the various Readings doth abundantly ſhew. But would not *this Anſwer* be ſomewhat clearer and *ſtronger*, if Juſtice were done to the *Text* in the Point I have argued? I know not *one Inſtance* which interferes with the aboveſaid *Anſwer* ſo much as *this*. How ſhall we ſay that *this Text* is of ſmall Conſequence in Religion, which is ſo oft alledged by *Preachers* and *Writers*, as of eminent Force in Proof of a *fundamental* Article of *Chriſtianity?* Is it not pity we ſhould *needleſly* leave them *ſuch* an unjuſt Pretence? Were it not better to cut off all Occaſion, from them who ſeek Occaſion, to cenſure the *Holy Scriptures*, when we can ſo truly and juſtly do it? becauſe there really is *no* Difference in the *Greek* Copies, but *all* of them agree in wanting *this Verſe*; ſo that the Objection appears ſtronger than *it is*, or than it ought to *appear*.

4. Doth not the *ſixth Article* of our Church exclude *this Verſe* from being *a Part* of thoſe *Holy Scriptures* which *ſhe* receives? For *it* tells us, that by the Scripture ſhe *underſtands thoſe Canonical Books of the Old and New Teſtament, of whoſe Authority never was any Doubt in the Church.* Is not the Caſe the ſame with any *Part* of thoſe Books? And will any venture to ſay there *never was*, or that at preſent there *is not* very great *Doubt of this Verſe in the Church?* Whereas, if there be any *Doubt for it*, 'tis the utmoſt that can be made of Dr. *Mills*'s *Diſſertation*.

5. Whether in our *printed Bibles ſome* Words are not quite omitted, or by a *ſmaller Character* viſibly diſtinguiſhed, as doubtful, for *which* there is far greater Authority, than for *theſe* under Conſideration? Nay, *this* is done in *this* very *Epiſtle* of St. *John*, Chap. ii. Ver. 23. Dr. *Mills* has ſhown that thoſe Words, *He that acknowledges the Son, hath the Father alſo*; are in ſeveral valuable *Copies*, and antient *Verſions*, and in the *Fathers*, even in St. *Cyprian* too; and yet, not being in many *other* Copies, the *Wiſdom of the Church* hath marked *them* for *dubious*, to ſhew how cautious ſhe was *there*, not to put *wrong* or *uncertain* Scripture upon *her* Members. Yet *here* is a *Text* in the *ſame Epiſtle*, which has not one *Quarter*, nay, I think I may truly ſay, has not *any* of *that* Authority for *it*; and which was once in the *ſame* Caſe, diſtinguiſhed by *ſmaller Characters*, as of *leſs* certain Authority, from the *Beginning of the Reformation:* And now *the former* Caution is withdrawn, *this* is advanced into the Rank of *undoubted Text*, whereas the *other* is left as it was. *Which*, however, ſerves to ſhew us, what we may fairly expect in Reaſon *ſhould* be done, by *ſuch* a *Text* as has *nothing*, even of that *leſſer* Evidence, which hath not yet advanced the *other* into the *undoubted* Text. If there had not been *ſome more* Occaſion for *one* than for the *other*, 'tis poſſible they had both remained in the ſame State. Therefore,

6. It may reaſonably be enquired, if there be *any more Evidence* for *this Text*, ſince the firſt Reformation? The preſent current Notions of the *Trinity* were received *then* as much as *now*, perhaps more; and yet as *Luther* would not put *this* into the *Text* in *any* Edition of his *German* Bible, nor durſt *Bullinger* take it in, ſo our old *Bibles* in *Henry* VIII's and *Edward* VI's time, had *theſe Words* of the *ſeventh Verſe*, and the Words *in Earth*, in the *eighth*, in ſmall Letters, and ſometimes in a *Parentheſis*; to ſhew they were not to be eſteemed of the *ſame certain* Authority with the *other Parts* of the *Epiſtle*, becauſe the Manuſcripts wanted them. In Queen *Elizabeth*'s Bible, 1566, I find the *ſame*; and *other* latter Bibles were the *firſt* which *took them* in, as they now are, between 1566, and 1580; but whether by the Influence of the *Convocation* which intervened, I know not. And if it was a *dubious Text* then, ſome may aſk what *further* Evidence ariſes ſince, to have cauſed this Change? Has any *antient* valuable *Greek Manuſcript* newly appeared? Yes; the moſt valuable *of all*, the *Alexandrian Manuſcript*, has ſince that Time been brought among us; but alas! *this* has added great Weight to the Evidence *againſt it*. Beſides, *Eraſmus*'s *Britiſh Copy*, and the *Complutenſian Teſtament*, and the Miſtake about *Stephens*'s *ſeven Manuſcripts*, were not underſtood to be ſo void of all Weight, as *now* they appear to be. If the firſt Reformers then had *as much* Evidence *for it*, and thought they had *more* than we can now think *we* have, and not ſo much to ſay *againſt it* as *we*; and yet *they* judged it but juſt to leave it *doubtful*; how is it that we ſhall juſtify *their* Succeſſors, who have ventured upon what they dared not to do?

Nay, if *your Lordſhips* and the *Reverend Clergy* don't think this *Text* to be *certainly ſpurious*, I would humbly propoſe, whether it be not *moſt likely* to be *ſo?* And then whether it be not ſafer to put it *out*, than to keep it in the Place 'tis *in?* Nay, whether it be not at leaſt *dubious?* And then whether it ought not to be mark'd as *ſuch*, for your People's Obſervation? I beſeech you, let us but obtain *ſo much*, as I think *your ſelves* will, and as the *firſt* Reformers did ſee to be juſt and reaſonable, or convince us that this Requeſt is not *ſo*: elſe what remains, but to ſit down, wonder, and deſpair? 'Tis but an eaſy Step, and will be well warranted, to return to that which our *firſt Reformers* wiſely and unblameably did. It can be no Reproach to be as juſt to the People as *they* were; and to return again *with Reaſon*, to that which has been altered *without Reaſon*.

7. Laſtly, the great *Importance* of the ſubject Matter of *this* much-doubted *Text*, well deſerves your moſt impartial Judgment upon *it*. The *Doctrine of the Bleſſed Trinity* is purely dependent on *Revelation*; variouſly underſtood by *Chriſtians*, both of the *Clergy* and *Laity*; and bound upon the *Members* of the Church by very *direful Anathema's*, ſcarce any *more* terrible, except that of St. *John* againſt ſuch as ſhall *add* to, or take from *his* Writings. Now, ſince 'tis to the Scriptures you make Appeal for *Proof* of this Doctrine, and for the *right Underſtanding* of it; 'tis moſt juſt that in ſo ſolemn a Matter *you* warn your Flocks not to be miſled, by miſtaking an unwarranted modern *Addition* for an *inſpired Oracle*.

I pretend

I pretend not to make any Interpretation of *the Words*, till their Authority be prov'd: but moſt judicious Expoſitors underſtand *Theſe Three are One*, of an *Unity of Conſent*, or in Witneſs-bearing; as *Bullinger*, *Calvin*, *Beza*, and many other both *Proteſtant* and *Popiſh Writers*.

But let them ſignify much or little, in the Controverſy about the *philoſophical* Nature of the *Three Perſons*; yet, as *they* are always likely to be drawn into the Service of what is moſt *prevalent* and current, ſo 'tis certain the common People have their Eyes upon *this*, more than on any *undoubted Text* in the Bible, in *this* Controverſy. And *ſo far* they muſt be deceiv'd, *if it be ſpurious*. And it is in *your Lordſhips* and *the Clergy*'s Power to let them know it, and to refer them to *other* Texts, which you can *aſſure* them are genuine.

Nor is there any doubt to be made, but the People think *ſome* Branches of the *Liturgy* have their main Foundation on *this one doubted Text*. When they hear, *Three Perſons and One God*, in the *fourth* Petition of the *Litany*; and *who with thee and the Holy Ghoſt ever liveth and reigneth one God*, in the *Doxologies*; they think nothing in the *New Teſtament* ſo like it as this *dubious Text*. And will you not think it great pity, that your People ſhould build ſo weighty things on ſuch a ſlender Foundation, if *your ſelves* ſo judge it?

I ſpeak *this*, becauſe I know not any *other* Text that *directly* or *clearly* ſays the *ſame* thing, *viz.* that the *Father*, *Word*, *and Spirit*, *are One*. *They* are not join'd into one *Doxology*, nor indeed do I find *any* given to the *Holy Spirit* in the *New Teſtament*, either *jointly* or *ſeparately*; much leſs is the *Spirit* ſaid to be *one with the Father and the Son*. I read of *one Spirit*, *one Lord*, *one God and Father*, Eph. iv. but not that theſe *Three are the One God*. And if there be no *other Text* which ſays *this*, 'tis not the *more likely* to have been St. *John*'s Saying here; but the *more grievous* to have *it* inſerted by any who had not *his* Authority.

Whether, upon the Whole, *this Paſſage* ſhall, by your Direction, in our *printed* Books be fairly *diſown'd* and *mark'd* as formerly, or better *vindicated*, I know not: But if *neither* of *theſe* be done, and if Preachers and Writers go on, without due regard to *Juſtice* and their *own Eſteem*, to urge *this* as an *Authority*, after all that is ſaid to ſhew it has *none*; I apprehend, there are many underſtanding *Chriſtians* will be apt to think they are not *fairly* dealt with.

And I hope it ſhall not be thought to proceed from *any* want of due Veneration for *your Lordſhips* and the *Reverend Clergy*, if an high Eſteem of the *Learning*, the *Judgment*, *Integrity*, and hearty *Zeal* for our Holy Religion and the ſacred Scriptures, which they are perſuaded dwell with an *Engliſh Convocation*, ſhall excite many of *your People*, as well as of the *Clergy*, to ſome Expectations in this Matter.

I ſhall only ſet down the Advice and Requeſt of *Bugenhagius*, a *Lutheran Divine*: Having obſerv'd *this Verſe* to be *put in*, without any reaſonable Pretence of Authority, and having exclaim'd againſt *it* as an *impious bold Addition to the Sacred Scripture*, *and what* (he ſays) *eſtabliſhes the* Arians *Blaſphemy*, and

and therefore ſuſpected was *their Contrivance*; he concludes, * *I beſeech the Printers, and ſuch Learned Men as are aiding to them, that when at any Time hereafter they ſhall reprint the* Greek *Teſtament, they leave out* that Addition, *and ſo reſtore the* Greek *to its former Purity, for the Love of Truth, and the Glory of God.*

With which Requeſt, I humbly *hope your Lordſhips* and *the Reveread Clergy* will ſee great Reaſon to comply; and the rather, becauſe I am inſtructed by a very *Great* † *Prelate* (who was once the *Head* of *ſuch a Convocation*, and very tender of the Church's Honour) *That the Church is not ſo bound up, that ſhe may not, on juſt and farther Evidence, reviſe what may in any Caſe have ſlipt by her.* Whether *this* be not one of *thoſe Caſes*, is ſubmitted to *your* impartial and diſcerning Judgment.

* Obſecro igitur Chalcographos & Eruditos Viros qui Chalcographis adſunt, ut cùm rurſum poſthac N. Teſt. græcè excudendum eſt, illam additionem omittant, & ita reſtituant Græca ſuæ priori integritati & puritati, propter veritatem, ad gloriam Dei. *In Expoſit. Jonæ.*

† *ABp.* Laud's *Preface againſt* Fiſher.

The REPRESENTATIVE of *London* and *Weſtminſter* in *Parliament*, examined and conſider'd; wherein appears the Antiquity of moſt of the Boroughs in *England*; with the Proportions, whereby every County is over or under repreſented, according to a Scale from the Royal Aid Aſſeſſments; by which it appears that *Middleſex* is found to be Repreſented but one Tenth Part of its due Proportion; unto which a Remedy is propoſed, and ſeveral Reaſons offered to prove the ſame, of Univerſal Benefit to the Kingdom. *By a Gentleman.* 1702.

FROM what Principles in the Law of Nature, whether of right Judgment in Things, or meerly thoſe of Self-preſervation, or if from ſome Dictates of Rational Society, or if ſolely from unſearchable Ways of Providence Divine, it may proceed, is not the Intention of *theſe* to enquire; but ſo it is, that if one take a View of *Ages paſt*, and will adventure to judge the Opinion of Men by their Actions, it ſeems to have been *in all Times* the common concurring Judgment of Mankind, that the Benefits of *Climate* (a benign *Air*, a fruitful *Soil*, ſweet *Water*, and the like) do very much fall ſhort of thoſe which a propitious *Government* affords.

For

For no Charms have been able to quell the Diſquiets which *Violence* and *Oppreſſion* produce: Tho' other Inconveniencies (however great) are reconcil'd and overlook'd by the innate Love of our Native Soil, yet upon the Alarms of impoſing Tyranny, we may obſerve all Nations to dwindle and decay, Multitudes flying that Evil as a Plague, above all others intolerable: For Evidence whereof, let any Man recollect the Effects which ancient *Egypt*, *Greece*, and *Italy* betray'd under ſuch *Cataſtrophes*; let *Peru* tell the Fall of the *Yncaes* and its Conſequents; tell *Ferrara* how the domineering *Tiara* has made you proſper; let *Naples* relate what the *Anjouvine* and *Caſtilian* Viſitations caus'd her; ſpeak *Florence*, *Piſa*, and the Vale of *Arno*, if your Numbers and Riches encreas'd with the Yoke of *Medicis:* But leſt theſe Inſtances be too remote for Time or Place, we'll take a View of ſome nearer, for more indubitable Proof of the Point.

O happy *England*, highly favour'd of Heaven, which can yield no conſiderable Inſtance of this Kind in her Records! May no lupine Ferocity ever taint her Conſtitution, that She may remain inviolate as many Ages as the Chronicles of *China* boaſt theirs. *Oppreſſion*, it ſeems, is a foreign Plant, which though ſhe will not thrive in our bad Air, is no Stranger elſewhere in *Europe*; ſo that when we paſs the Seas, we need not the *Alps* any more. *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and *Artois*, when they fell from the Houſe of *Burgundy* into that of *Auſtria*, how populous, how rich, how flouriſhing in Trade, *Philip de Commines* abundantly declares; very different from, and far excelling, the Condition of *Zealand*, *Holland*, and *Weſt-Frieſland*, their Neighbour-Provinces. But now let the Experiment be try'd, if Liberty with an inclement incommodious Site can countervail the Loſs of a moſt delightful, fruitful, native Country, under the Aſpects and Influence of Tyranny: In the latter then, ſome of the haughtieſt Nobility muſt lay down their Heads on a Block, for being Advocates of the ancient Rights of their Country; one City beholds within herſelf a Citadel rearing her Baſtions (ſoon garniſhed with Artillery); others have *Quo Warranto's* paſs againſt their Municipal Rights, and when Murmurs or Oppoſitions riſe, all is conſtrued Riot and Rebellion, and then the wealthy Citizens are Fined, Impriſoned, and Confiſcated: In Conſequence of theſe things, ſome Impoſts and Gabels are impos'd without the regular Orders of the Eſtates, and an Army from *Italy* of Foreigners take up Free-quarter in the Towns: We need no more, one Age will diſcover the Effects; the People inſenſibly file Northwards, where they intrench themſelves in the Mud; the Ocean is debarr'd her wandring, the hollow Land made firm, and Lakes drain'd; the looſe Sand becomes a ſtable Foundation for great *Emporiums*; the ancient Cities of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and *Artois* unhive themſelves into the new ones of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Weſt-Frieſland*; and, in a Word, the younger Colonies (notwithſtanding the Diſadvantages of Nature) yielding an *Aſylum* to Liberty, ſhall equal and far exceed what the former ever were. Thus we ſee a Republick form'd, which in one Century is become more puiſſant than the *Roman* amounted to in three.

Having

Having been more explicit in the Caſe of *Flanders*, I paſs by the later one of *Denmark*, ſo candidly and curiouſly exemplified by an excellent Hand: In the Days we live, *France* itſelf is a pregnant Inſtance too, for the ſwarming *Catholicks*, as well as *Huguenots*, of that Nation, in all the Countries of *Europe*, are ſo many ſpeaking Witneſſes of the inward Decay of that Realm, ſince the Parliament of *Paris* (the Shadow of the ancient States-General of that Kingdom) yielded up the Ghoſt. In *Germany* the Imperial free Cities are more populous, rich, and their Territories better cultivated than commonly thoſe of the Princes: So likewiſe the moſt inhoſpitable Mountains of *Switzerland* are better repleniſhed with Inhabitants than the luxurious Plains of *Lombardy*; all which is aſcribable only to the Eaſe of a mild and impartial Government. From which Hiſtorical Evidences therefore, and becauſe many more of like kind may be produc'd, I draw this Concluſion, That groſs Air does not more naturally depreſs *Mercury* in a Tube, than the Gravity of malevolent Councils does the *Genius*, *Wealth*, and *Number* of any People.

Now, ſince ſuch Effects are univerſally and conformably in all Ages and Countries, proceeding of ſuch Cauſes, it cannot be unfit to aſcribe the ſame to the over-ruling Wiſdom, Juſtice, and Goodneſs of the univerſal Monarch of Mankind, who, according to the 107th *Pſalm*, has reſerved this Honour and Prerogative, wherewith to chaſtiſe the Inſolence of his Viceroys on Earth, as well as the Diſſoluteneſs of their Subjects: Thus *He turneth a fruitful Land into Barreneſs, for the Wickedneſs of them that dwell therein*; and upon their Repentance, *the Wilderneſs* again *into a Standing Water, and dry Ground into Water Springs: And there he maketh the Hungry to dwell, that they may prepare a City for Habitation, ſow Fields, and plant Vineyards, which may yield them Fruits of Increaſe:* On the other Hand, abuſing his Mercy, they are again brought low through Oppreſſion, Affliction and Sorrow; then *He poureth Contempt upon Princes, and cauſeth them to wander in a Deſart, where there is no Way:* At the ſame Time, *He ſetteth the Poor on high from Affliction, and maketh him Families like a Flock: The Righteous ſhall ſee it and rejoice, and all Iniquity ſhall ſtop her Mouth. Whoſo is wiſe, and will obſerve theſe Things, even they ſhall underſtand the loving Kindneſs of the Lord.* Now ſure, above all Nations, the People of *England* have reaſon to join the Chorus of this Pſalm, *O that Men would praiſe the Lord for his Goodneſs, and for his wonderful Works to the Children of Men.*

By a mild and propitious Government, (the Bleſſing ſo much eſteemed) I mean ſuch a one, whether Monarchical or otherwiſe, as purſues for its End the Security, Eaſe, and Welfare of its People; the Reverſe of which is, when thoſe Conſiderations are put in the ſecond Inſtance, and made but ſubſequent to ſome other. If I miſtake not, Magiſtrates are originally appointed Miniſters of God for good to the People, for which Cauſe Tribute is paid; not that the People are given as a Prey to the ſaid Miniſters. Now, in order to have the aforeſaid ultimate End of Government duly conſulted, I ſuppoſe it indiſpenſably needful that the People have ſome *Repreſentative*, which may not only report their Grievances, but be ſufficiently impower'd to obtain Redreſs of them: Which

Sup-

Suppoſition, I own, does conclude, that Abſolute Monarchy can be no more than accidentally and precariouſly propitious, but has in it no Concluſion at all againſt Monarchies of the *Gothick* Frame.

Upon Diſſolution of the *Roman Empire* in the *Weſt*, the ſeveral Nations that ſhar'd it among them agreed all in one Scheme of Government, which though it admitted of Variety in other Matters, yet every where did eſtabliſh a *Repreſentative* of the People, that had power to redreſs all Grievances in the Adminiſtration, which partook with the Prince in the Legiſlature, and without whoſe Conſent he could levy no Taxes on the Subject. Herein then was abundant Proviſion for a mild and equal Regimen of Affairs, wherein near upon all the Countries in *Europe* were many Ages happy; but in the Century newly expir'd, a diſmal Cloud did overſpread the moſt of them, which hitherto has not reach'd our *Fortunate Iſland*; but *England* yet enjoys what they once poſſeſs'd. Without a ſufficient *Repreſentative* of the People, there can be no adequate Caution or Warranty for their Liberties: But *England* having preſerv'd uncorruptedly the former, as the ſole *Palladium*, ſhe continues to enjoy the kindly Fruits and natural Effects of it; ſo that, I hope, the Teſtimony of *Philip de Commines* will ever remain verified in us; *Of all the Seigneuries of the World*, (ſays he) *the Realm of* England *is the beſt govern'd Commonwealth, where the People are leaſt oppreſt, and the Authors of Broils, or Diſturbers of Peace, the moſt puniſh'd.*

The Conſtitution of *England*, often batter'd, often undermined, often betray'd, has not ſubſiſted ſo long but by the miraculous Power of GOD ſeveral Times, for his own moſt wiſe and good Ends, interpoſing between her and Ruin; unto *one eminent Inſtance* of which, the Eyes of all Men living may bear Teſtimony, if their Memories do not wickedly fail them: And as *His Gracious Majeſty* has fully anſwer'd the Promiſe of his Declaration, *to do all Things neceſſary on his Part*, that our Nation may be in no more Danger of falling at any Time hereafter under Arbitrary Power; ſo will the Prudence of our Senate ſhine bright, in all Ages to come, in making ſo many Proviſions to keep the Fountain of all our Joys, the Kingdom's Repreſentative in Parliament, pure and uncorrupt. Such are the following Clauſes or expreſs Acts in this Reign, that no Speeches in Parliament ſhall be queſtionable elſewhere, no Recommendation of Members for the *Cinque Ports* ſhall be made as uſual, Penalties declar'd on *Exciſe-Officers* intermeddling with Elections, the like for Falſe and Double Returns, Aſſignment of Time and Place for County Elections, no Members to be concern'd in any Monies granted by Parliament, no Officers of Exciſe or Cuſtoms to ſit in the Houſe, a Parliament to be new choſe once in Three Years, no Expences to be after Date of the Writs for electing, no Perſon under the Age of One and twenty be capable of ſitting; abridging the Privileges of Parliament in caſe of Debt or Proceſs; and when the new *Line* commences, no one having Office or Penſion from the Crown ſhall be capable to ſerve, no Pardon under the Great Seal ſhall be pleadable to an Impeachment of the Commons. Over and above theſe momentous Proviſions, there was a Bill laſt Seſſion in Agitation, for better maintaining the Dignity of Parliaments, which provided, That in ſuch Boroughs as have fewer

than Five-ſcore Votes of Electors, the Freeholders of the Hundred ſhall be allow'd to vote. For what Reaſons the ſaid Bill was dropt, the Author knows not, but that gave firſt the Life and Motion to theſe Thoughts of his.

The Repreſentative of *England* conſiſts then of Two Houſes, which jointly make one Parliament; for the Lords, call'd to it by Summons or Patent of Nobility, are reputed Truſtees for the Community, and Guardians of our Liberties, in the ſame Kind as ſome of the Houſe of Commons are elected by their own Tenants, or the Proprietors of *Old Sarum*, (where no living Soul inhabits) may return themſelves; and yet, when veſted in the Truſt, are equally careful of the Publick, as thoſe who are introduc'd by ſeveral Thouſand Voices. This Honour therefore can no ways be denied to the Houſe of Peers, who have through a long Succeſſion of Ages worthily acquitted themſelves of it, and the publick Liberties are the ſafer by their Honours Prerogatives. However, the Houſe of Commons having much more their Exiſtence from, and Dependence on the People, do claim ſomewhat peculiar in this Matter, and in the Argument propos'd are ſolely to be treated of.

The Repreſentative of the Commons of *England* at this Day, conſiſts of Five hundred and thirteen Perſons, under the Diſtinguiſhment of Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, the Barons of the Cinque-Ports being comprehended under the latter Head; and the ſeveral Diſtricts of the Kingdom whence theſe Deputies (as in *France*, *Poland*, *Holland*, and elſewhere ſuch are and have been call'd) are ſent, be obviouſly as followeth: The Forty Shires of *England* find 80 Knights, and the Twelve Shires of *Wales* 12, in all 92 Knights, elected by the Freeholders of the ſeveral Counties; the Cities, Boroughs, and Ports of *England* are Two hundred and four, which all ſend 409 Deputies, and the Twelve in *Wales* 12, together making 421, who with the 92 Knights, make up the Roll of that auguſt Aſſembly. Among the Boroughs of *England*, — *Berwick*, *Banbury*, *Abington*, *Monmouth*, and *Higham-ferrers* ſend each but one; *London*, *Oxford*, and *Cambridge* every one Four, and the reſt all Two a-piece; in moſt of which Places privileg'd to elect, every Houſe-keeper contributing to the Church and Poor, (as a Freeman of *England*) has a Vote, but in ſome that Right of the Electors is reſtrain'd, and in others enlarged profuſely; touching which I noways intend a minute Diſcourſe, but at preſent it ſhall ſuffice to ſay, That as the Charter of *Wenlock*, 8th *Edward* the IVth, is the firſt in our Records, which has in it an expreſs Clauſe for ſending Members to Parliament, ſo it is conceiv'd that all Corporations or Boroughs by Charter till that Time, had it virtually included, as a Right inſeparable to ſuch Bodies.

To bring the Eſſentials of our Conſtitution into Argument, were an unpardonable Preſumption in a private Perſon; thoſe who have the Legiſlature are ever to remain ſole Judges of it: For my Part I do not allow myſelf to debate the Alteration of any Thing hitherto eſtabliſhed, but as a ſincere Lover of his Country, I think, it better becomes, to juſtify and applaud all the Parts of that Conſtitution under which we have liv'd ſo long, the happieſt People under Heaven: Therefore if any object, That the *Weſt* carries an unreaſonable over-balance in this Repreſentative; I anſwer, (granting the Suppoſition)

There

There is even a Felicity in that Error, for thoſe Counties have the beſt of our Ports, they are our immediate Frontier towards *France*, and ſo the Dominion of the Channel is their ſole Barrier; they lie in the Line of Navigation, the richeſt of our Mines and moſt important Manufactures are on that ſide. If others object, That the Land-holders are not proportionably repreſented to the Inhabitants of Boroughs; I ſay, the Practice in the moſt of the ſaid Boroughs being (for ſome Ages paſt) to return Gentlemen of conſiderable Eſtates in Land, has in ſome ſort tranſmitted their Right to the ſame Intereſt; and hereby it is we are built on a firm Foundation, there being no ſuch Caution of Good-behaviour to the Publick, as a valuable Concern in it; though had the Bill of laſt Seſſion paſs'd, or any other like it for the future ſhould, to tranſfer the Right of Election to the Land-holders from incompetent Boroughs, there is little doubt but it would find a general Approbation and Applauſe, becauſe, the more knowing, free, and numerous the Electors are, the better Judgment of the Candidates may be preſum'd from them, provided the Number be not beyond Meaſure exorbitant.

To refer then thoſe Affairs to their proper Judges, the Intention of theſe Papers is,

Firſt, To enquire a little into Matter of Fact, how long the ſeveral Boroughs now electing Members have exercis'd that Privilege, which has given them the Title of Preſcription; (for touching Knights of the Shire, I ſhall ſpeak but occaſionally.)

Secondly, To ſhew from Obſervations thence, that an Increaſe of Boroughs does no ways interfere with the Eſſentials of our Conſtitution.

Thirdly, To lay down a Scale of Property, or Rule to compute the ſeveral Proportions of the Body repreſented.

Fourthly, To demonſtrate, that there is no parallel in the Kingdom to the Caſe of *Middleſex*.

Fifthly, To propoſe ſomewhat in favour of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, from ſeveral Reaſons and Arguments to prove, that the ſame would be of great Benefit to the Kingdom in general.

Firſt, For Evidence of Preſcription in thoſe Boroughs, which ſent Members to Parliament any time before the End of *Edward* IVth, the Author builds himſelf entirely upon the 3d and 4th Parts of *William Pryn*'s *Collection* (from the Tower-Records) *of Parliament Writs*, both thoſe for Election, and thoſe for levying their Expences after the Seſſion: which latter were conſtantly iſſued even down to the Commencement of the laſt Century; I refer my Reader to the aforeſaid Books, where he will ſee the Names of all ſuch who ſerv'd for every Borough in *England* during thoſe Ages: He may obſerve alſo, within the Space of 220 Years, there were 110 new Parliaments elected; and many more Curioſities will therein appear; but I confine myſelf to ſuch Obſervations only as belong to my proper Subject. Mr. *Pryn* ſays, the moſt an-

cient of thoſe Writs are dated 49th *Henry* III. iſſued to the Sheriffs, to ſummon the ſeveral Boroughs in their Counties by Precept, to elect and return Members, whereon the Sheriffs made conſtantly their Returns with theſe Words, *Nec ſunt plures Burgi intra Ballivam meam*; ſo that his *Collection*, whereof is ſubjoyn'd an *Extract*, is certainly excluſive of all Right to Preſcription higher than *Henry* VII. in the preſent Boroughs not ſpecified therein. However, it is not to be conceived that the oldeſt of thoſe Writs did erect an Houſe of Commons, any more than Summons to Parliament of ſome Barons by Tenure (near the ſame Time) did firſt conſtitute an Houſe of Lords; but rather it would ſeem, that the Practices then begun did from one undivided Council or Parliament of Barons form two diſtinct Houſes.

I muſt premiſe alſo, that the Sheriffs being only enjoyn'd in thoſe Writs to ſend Precepts to their Boroughs, without a Liſt of what Towns were ſuch, they ſometimes ſpoke their Partialities, in giving Precepts to ſome that were not ſo; whence it aroſe that there are thirty-five Towns mention'd in thoſe Records which at this Day do not ſend Members, though thereby they had a like Claim with the twenty-three Aſtracis'd, that now do; among which pretermitted Towns, *Axebridge* made five Returns, *Chard* eight, *Chipping-norton* three, *Farnham* three, *Witney* five, *Kingſton on Thames* four, *Storford* eight, *Blandford* two, *Dadington* two, *Bradniſham* two, *Ledesford* two, *Ravenſpur* two, and all the reſt but one; or, receiving Precepts, never did return at all: But *Torrington* in *Devonſhire*, from the 30th *Edward* I. unto the 5th *Henry* IV. having made thirty-two Returns, pleaded her Poverty by Petition to the King's Council, for a Diſcharge from that Burden; wherein, after two or three Applications, they were gratified by Letters Patents of Exemption: To maintain two of their Burgeſſes for the Benefit of the Commonwealth, was not look'd upon ſo much a Franchiſe in thoſe Days as a Service in which they were bound to the Crown. The ſame Reaſon made others not to ſend very frequently, and ſome utterly to refuſe the Privilege; and if now-a-days Two Shillings *per diem* were levy'd on the Boroughs, for each of their Repreſentatives, during *Parliament Attendance*, perhaps *Torrington* would not long remain the ſole Inſtance of praying a Diſcharge.

Boroughs *which ſent Members to Parliament before* An. Chr. 1483, *and how often they did ſeverally return unto that Time, as followeth.*

From the Counties of	
Bedford.	BEdford, 28 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 106 *Returns*
Berks.	New Windſor, 1 *Edw.* 2. *and in all* 22 *Returns*
	Reading, 30 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 89 *Returns*
	Wallingford, 30 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 85 *Returns*
Bucks.	Chyping Wycomb, 28 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 79 *Returns*
	* Agmondeſham, 28 *Edw.* 1. *and* 1 *and* 2 *Edw.* 2. *lately reſtored.*
	* Wendover, 28 *Edw.* 1. *and* 1 *and* 2 *Edw.* 2. *reſtored* 21 *Jac.*
	* Great Merlow, 4 *times to* 33 *Edw.* 3. *lately reſtored*
Cambridge	Cambridge, 26 *Ed.* 1. *and in all* 95 *Returns*
Cornwall	Launceſton, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 88 *Returns*
	Leſkard, 1 *Edw.* 2. *and in all* 65 *Returns*
	Loſtwithiel, 4 *Edw.* 2. *and in all* 64 *Returns*
	Truro, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 75 *Returns*
	Bodmin, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 86 *Returns*
	Helſton, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 77 *Returns*
Cumberl.	Carliſle, 30 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 88 *Returns*
Darbyſh.	Darby, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 97 *Returns*
Devonſh.	Exeter, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 109 *Returns*
	Totnes, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 77 *Returns*
	Plymouth, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 11 *Returns*
	Barnſtable, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 82 *Returns*
	Plympton, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 76 *Returns*
	Taviſtock, 4 *Edw.* 3. *and in all* 71 *Returns*
	Dartmouth, 24 *Edw.* 3. *and in all* 51 *Returns*
	* Honiton, 28 *Edw.* 1. *and* 4 *Edw.* 2. *reſtored lately*
	* Oakehampton, 28 *Edw.* 1. *and* 7 *Edw.* 2. *reſtored lately*
	* Aſhburton, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and no more till lately*
Dorſetſh.	Pool, 14 *Edw.* 3. *and* 4 *times more to* 12 *Edw.* 4.
	Dorcheſter, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 83 *Returns*
	Lyme, 28 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 70 *Returns*
	Weymouth, 12 *Edw.* 2. *and in all* 50 *Returns*
	Melcomb Regis, 1 *Edw.* 2. *and in all* 75 *Returns*
	Bridport, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 75 *Returns*
	Shaftſbury, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 81 *Returns*
	Wareham, 30 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 57 *Returns*
Eſſex.	Colcheſter, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 94 *Returns*
	Malden, 7 *Edw.* 3. *and in all* 69 *Returns*
	* Harwich, 17 *Edw.* 3. *only reſtored lately*

Glo-

Glocesterſh. Glocester, 26 *Edw.* 1 *and in all* 90 *Returns*
Herefordſh. Hereford, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 102 *Returns*
Lempſter, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 85 *Returns*
* Weobly, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and thrice more to* 33 *Edw.* 3. *reſtored* 3 *Char.* 1.
Hertfordſh. Hertford, 26 *Edw.* 1. *to* 7 *Hen.* 5. *in all* 18 *Returns*
* St. Albans, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and ten more to* 5 *Edw.* 3. *reſtored by Edw.* 6.
Huntingt. Huntington, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 93 *Returns*
Kent. Canterbury, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 101 *Returns*
Rocheſter, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 88 *Returns*
Cinq. Ports Sandwich, Dover, Hyeth, Roumny, } *from* 49 *Hen.* 3. *unto* 12 *Edw.* 3. *were enjoined to elect three or four each, and moſt of that Time the ſame Stile was uſed in their Writs as to Barons, whence ſo called to this Day.*
Lancaſhire * Lancaſter, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and to* 33 *Edw.* 3. *but* 11 *Returns*; *lately reſtored*
* Preſton, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and to* 33 *Edw.* 3. *but* 11 *Returns*; *lately reſtored*
Leiceſterſh. Leiceſter, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 99 *Returns*
Lincolnſh. Lincoln, 49 *Hen.* 3. *and in all* 111 *Returns*
Grimſby, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 84 *Returns*
Stamford, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and but* 6 *Returns in all*
Grantham, *created by Edw.* 4.
Middleſex London, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 93 *Returns*
Norfolk Norwich, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 91 *Returns*
Lynne, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 70 *Returns*
Yarmouth, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 85 *Returns*
Northampt. Northampton, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 101 *Returns*
Northumb. Newcaſtle, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 80 *Returns*
Nottingh. Nottingham, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 98 *Returns*
Oxfordſh. Oxford, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 110 *Returns*
* Woodſtock, 30 *Edw.* 1. *and* 33 *Edw.* 3. *reſtored* 13 *Eliz.*
Salop. Shrewſbury, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 97 *Returns*
Bridgenorth, 28 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 92 *Returns*
Wenlock, 8 *Edw.* 4. *by Charter*
Somerſetſh. Briſtol, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 96 *Returns*
Bath, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 99 *Returns*
Wells, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 88 *Returns*
Taunton, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 75 *Returns*
Bridgewater, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 91 *Returns*
Ilcheſter, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 30 *Returns*
* Milburn-port, 28 *Edw.* 1. *and* 33 *Edw.* 3. *reſtored* 3 *Car.*

Southampt. Winchester, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 96 *Returns*
Southampton, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 79 *Returns*
Portsmouth, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 78 *Returns*
* Andover, *four times to the* 33 *Edw.* 3. *restored lately*

Staffordsh. * Litchfield, 4 *Edw.* 2. *and to* 33 *Edw.* 3. *and in all* 9 *Returns*
Stafford, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 89 *Returns*
Newcastle, 29 *Edw.* 3. *and in all* 45 *Returns*

Suffolk. Ipswich, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 85 *Returns*
Dunewich, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 60 *Returns*
* Orford, 26 *and* 35 *Edw.* 1. *restored lately.*

Surrey Southwark, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 88 *Returns*
Blechingly, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 59 *Returns*
Ryegate, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 61 *Returns*
Guilford, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 98 *Returns*
Gatton, 29 *Hen.* 6. *and in all* 5 *Returns*

Suffex Chichester, 1 *Edw.* 2. *and in all* 93 *Returns*
Horsham, 30 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 65 *Returns*
Midhurst, 4 *Edw.* 2. *and in all* 50 *Returns*
Lewes, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 61 *Returns*
Shoreham, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 66 *Returns*
East Grinstead, 1 *Edw.* 2. *and in all* 52 *Returns*
Arundel, 30 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 75 *Returns*
Brembre, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 26 } *Usually, as one Borough, re-*
Steinings, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 13 } *turned jointly.*
Seaford, 20 *Edw. to* 1 *Hen.* 4. *and in all* 8 *Returns, not as a Port*
Rye,
Winchelsea, } *Vide* Kent, *Cinque-Ports.*
Hastings,

Warwicksh. Warwick, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 88 *Returns*
* Coventry, 30 *Edw.* 1. *and to the* 27 *Edw.* 3. *in all* 8 *Returns*

Westmorl. Appleby, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 85 *Returns*

Wiltshire Salisbury, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 97 *Returns*
Wilton, 28 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 93 *Returns*
Downton, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 25 *Returns*
Calne, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 32 *Returns*
Devizes, 28 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 51 *Returns*
Chippenham, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 27 *Returns*
Malmesbury, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 57 *Returns*
Cricklade, 1 *Edw.* 2. *and in all* 34 *Returns*
Great Bedwin, 30 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 27 *Returns*
Lurgurshall, 28 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 25 *Returns*
Old Sarum, 34 *Edw.* 3. *and in all* 28 *Returns*
Marlborough, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 61 *Returns*
Hindon, 27 *Hen.* 6. *and in all* 6 *Returns*
Heytesbury, 28 *Hen.* 6. *and in all* 5 *Returns*

Wilt-

Wiltſhire	Weſtbury, 27 *Hen.* 6. *and in all* 6 *Returns*
	Wottonbaſſet, 25 *Hen.* 6. *and in all* 7 *Returns*
Worceſter.	Worceſter, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 103 *Returns*
	* Droitwich, *in Edw.* 1. *and* 2. *were* 5 *Returns*; *reſtored lately.*
Yorkſhire	York, 49 *Hen.* 3. *and in all* 92 *Returns*
	Kingſton on Hull, 12 *Edw.* 2. *and in all* 67 *Returns*
	Scareborough, 28 *Edw.* 1. *and in all* 79 *Returns*
	* Rippon, 1 *Edw.* 2. *only*; *reſtored lately.*
	* Malton, 26 *Edw.* 1. *only*; *reſtored* 1640.
	* Northallerton, 26 *Edw.* 1. *only*; *reſtored* 1640.
	* Beverley, 26 *Edw.* 1. *and* 15 *Edw.* 3. *reſtored lately*
	* Pontfract, 26 *Edw.* 1. *only*; *reſtored* 18 *Jac.*

Boroughs which never did ſend Members till after Anno 1483.

From the Counties of	
Berkſhire	ABington
Bucks	Buckingham — — — Ayleſbury
Cheſhire	Cheſter, *by Act* 35 *Hen.* 8.
Cornwall	Eaſtlow, *by Charter* 13 *Eliz.*
	Foway, *by Charter* 13 *Eliz.*
	St. German, *by Charter*, 5 *Eliz.*
	St. Maws, *by Charter*, 5 *Eliz.*
	Saltaſh, — — — — Tregony
	Camelford, — — Boſſiney
	Weſtlow, — — — St. Ives
	Grampound, — — Newport
	St. Michael, — — Penryn
	Callington
Cumberl.	Cockermouth
Devonſhire	Beer-Alſton — — — Tiverton
Dorſetſh.	Corfe-Caſtle
Durham	Durham, *by Act* 25 *Car.* 2.
Gloceſter.	Cyrenceſter, *by Charter* 13 *Eliz.*
	Tewxbury.
Kent	Maidſton, *by Charter* 7 *Edw.* 6.
	Queenborow, *by Charter* 13 *Eliz.*
Lancaſter.	Newton, — — — — — — — — Wigan
	Clitheroe, — — — — — — — Leverpool
Lincolnſh.	Boſton.
Middleſex	Weſtminſter
Monmouth	Monmouth, by *Act* 27 *Hen.* 8.
Norfolk	Thetford, — — — — — — — Caſtleriſing

North-

Northampt.	Peterborough, — — —	Brackly
	Higham-Ferrers.	
Northumb.	Morpeth, — — —	Berwick
Nottingh.	Newark, *by Charter of Charles* 2.	
	Eaſt Retford.	
Oxfordſh.	Banbury.	
Salop.	Ludlow, — — —	Biſhops-Caſtle
Somerſetſh.	Mynehead, *by Charter* 5 *Eliz.*	
Southampt.	Chriſtchurch, *by Charter* 13 *Eliz.*	
	Stockbridge, *by Charter* 5 *Eliz.*	
	Petersfield — — —	Yarmouth
	Lymington, — — —	Newton
	Whitchurch, — — —	Newport
Stafford.	Tamworth, *by Charter* 5 *Eliz.*	
Suffolk	Aldborough, *by Charter* 13 *Eliz.*	
	Eye, *by Charter* 13 *Eliz.*	
	St. Edmondſbury, — —	Sudbury
Surry	Haſlemere.	
Worceſter.	Eveſham, *by Charter* 3 *James.*	
	Bewdley.	
Yorkſh.	Knareſborough, — — —	Richmond
	Boroughbridge, — — —	Heydon
	Aldborough, — — —	Thirſke
Wales	12 *Boroughs, by Acts* 27 *&* 38 *Hen.* 8.	

This Catalogue contains 82 *Boroughs*, and the former 134, which together compleat the Number in our Parliament, *viz.* 216.

Secondly, By Computations drawn from theſe recited Catalogues it will manifeſtly appear, that an Increaſe of Boroughs has never been judged any Breach of the Conſtitution, but contrariwiſe, the continual Progreſſion of Number ſeems to have been a conſiderable Acceſs of Strength to it: There is no Inſtance of Diminution, except the ſingle Caſe of *Torrington*, for the Pretermiſſion of thoſe 35 formerly ſummoned cannot amount to it; the Majority of them expreſſed ſufficiently their Indifference and Refuſal of that Privilege, and the ſeven which obeyed their Precepts more than twice, yet ſoon grew weary of the Sheriffs Officiouſneſs to ſummon them; or elſe the Sheriffs deſiſted therefrom, becauſe really they never had, in the Tenure of their Towns, or by Charter, any Right to be ſummoned; one of which Cauſes muſt alſo belong to the aſtraciſed 23: And it may well be conceived the Continuance of returning Members in ſeveral others of the leſſer Boroughs, was due rather to ſome Gentlemen of Eſtates adjoining, than to any Diſpoſition or Concern of the Inhabitants; nor is it improbable their very firſt Summoning or Inſtitution was ſo likewiſe.

As to the 23 I have aſtraciſed in the firſt Catalogue, 6 of them ſent but once, and 6 twice, but neither they, or any one of the Remainder, did ſend Members for above 120 Years preceding the End of this Collection of Records; ſo that

no impartial Man can diſallow us to deduct thoſe 23 from the 134, and to ſay, that at the latter End of *Edw.* 4. the Repreſentative of *England* had in it but 111 Boroughs at the moſt, and 37 Counties, (*Monmouth*, *Durham*, *Cheſhire*, and thoſe in *Wales* being ſince added) which allowing 2 Members for every one of either, makes in all but 296 Perſons: *Edw.* 4. created *Grantham* and *Wenlock*, *Hen.* 6. *Gatton*, *Hindon*, *Heyterſbury*, *Weſtbury*, and *Wottonbaſſet*, ſo that until his Reign there could be but 282 Members in the Houſe of Commons: Nor is it likely the Number was higher in any Reign before; for *Edw.* 3. and 2. created 38 Boroughs between them, which overbalances the 36 pretermitted: But if we conſider how frequently many of the allowed Boroughs failed to make Returns, and that the Counties ſometimes ſent but one Knight, and in particular, that *Windſor*, *Pool*, *Plymouth*, *Hertford*, *Stamford*, *Ilcheſter*, *Brembre*, *Steynings*, *Seaford*, *Downton*, *Calne*, *Chipenham*, *Bedwin*, *Lurgurſhall*, not one of them ſent a fourth Part of the Times that Parliaments were called; it is not probable that, until the Reign of *Henry* 6. the Houſe of Commons did ordinarily conſiſt of more than half the preſent Conſtituent thereof.

From *Edw.* 4. unto *Edw.* 6. Mr. *Pryn* tells us the Records of this kind are near all loſt; and ſince the latter, they are ſo confuſed, that he could not draw from thence a like Account of the newer Boroughs: What is therefore obſerved of the laſt Catalogue of 82, and the aſtraciſed 23, was drawn by him from the Commons Journal, except ſome very few Things which the Author hereof has on good Authority added: I could have wiſh'd to have made the Chronology of the latter Table as perfect as that of the firſt, for thereby my Argument would have look'd with a better Grace, though already there is abundantly ſufficient to ſupport it. *Hen.* 8. by Act privileged *Cheſter*, *Monmouth* and *Wales*, all which Counties and Boroughs increaſed the Houſe of Commons 31 Voices; *Maidſton* and *St. Albans* were added by *Edw* 6. thirteen Boroughs more by Queen *Elizabeth*; three more and the Univerſities by *James* 1. four in the Time of *Charles* 1. *Newark* by Charter, and *Durham* with Knights to the County by Act in *Charles* 2.

Since then, from the higheſt Antiquity in Record, frequent Addition of new Boroughs has been, and almoſt in every Reign ſucceſſively to this Day, without any Imputation of altering the Foundations of our Conſtitution thereby, the like therefore may ſurely be again whenever the King and Parliament ſee good; which is all the Inference drawn from the Premiſes, except that Addition of Number in the ſame Borough is taken to be included, as of the like Nature; ſo *Wenlock*, and ſome others now ſending two, formerly did but one, and *Cambridge* and *Oxford* have been privileged to ſend four. The *Venetian* Grand Council has in it 3000 without Confuſion, and that of the Barons by Tenure anciently in *England* had undoubtedly more. I proceed then to the *third* Diviſion of this Diſcourſe.

Thirdly, In purſuance of the intended Method, I am to lay down a Scale or Standard, by which to examine the ſeveral Proportions of the Body repreſented, in the Choice whereof (having no Precedent) I hope to be the more eaſily excuſed, if the Rule by which other Things are tried be itſelf not perfect; ſince to him

him who would uſe political Arithmetick, or argue touching Things from Numbers, (a Way lately recommended by a polite Hand) it is of Neceſſity to find an Area whereon to fix his Machine: A Foundation then to our Purpoſe muſt be, I conceive, ſome kind of Rule in Property, rather than any Scheme of Numbers, taken from the *Capitation* or *Poll-taxes*, and that I have choſen I thought more certain than any Terrar of Land which could be drawn; beſides, I induſtriouſly evade all Novelties, and therefore ſhun any Parallel of *Oceana*'s *Agrarian*, or forming the whole Repreſentative from the Land, in prejudice of the Boroughs of this Kingdom, a Majority whereof has attained to ſo venerable Antiquity in their Preſcription.

The Method of Taxation called a *Royal Aid*, which is become more frequent with us of ſome Years paſt than any other, is what I have fixed upon; whether it be the moſt unreproachable Rule of Subſidies, is not in my Argument to controvert: but this I undertake, to draw no Concluſion from the Uſe of it, but what muſt be verified by any other Scale of Proportions whatever. The particular Act I have taken of that Sort, is that which by an Aſſeſſment of Two Shillings *per l.* on all Revenues, did raiſe in the Year 1700 the Sum of 989965 *l.* 19 *s.* 6½ from the whole Kingdom, by the ſeveral Proportions hereunder ſpecified, as in the Act more at large appears; which ſaid Sum being ſubdivided by 513, (the Number of the Kingdom's Repreſentatives) does produce 1930 *l.* to be the Standard, by which every County may be known, whether it be over or under repreſented in Parliament, and by what Degrees it is ſo: Not that I argue the Body ought to be repreſented by ſuch Shares without Diſtinction, but craving Leave only to ſtate Matter of Fact in the Form following, I hope not to frame thence any malignant Inference, or unworthy of a Gentleman.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*	*Sends Members.*	*Its Proportion.*
Bedfordſhire paid	14277	7	5¾	4	7½
Berkſhire paid	20527	0	4	9	10½
Buckinghamſhire paid	23830	8	9	14	12¼
Cambridgeſhire paid	16413	1	6	6	8½
Cheſhire paid	14299	12	11¼	4	7½
Cornwall paid	15987	13	0	44	8¼
Cumberland paid	1856	19	1¼	6	1
Derbyſhire paid	12046	19	10¾	4	6¼
Devonſhire paid	41291	11	8	26	21½
Dorſetſhire paid	16558	3	9¼	20	8½
Durham paid	5298	17	2¾	4	2¾
Eſſex paid	45503	10	10	8	23
Glouceſterſhire paid	23761	6	5	8	12
Herefordſhire paid	10204	13	4	8	5½
Hertfordſhire paid	21486	12	8	6	11
Huntingtonſhire paid	7748	12	6	4	4
Kent paid	41721	14	2	18	21½
Lancaſhire paid	10494	17	3¼	14	5½
Leiceſterſhire paid	17435	19	6¾	4	9
Lincolnſhire paid	36113	5	2	12	19
Middleſex paid	153877	1	5¼	8	79¾
Monmouth paid	4906	3	2¼	3	2½
Norfolk paid	42330	6	2	12	22
Northamptonſhire paid	24053	13	4½	9	12½
Northumberland paid	7274	8	8	8	3¾
Nottinghamſhire paid	13638	5	4¾	8	7
Oxfordſhire paid	19591	13	1½	9	10
Rutlandſhire paid	2762	11	11¼	2	2½
Shropſhire paid	14530	9	6¾	12	7½
Somerſetſhire paid	36236	11	9	18	19
Southamptonſhire paid	27594	3	0¼	26	14½
Staffordſhire paid	13560	11	7	10	7
Suffolk paid	36909	12	7	16	19
Surrey paid	33507	6	9¼	14	17¼
Suſſex paid	30410	0	6½	28	16
Warwickſhire paid	19932	5	4	6	10½
Weſtmoreland paid	1522	11	10¾	4	0¾
Wiltſhire paid	25836	3	11½	34	13½
Worceſterſhire paid	16848	9	3½	9	8¾
Yorkſhire paid	45816	5	8	30	23¾
Wales entire paid	21968	16	8	24	11½
	989965	19	6½	513	513

Of the aforeſaid Tax,

Fourthly,

Fourthly, To demonſtrate that there is no Parallel in the Kingdom to the Caſe of *Middleſex*, I have no more to do than to ſtate ſome Proportions in the recited Appropriatiǒns on the ſeveral Counties, as followeth.

Of the Counties moſt Over-repreſented,	ſends	for	Of the Counties moſt Under-repreſented,	ſends	for
Cumberland	6	1	*Middleſex*	8	79 5/7
Weſtmoreland	4	0 1/4	*Eſſex*	8	23
Cornwall	44	8 3/4	*Leiceſter*	4	9
Wiltſhire	34	13 1/2	*Cheſhire*	4	7 1/2
Dorſet	20	8 1/2	*Bedford*	4	7 1/2
Lancaſter	14	5 1/2	*Norfolk*	12	22
Thoſe of *Wales*	24	11 1/2	*Hertfordſhire*	6	11
Northumberland	8	4	*Warwick*	6	10
Suſſex	28	15 3/4	*Lincoln*	12	19

As to the firſt Claſſis of this Table, *Over-repreſented*, I am no ways concern'd to reflect upon it, and have drawn it only for Illuſtration of the Caſe in hand: *Preſcription* is their Title, and the Experience of ſome Ages having produc'd no dangerous Conſequence that, in my Opinion, does ſufficiently anſwer whatever Reflections may be rais'd from the *Agrarian* Principles; altho' at the ſame time I ſhould think it very unequal to argue the ſame Right of Preſcription for a Negative, *viz.* that becauſe *Middleſex* never was repreſented by more than eight, therefore it never ought to be ſo; and this principal Reaſon I give, that the very ſame Argument applied to all the other Counties, muſt of neceſſity reduce them to their ſeveral Conditions in *Edward* the Firſt.

Touching the ſecond Part of this Table, the *Under-repreſented*, the moſt diſtinguiſhed are three; *Leiceſter*, which has about one half of its Proportion; *Eſſex*, which has about one third, and *Middleſex* one tenth, ſo that the Caſe of the latter is undoubtedly without any Parallel; wherefore, if a way of Redreſs may be propos'd for her, which can never be drawn into Conſequence, or applicable to any other, and which is at the ſame Time beneficial to the Kingdom in general, I hope not to deſerve ill from any, in offering ſuch a one. But before I deſcend to the ſaid Propoſal, one thing more ought to be premis'd, That the County of *Middleſex*, becauſe of its entire Dependance on her two great Cities, is to be conſidered as their Suburbs; and therefore I ſhall not offer any thing on behalf of the Freehold-election, (that being conceiv'd not diſproportioned to other Counties in general) but what I have to ſay, is in Behalf of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, abſtractedly taken.

Conſidering the Promiſe to make no uſe of my Standard of Proportions, which will not hold good by any other whatſoever, and that henceforth I am reſtrain'd to ſpeak of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, it follows to ſhew, that the other Cities of the Kingdom will have as little Reaſon to emulate any Favour paid to theſe, as the Counties in Competition with *Middleſex* could pretend: In the Act recited the Quota of *London* was *l.* 61667 : 1 : 3 1/2; that of *Weſtminſter*

Weſtminſter was *l.* 31729: 0: ¾; whereas *Norwich* paid *l.* 5259: 5: 11½; *Briſtol*, *l.* 3695: 15: 4; *York*, *l.* 2319: 14: 0; *Oxford*, *l.* 1867: 4: 10; *Cambridge*, *l.* 1423: 1: 6½. We ſee then that the Advantage of Argument riſes higher by this Compariſon than the former one of Counties; wherefore having thought fit to mention it, I do willingly abridge myſelf of it, leſt any ill Conſtruction ſhould ariſe.

Fifthly, By the Standard us'd, the Proportion of *Middleſex* would be, to have 79 Members of Parliament; but ſince it is certain, the Rights of particular Places ought to be wav'd, if inconſiſtent with the Welfare of the Community, and the Inequality of other Counties (warranted by Preſcription) will not juſtify any Pretenſions to approach the like. I ſuppoſe myſelf to have abundantly expreſs'd the native *Engliſh* Jealouſy for the *untainted Honour* of our Conſtitution, and to have obviated all perverſe Conſtructions, when I offer on behalf *Middleſex* but a quarter-part, by this Standard, of her Proportion, *viz.* that *London* might find Twelve, and *Weſtminſter* Six Citizens for our Parliament, which with the Knights, would be in all Twenty for *Middleſex:* However, with the Freedom of a true *Engliſh-man* theſe Things are mention'd; it is entirely upon Suppoſition ſtill that the ſame would be of permanent conſiderable Advantage to the Kingdom, which is refer'd to the Judgment of the Publick, and left to depend wholly on the Validity of the Arguments enſuing.

Now, to have the State of the Caſe rightly underſtood, it is needful to recite ſomething in ſhort of what has been already ſaid: It has been taken for a Foundation-principle, that the Welfare of *England* does very much depend upon the Dignity of her Repreſentative in Parliament, which Dignity appears to have been, for many Ages ſucceſſively, conſulted by Addition of Number to it; but her preſent Conſtituent being examin'd, and the Counties compar'd by a Scale of Computation, *Middleſex* is by vaſt Degrees the moſt of all other under-repreſented therein: For which obvious Defect in the Repreſentative of our Country, a Proviſion is render'd in Terms ſo moderate, as is ſuppos'd to obviate all malign Reflections; ſince the ſame can never be pleaded on Behalf of any other County, becauſe *Middleſex* will ſtill continue (without Parallel) much the loweſt repreſented in that Aſſembly, and becauſe the Reaſons given for ſuch Proviſion can never probably be applicable to any other; ſo I proceed to offer the Conſiderations which do make it ſeem the common Advantage of the Kingdom.

1ſt, The Degree of Inequality in the particular Caſe before us, is itſelf an Argument for Redreſs, tho' a leſſer would not be, becauſe it is far from being parallel'd at home, or perhaps in other Countries abroad; for the Caſe of *Apenzil* having equal Vote in the Diet of *Switzerland* with the Canton of *Bearn*, and that of *Overiſſel* a like in the States-General with the County of *Holland*, is very different from ours, becauſe in both thoſe the greater are not concluded by the leſs; *Bearn* and *Holland* receive no Laws or Taxes from the over-ruling Votes of *Apenzil* and *Overiſſel*. This Inſtance is not indeed in other Points juſt the ſame with ours, and therefore I frame hence no Argument, but uſe it for Illuſtration

Illuſtration only; ſomewhat nearer is that of *Amſterdam* compar'd with the ſmall Cities, which jointly compoſe the States of the Province of *Holland*, and in this Inſtance the greater is concluded by the leſs, the Majority of Votes determining in many, though not in all Points; in that Aſſembly *Amſterdam* has one Vote in 19, *London* but one in 105 of the Boroughs. I alledge theſe foreign Inſtances only to obviate the Objection, That the Inequality here mention'd as a Grievance, is no more than what is found in all other Countries in the like Caſe. But the Inequality, ſay ſome, if warranted by Preſcription of many Ages, why ſhould it now be complain'd of? I anſwer, without debating whether that Title be indiſputable in all Points, that *London* for many Ages has ſent four Members to Parliament, when the whole Number roſe not higher than half the *preſent*; unto which if we add the Growth of *London* and *Weſtminſter* for 100 Years paſt, we ſhall find the Inequality pleadable now before us, has not much the Authority of Preſcription for it.

But becauſe no one ſhall ſuſpect that this Inequality is due ſolely to a falſe Standard or Balance us'd, I am content the Quota propos'd be examined by two other Scales, which an ingenious Author has furniſhed us with; he ſays, the Number of living Souls in the Kingdom is computed at five Millions and an half, whereof within the Bills of Mortality are Five hundred and thirty thouſand; he ſays, the lateſt Books of Hearth-money reckon a Million and three hundred thouſand Houſes in the Kingdom, (the loweſt Cottages included) whereof the accurate Survey of *London* and *Weſtminſter* (about the ſame time taken) reports therein near One hundred thouſand; ſo that *Middleſex* riſing higher than both thoſe Proportions, may well be eſtimated One tenth Part of the whole Kingdom, by which Account her Members in Parliament would be Fifty-one: Wherefore the preſent Inequality may be ſuppos'd a Subject worthy of Redreſs, as is acknowledged in like Caſe by the Preamble of the Act 35 *Henry* VIII. impowering the County and City of *Cheſter* to ſend to Parliament.

2*dly*, The Proportion of Tax by the Act herein us'd may well ſtand for an Argument to prove my Propoſition reaſonable; for, Can there be any thing more ſo, than that thoſe who bear the Burden ſhould enjoy the Privilege? Is there any thing more agreeable to our Conſtitution, than that the Subjects Money be not given otherwiſe than by their own Conſent? Can there be any Thing more laudable and good in the Sight of GOD and Men, than the utmoſt Impartiality poſſible be us'd in proportioning all the Impoſitions of the State? This is to have our Exactor's Righteouſneſs, a Prayer which the Throne of Heaven does encourage; and I believe, if the Matter were enquir'd into, great and heavy Taxations have in all Countries been more cheerfully borne by the People, when levied with Equality, than far leſs when manifeſt Partiality has been practis'd; ſomething of which Kind was a principal Ingredient in moſt of thoſe calamitous Revolutions, which have broken the *Gothick* Frame in the ſeveral Principalities of *Europe*, as would be eaſy to make appear; but we need not any Argument to that End, the Act herein ſpecified is conceived to be in Proportions equal, and in that Senſe is the Foundation of all that has been advanc'd.

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Wherefore taking it for granted that *Middleſex* juſtly bears two Parts in Thirteen of all Subſidies levied in the Kingdom, then can it be unreaſonable ſhe ſhould have two in fifty-one of the Repreſentative, which is the ſum of our Propoſal when allow'd? Or, What ſufficient Reaſon can be given, that ſome Boroughs which pay but 20 *l.* for their Quota, ſhould be repreſented equally in Eſtates with *Weſtminſter*, which pays as often 31729 *l.* to the Support of the Government? Not that a Degree in the Repreſentative is pleadable in Proportion to the Degree of ſuch Payments, but only where ſo vaſt a Difference is in the *one*, there ſome Diſtinction ought likewiſe to be in the *other*; as appears to have been practis'd from the ancienteſt Records of our Conſtitution, for *London* and the *Cinque Ports* (uſually) were enjoyn'd to ſend more than any other of the Boroughs. If Queen *Elizabeth*, having for ſome Years to do with the E. of *Deſmond*, a powerful Rebel in *Munſter*, gave unto *Mynehead* in *Somerſetſhire* this Privilege among others by Charter, on the Condition of keeping their Harbour in good Repair at their own Coſts, from the ſame juſt Reaſon of Uſefulneſs and Benefit to the Publick, is ſome Diſtinction here pleaded for, on Behalf of *London* and *Weſtminſter*.

3dly, The Intereſt of Naval Power, our common Glory and Defence, ſeems to ſtand in need of ſome extraordinary Cultivation; for tho' we hear it frequently advanced, That *England* by her good Fleet could ſubſiſt and defend herſelf againſt any foreign Invaſion, without Alliances abroad; however it be a Riddle in itſelf, yet is built commonly upon a Paradox more abſurd, which is to ſay, that our Dominion at Sea may be ſufficiently maintained without the Root of a mercantile Navigation; ſo that to exalt our Power at Sea, and depreciate at the ſame Time the Subſervience of Traffick, is common among us: If ſuch would be pleas'd to look backwards, I am well aſſured Trade will appear to have been moſtly the Parent of all Marine Force, and the natural Support of it, and without which it never has ſubſiſted in any Nation longer than the Reign of ſome extraordinary Prince, or during ſome difficult Junctures. To expatiate on this Subject, would need a Tract apart, therefore taking it for granted, that the Royal Navy of *England* cannot long flouriſh without the Subſervience of an anſwerable Commercial Navigation, what I have to ſay is as followeth.

Moſt Countries in *Europe* at this Time imploy their ſedulous Endeavours to cultivate every one their proper Manufactures, to invent new ones, to improve their Native Materials or Productions, to diſcourage Foreign Imports; and, as 'tis called, turn the Balance of Traffick in their reſpective Favours; which Meaſures, I conceive, ariſe from a Conſent in Politicks, that as Money is now (more than ever) the Nerve of War, (ſo that Gold ſeems rather to command Iron, than Iron Gold) Trade is neceſſarily conſulted, as the chief Miniſter of Wealth. Now no Country in *Chriſtendom* has the natural Advantages, and ſo much Adaptneſs for Trade as *England*, and withal has a more abſolute Dependance upon it, but at the ſame Time *Aulick* Councils and Commitees of Country Gentlemen are not likely to produce that political Encouragement which were to be wiſh'd; therefore, as good Regulations with us ariſe ordinari-

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ly from the Houſe of Commons, ſo the Multitude of her conſtant Emergencies, the Uncertainty of her Seſſion, and above all, the general Incapacity of her Members for Mechanical Affairs has effected, that we ſee not commonly thoſe good Fruits of her Reſults in this Kind as in others. I ſhould imagine then the Admiſſion of the Number propos'd, of Men better turn'd to thoſe Affairs, would be various Ways and Means of advancing and ſecuring the Intereſt of Trade among us; and when by the New Proviſion *Courtiers* muſt ceaſe their Pretenſions to *Weſtminſter* Election, it is probable the Intereſt of Trade will there prevail, as in *London*.

But becauſe ſome may judge ſuch-like Matters not worthy the Conſideration I would put upon them, and to prevent other Obloquies, I deſire them to heed well the Meaſures of *France* on this head; her ſuperbe Monarch does not think it beneath him to nouriſh ſeveral new Projects of this Nature with his own Subſcriptions to the firſt Funds of them; he has erected Courts in ſeveral of his great Cities, for the more eaſy Deciſion of Cauſes commercial; his Treaties with foreign States are as minutely weigh'd in this Regard as any other; and the *Mercury* of *Auguſt* 1700 tells of an Edict iſſued for erecting a *Council of Trade*, compos'd of ſix Counſellors of State, and twelve Merchants, *viz.* from *Paris* two, *Rohan*, *Bourdeaux*, *Lyons*, *Marſeilles*, *St. Maloes*, *Rochel*, *Nantes*, *Liſle*, *Dunkirk*, and *Bayonne*, one each; theſe Merchants are to be yearly elected by thoſe Cities in *July*, by the Plurality of Tradeſmen reſpectively, and to render themſelves at *Paris* by the firſt of *October*, there to meet once at leaſt every Week, to deliberate of all Propoſals, to intend the Welfare of Traffick, and to report their Reſult to the Council of State. In my Mind, this very Pattern, a little modelled to our Conſtitution, would be more probable to diſcover the Decays, to rectify the Errors, and to induce a flouriſhing Proſperity in our Traffick, than any Council which has been hitherto in uſe among us, for the particular Reaſon that made me mention it, *viz.* the great Majority of Tradeſmen in it.

4*thly*, Publick Credit is well known to be of indiſpenſible Neceſſity with us, wherefore the good Condition of it is a Benefit very valuable to the Kingdom; without which, Parliamentary Supplies in the uſual Courſe cannot anſwer the Exigencies of the State; ſo that the ordinary Charges of the Government, ſuch as the maintaining a *Summer Squadron*, the having in Readineſs any Quantity of *Naval Stores*; nay, the *Diſburſements of the Houſhold* in Time of Peace, are not ſupplied without Credit; much leſs in Time of War can Sea or Land-ſoldiers be levied, our grand Fleet put to Sea, or the neceſſary Operations in ſuch a Caſe proceed, but by this: And more eſpecially, in extraordinary Emergencies, Surprize, or Diſtreſſes of the State, the very Security of *England* muſt depend wholly upon the good Condition of publick Credit.

By *Publick Credit* is meant, when private Perſons lend Sums of Money, or vend Commodities upon *Truſt*, for the Uſe of the Government; ſo when that is done with a ſtreightened Hand, then it follows, whatever Money is needed by the State, cannot be had without high *Præmiums*; and in like manner, what-

ever kind of Merchandiſe ſhe wants, ſhe muſt give extravagant Prices for, becauſe in both Caſes there will appear more of Hazard. 'Tis therefore of ineſtimable Advantage to the Publick to put this Matter into a good Poſture, touching which various Tracts have been publiſhed; and I ſhall therefore confine myſelf to the Subject in hand.

If then the Cities treated of do afford, in a manner, all the Commodities, and advance all the Money which the State has more or leſs Occaſion for; I conceive the allowing them an Addition to their Repreſentative in Parliament, would be a very cogent Means to create and perpetuate in them that Readineſs and Confidence in this kind, as would turn to the vaſt Emolument of the Nation; whereby the Occaſions of high *Præmiums* and *Intereſt* will be obviated: Nor does it appear what Inconveniencies can ariſe therefrom; for if from inſcrutable Ages ſome Parts of the Kingdom have poſſeſſed an Overbalance in our Parliament, without Damage to the Publick, how ſhould this inconſiderable Addition bring any?

5thly, The Cities herein mentioned making up the Auguſt Capitol of our Empire, are the Royal Chamber of our Monarchs, the Seat of our High Court of Parliament, as well as of the higheſt ſubordinate Courts of Juſtice, the Center of Foreign and Domeſtick Trade, from which all the Parts of the Kingdom (as their Head) derive Influence, as well as reciprocally miniſter to it: This is our ſole *Emporium*, able to furniſh our Fleets and Armies, and, in fine, wherein the Majeſty and Strength of our Government reſides: On which Accounts (if the forementioned be poſtponed) it were not very unbecoming to allow ſome diſtinguiſhing Favour in the Repreſentative.

But, I conceive, there is no ſuch Thing at preſent; for if *London* ſends four Members, *Oxford* and *Cambridge* do the ſame, though by a much newer Title. If the near Vicinity of *London* and *Weſtminſter* be pleaded for a Favour, that's no more than is frequent elſewhere; as in the Caſe of *New* and *Old Sarum*, (though the old be the newer Borough) *Brembre* and *Steynings* (formerly returning but as one) *Eaſtlowe* and *Weſtlowe*, *Launceſton* and *Newport*, *St. Ive* and *Callington*, *Tregony* and *Grampound*, *Truro* and *St. Michael*, *Weymouth* and *Melcomb Regis*, *Rye* and *Winchelſea*, with ſome others, if *Speed*'s Maps of thoſe Countries may be relied on. One Thing more from the Grandeur of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, which might weigh in this Caſe is, that the Number and Quality of their Electors is ſuch as will not eaſily admit of thoſe Corruptions in Election, which have been ſo rife in the leſſer Boroughs.

Theſe Reaſons alledged for ſome Diſtinction to the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter* in the Repreſentative of *England*, are obviouſly taken from Matters of Fact, and put together without Art, the Author being ſenſible enough he is unable any ways to imbelliſh a Theme of this Nature; ſo that however the Subject has ſuffered by his Defect, he will have always for his Conſolation, the Conſcience of a diſintereſted and unpretended Aim, at leaſt, to the Benefit of his Country: Whether his Judgment herein be condemned or approved, he will be very little affected, having no perſonal Concern, more than his private Inheritance, embarked in the Veſſel of the Commonwealth; and as he has been dictated by none but his own ſolitary Amuſement, and therefore has no Intention to ſerve a Party,

a Party, ſo his peculiar Care has been, to avoid whatever might juſtly give Offence; but if in that he ſhould be diſappointed, he has this one Conſolation left, the ſafe Retreat of a miſtaken or abuſed Innocence.

In cloſing a Diſcourſe of this Subject, having pretended to be a Lover of my Country in a Juncture like the preſent, I hope to be pardoned in adding a few Lines alien from the Point in hand.

It is well known, Dangers from abroad can threaten *England* only from the Side of *France*, and his gracious Majeſty has imparted his Opinion, *That our Animoſities are the ſole Hope of our Enemies*; and if ſo, I doubt not but the Wiſdom of our Parliament will ſoon make it give up the Ghoſt: God forbid! if no Confuſion of Languages in the new cementing Kingdoms do defeat our modern *Nimrod* of his projected *Univerſal Monarchy*, that any ſuch amongſt us ſhould however further and accompliſh it; let the paſt Ages warn us ſufficiently.

How did the Court of *France* blow the Coals between *Henry* the Second and his rebellious Sons, and then warm herſelf at the Flames? How did *Philip Auguſtus* avail himſelf of our Confuſions under King *John* and *Henry* the Third? During the Diſtractions of *Richard* the Second, how did the *French* extend their Ravages on our Coaſts? On the other Side, the Animoſities of *France* between the Houſes of *Burgundy* and *Orleans*, did more to place our *Henry* on that Throne than the Battle of *Agincourt*; and as ſoon as the Houſe of *Burgundy* withdrew her Intereſt from ours by the Treaty of *Arras*, the *Engliſh* Affairs declined there apace. Neither was it the peculiar Bravery of the *Engliſh* alone which acquired us thoſe vaſt Advantages under *Edward* the Third, granted by the Treaty of *Britany*, but in the Torrent of that Succeſs we were much favoured by the Malecontents of that Kingdom, as the Earls of *Artois* and *Montfort*, the Lord of *Harcourt*, and above all by the King of *Navarre*, as Earl of *Devereux*, with their reſpective Partizans. Now let us turn the Tables again, and no ſooner does *Henry* the Sixth, in *England*, put us into Broilleries at home, but within the Compaſs of Three Years we loſt all thoſe ſpacious Dominions in *France*, except *Calais*, with this ſhameful Circumſtance, that what was gained with unparallel'd Bravery, was loſt without any Manner of Defence, ſo much did the Animoſities then riſing unman the *Engliſh*. Thus Grandeur and Succeſs between *England* and *France* has been like a Tide between both Shores, ebbing and flowing as good Order or Confuſion reign'd on either Side.

'Tis certain no Differences or Animoſities can much injure us, but thoſe that affect the ſupreme Branches of the Legiſlature; touching which, as I have reſtrained my Diſcourſe to the Houſe of Commons, ſo I ſee but one Thing deſirable to her on this Head, which is, that ſince Petitions of Complaint touching Elections are grown to be ſo numerous every Parliament, ſome Expedient might be found to decide them, with more Eaſe and Expedition, for the Complainants and the Houſe herſelf: But as every one, no doubt, deſires the ſame, ſo I hope ſome good Genius will at length find out a Method to content.

In fine, tho' we have been a Nation diſunited, and *France* at Union within herſelf too long, yet in GOD's good Time it ſhall be otherwiſe; the Number of the Princes of the Blood encreaſing, Baulks and Diſappointments ariſing abroad, and Poverty within at the ſame Time, may ſoon disjoint that Kingdom; and if our Animoſities have been fomented thence, they will conſequently fail, when the ſuppoſited Fuel is withdrawn. 'Tis certain Cardinal *Richlieu* laid it down as a Maxim, That ENGLAND *could never be deſtroyed but by herſelf*; and accordingly he work'd his Engines, whereof there will never be wanting, while the Popiſh Cauſe ſo flouriſhes beyond Sea, and we tolerate ſo many embittered Subjects of that Perſwaſion at home: But, I hope, ſince the Mine is diſcover'd, it ſhall not bury us in its Ruins, nor (through the Goodneſs of GOD) ſhall the Head of the *Proteſtant Intereſt* ſink, till Time ſhall be no more.

Prieſtcraft in Perfection: Or, a DETECTION of the FRAUD of inſerting and continuing this Clauſe *(The Church hath Power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controverſies of Faith)* in the Twentieth Article of the Articles of the Church of *England.*

To forge an Article of Religion, either in Whole or in Part, and then thruſt it upon the Church, is a moſt heinous Crime, far worſe than Forging of a Deed. Archbiſhop *Laud*'s Speech in the Star-chamber. *Remains*, Vol. 2. pag. 82.

Maximè habenda ſunt pro ſuſpectis, quæ quomodocunque dependent à Religione. *Baconis Nov. Org. Lib.* 2. *Aph.* 29.

The Preface.

THE Authority of the Church in Controverſies of Faith, *is the grand, if not the ſole Topick, whereby the Papiſts have ſeduced many Proteſtants of the Church of* England *into their Communion*; *while they have been able to make few or no Converts among* our Diſſenters, *who univerſally diſclaim that* Authority. *And I muſt needs ſay, that I am ſo far from being ſurprized at it, that I think it argues either great Want of Dexterity in the Popiſh Prieſts, or great Negligence and Indifferency among us in Matters of Religion, That they have not more Succeſs with thoſe who believe* the Church has Authority in Controverſies of Faith: *For if by* the Authority of the Church in Controverſies of Faith *be underſtood*

underſtood (according to **Bp.* Sparrow, *the Editor of our* Articles and Canons, *and all other High-Churchmen)* a Power in the Governors of the Church to determine what ſhall be receiv'd and profeſs'd for Truth among the Members of the Church, and bind them to Submiſſion to their Sentence, tho' they err in their Sentence; *we of the Church of* England *could have no Pretence to ſeparate from the Church of* Rome *in Queen* Elizabeth's *Time, nor to continue in that Separation to this Day. For we being only a ſmall Branch of the* Roman *Church before the Reformation, ought by that* Principle *to have been concluded by the Majority of the Governors of that Church; and conſequently ought to have continued* Papiſts *in* Profeſſion, *till the Majority of thoſe Governors had determined for a Reformation. But we were ſo far from proceeding on any ſuch* Principle, *that the Reformation was carry'd on here in* England, *not only in Oppoſition to the Governors of the* Roman *Church in general, but even in Oppoſition to the Governors of our own Church: For in the* † 1ſt *of Queen* Elizabeth, *the Parliament alone eſtabliſhed the* Queen's Supremacy, *and the* Common Prayer-Book, *in ſpite of all Oppoſition from the Biſhops in the Houſe of Lords; and the Convocation then ſitting were ſo far from having any Hand in thoſe* Church-Acts *for Reformation, that they preſented to the Parliament ſeveral Propoſitions in behalf of the Tenets of Popery, directly contrary to the Proceedings of the Parliament. And as for the* Articles *of our Church, they could never have been agreed to by the Convocation of* 1562, *had not the Biſhops been firſt deprived by Law for their Popery, and their Sees fill'd with Proteſtant Biſhops.*

I have therefore been amazed how it was poſſible for our Reformers to have aſſerted, That the Church had Authority in Controverſies of Faith, *ſo contrary to the* Principle *on which they proceeded; or that they would ever ſuppoſe an* Authority *in Biſhops (againſt which they then acted) to bring back all the Abſurdities of Popery, of which this is the Chief, as well as the Foundation of all that monſtrous Superſtructure; and which can never be demoliſh'd by Reaſon and Argument, till this ſuppoſed* Authority *be intirely taken away.*

But upon Examination into the Truth of this Matter, I find they were honeſter and more rational Men than they ſtand repreſented. They thought there was no reforming *without* mending; *and therefore they as much abhorred the Doctrine of the* Authority of the Church, *as any other Abſurdities of Popery, as appears by the Books written by them: And as for the Clauſe in our* Articles *that aſſerts it, I ſhall prove beyond all Contradiction, that it was not of their compoſing, but a Forgery inſerted into our Articles, which by Time got Strength among us, like ſome other Things, without any juſt Foundation: Such as the* Uſe of Organs in Churches, *ſaid to be* ſuperſtitious ‡ *by our* Homilies; Cuts *in*

* *See his Preface to his Collection of Canons, Articles,* &c.

† 1558, 1559.

‡ The Homilies introduce a Woman ſaying to her Neighbour: *Alas, Goſſip, what ſhall we do at Church, ſince all the Saints are taken away, ſince all the goodly Sights we were*

in the † *Common-Prayer-Book, and* Pictures *in Churches, forbid by Queen* Elizabeth; placing the Communion-Table Altar-wise, when the Sacrament is adminiſtred, *contrary to the expreſs Direction of our* Rubrick, *which ſays,* The Table at the Communion Time ſhall ſtand where Morning and Evening Prayer is appointed to be ſaid; bowing towards the Eaſt, and placing Candles *(unlighted)* on the Communion Table; *which ſince they are no where enjoin'd by our*

were wont to have are gone, ſince we cannot hear the like Piping, Chaunting, and Playing upon the Organs that we could before? And in Anſwer to the Old *Woman,* the Homily replies: *But (Dearly Beloved) we ought greatly to rejoice, and give God Thanks, that our Churches are delivered out of all thoſe Things which diſpleaſed God ſo ſore, and filthily defil'd his Holy Houſe, and his Place of Prayer, for the which he hath juſtly deſtroyed many Nations. And this we ought greatly to praiſe God for, that ſuch* ſuperſtitious *and idolatrous Manners as were utterly naught, and defaced God's Glory, are utterly aboliſhed, as they moſt juſtly deſerved.* Homilies, printed at *Oxford* in Folio, *p.* 221.

† *Dr.* Nowel *Dean of* St. Paul's, *having gotten ſeveral fine Cuts and Pictures, repreſenting the Stories and Paſſions of the Saints and Martyrs, cauſed them to be bound up in a Common-Prayer-Book, and laid it for the Queen's Uſe in the Place where ſhe commonly ſat; intending it for a New-Year's-Gift to her Majeſty, and thinking to have pleaſed her Fancy therewith. But it had not that Effect, but the contrary: For ſhe conſidered how this varied from her late open Injunctions and Proclamations againſt the ſuperſtitious Uſe of Images in Churches, and taking away all ſuch Relicks of Popery. When ſhe came to her Place* (at St. Paul's) *ſhe opened the Book, and peruſed it, and ſaw the Pictures, but frowned and bluſhed, and then ſhut it; and calling the Verger, bad him bring her the old Book, wherein ſhe was formerly wont to read. After Sermon, inſtead of taking Horſe,* &c. *immediately ſhe went to the Veſtry, and applied herſelf to the Dean thus:*

Q. Mr. *Dean,* How came it to paſs that a new Service-Book was placed on my Cuſhion?

D. May it pleaſe your Majeſty, I caus'd it to be placed there.

Q. Wherefore did you ſo?

D. To preſent your Majeſty with a New-Year's-Gift.

Q. You could never preſent me with a worſe.

D. Why ſo, Madam?

Q. You know I have an Averſion to Idolatry, to Images and Pictures of this Kind.

D. Wherein is the Idolatry, may it pleaſe your Majeſty?

Q. In the Cuts reſembling Angels and Saints; nay, groſſer Abſurdities, Pictures reſembling the bleſſed Trinity.

D. I meant no harm: nor did I think it would offend your Majeſty, when I intended it for a New-Year's-Gift.

Q. You muſt needs be ignorant then. Have you forgot our Proclamation againſt Images, Pictures, and Romiſh Relicks in the Churches? Was it not read in your Deanery?

D. It was read. But be your Majeſty aſſured I meant no Harm when I cauſed the Cuts to be bound with the Service-Book.

Q. You muſt needs be very ignorant to do this after our Prohibition of them.

D. It being my Ignorance, your Majeſty may the better pardon me.

Q. I am ſorry for it; yet glad to hear it was your Ignorance, rather than your Opinion.

D. Be your Majeſty aſſured, it was my Ignorance.

Q. If ſo, Mr. *Dean,* God grant you his Spirit, and more Wiſdom for the future.

D. Amen,

our Common-Prayer-Book, are therefore forbidden by the Act ‡ *of Uniformity made after the Reſtoration.*

And I am perſuaded, that there cannot be a nobler Service to our moſt excellent and pure *Church (at the ſame Time that our Legiſlature are clearing her from maintaining the moſt abſurd and blaſphemous Doctrine of Paſſive-Obedience) nor greater Honour done to the Memory of our glorious Reformers, than to wipe off the Scandal of this Popiſh Clauſe both from her and them, among thoſe who take it to be a Part of her Articles. I ſay,* among thoſe who take it to be a Part of her Articles; *becauſe we are really thought to be* Proteſtants *abroad, tho' ſome of us deſire to appear like* Papiſts *at home. For in the Collections of the ſeveral* Articles of Religion *of the Reformed Churches, printed abroad under the Title of the* Harmony of Confeſſions, *our 20th Article ſtands without the Addition of the Clauſe for the* Church's Power, *as Dr.* Heylin *aſſures us in his* Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians, p. 268. *And I hope there needs no Apology for recommending our Church to thoſe who pretend to be her Friends, by freeing her from this Clauſe, and thereby rendering her truly (what a Reverend Dean of our Church call'd her, juſt after the Reſtoration, while he was ſweeping up a large Fine) The* beſt conſtituted Church in the whole World.

London, Jan. 1, 1709.

D. Amen, I pray God.

Q. I pray, Mr. *Dean*, how came you by theſe Pictures? Who engrav'd them?

D. I know not who engrav'd them. I bought them.

Q. From whom bought you them?

D. From a *German.*

Q. It is well it was from a Stranger; had it been any of our Subjects, we ſhould have queſtion'd the Matter. Pray let no more of theſe Miſtakes, or of this Kind, be committed within the Churches of this Realm for the future.

D. There ſhall not.

This Matter occaſioned all the Clergy in and about London, *and the Churchwardens of each Pariſh, to ſearch the Churches and Chapels; and cauſed them to waſh out of the Walls all Paintings that ſeemed Romiſh and Idolatrous, and in lieu thereof ſuitable Texts taken out of the Holy Scriptures to be written. Strype's* Annals of Q. *Eliz.* pag. 238, 239.

‡ Which ſays, *That no Rites or Ceremonies ſhall be openly uſed in any Church or Chapel, or other publick Place of Worſhip, or in any College or Hall in either of the Univerſities, the Colleges of* Weſtminſter, Wincheſter, *or* Eaton, *or any of them, other than what is preſcribed and appointed to be uſed in and by the Common-Prayer-Book,* &c.

Prieſtcraft

Prieſtcraft in Perfection, &c.

THE *Articles of the Church of England* were agreed to and ſubſcrib'd by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy, in a Convocation, held at *London*, in the Year of our Lord 1562, and the 5th of Queen *Elizabeth*. They were afterwards review'd by another Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury*, held at *London* in the Year 1571, and in the Beginning of that Year (which was the 13th of the Queen) they were ratify'd in Parliament, under the Title of **Articles of Religion, which only concern the Confeſſion of the true Chriſtian Faith and the Doctrine of the Sacraments, compriſed in a Book imprinted, intitled,* "*Articles whereupon it was agreed by the* "*Archbiſhops and Biſhops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy, in the* "*Convocation holden at* London *in the Year of our Lord* 1562, *according to* "*the Computation of the Church of* England, *for the avoiding of the Diverſity* "*of Opinions, and for the eſtabliſhing of Conſent touching true Religion, put* "*forth by the Queen's Authority.*" From which Act ariſes their *Legal Authority*, as my Lord of † *Sarum* truly obſerves.

Theſe being the Authorities upon which the *Articles* of our Church ſtand, we have no other way of knowing what and how many theſe *Articles* are, but from the Records of the Proceedings of the before-mentioned Convocations, and from the *imprinted Book* refer'd to in the Act of Parliament. And if we are to be governed by *theſe*, it will be evident that the firſt Clauſe of the 20th Article, *viz.* —— *(The Church hath a Power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controverſies of Faith)*——printed in all our modern Editions of the *Articles* ſince the Year 1617, is a perfect Forgery, and never paſs'd either the Convocation of 1562, or the Convocation of 1571, nor was it contained in the *imprinted Book* that was ratified by Parliament.

For, 1*ſt*, We have the Original Manuſcript of the Articles which paſs'd the Convocation of 1562, of which my Lord of *Sarum* gives the following Account, ‡*That this Manuſcript is without doubt an Original; that the Hands of the Subſcribers are well known; that it belong'd to Abp.* Parker (who was Preſident of that Aſſembly) *and that it was left by him to* Corpus Chriſti *College in* Cambridge, *and is ſign'd with a particular Care; for at the End of it there is not only a ſum of the Number of Pages, but of the Lines in every Page. And tho' this was the Work of the Province of* Canterbury, *yet the Archbiſhop of* York, *with the Biſhops of* Durham *and* Cheſter, *ſubſcribed it likewiſe; and it is alſo ſubſcrib'd by the whole Lower Houſe.*

And, 2*dly*, we have an original Manuſcript of the Articles, that were review'd in the Convocation of 1571, left to the ſame College by Abp. *Parker* (who was Preſident likewiſe of that Convocation) but that is *only ſubſcribed by the Archbiſhop, and ten Biſhops of his Province* ‖; whereas thoſe of 1562, are ſubſcrib'd

* Cap. 12.
† *Expoſ. of the* 39 *Art.* p. 8.
‡ Ib. p. 26. ‖ Ibid.

ſubſcrib'd by both Houſes of the Province of *Canterbury*, and ſome Biſhops of the Province of *York*.

Now that the Clauſe of the *Church's Power* is not in the Beginning of the 20th Article of either of theſe Manuſcripts, appears from ſeveral Collations that have lately been made of our printed modern Editions with them. The Reader may ſatisfy himſelf about the Truth of this Matter from my Lord of *Sarum*'s *Expoſition* only ‡; where Dr. *Moſs*, Mr. *Jaggard*, and Mr. *Lunn*, Fellows of the College, teſtify that the Clauſe is not in the Manuſcript of 1562, ‖ and where Dr. *Green*, the preſent Maſter of the College, certifies the Biſhop that it is wanting in that of 1571.

3*dly*, As to the *Imprinted Book* of *Articles* that was ratify'd by Parliament, either it was never tack'd to the original Record of the Act, or elſe it has been purloin'd from it: For upon Examination in the Office where the Records are kept, the** *Imprinted Book* refer'd to in the Act of Parliament is not to be found. Yet Providence has preſerv'd to us the moſt compleat Evidence in the World (next to the Appearance of the *imprinted Book* itſelf tack'd to the Record) that the *Clauſe of the Church's Power* was not in the *imprinted Book* ratify'd by Parliament; and that is, *Notoriety of Fact*, even among the Clergy themſelves. For,

1. † When the famous *Burton* affirmed, in an *Epiſtle to the Temporal Lords*, That *the Prelates had forg'd a new Article of Religion brought from* Rome, (*viz.* The Church hath a Power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controverſies of Faith) *which gives them full Power to alter the Doctrine and Diſcipline of our Church at a Blow, and have foiſted it into the Beginning of the Twentieth Article of our Church*; *for*, ſays he, *it is not to be found in the Articles of Queen* Elizabeth, *ratify'd by Parliament*; Archbiſhop *Laud* (who in his *Speech in the Star-chamber* endeavours to vindicate the Authority of *this Clauſe* againſt this Paſſage of *Burton*) does not deny what *Burton* alledges, *That it is not to be found in the Articles ratified by Parliament*; but only labours to prove, firſt, That he himſelf did not forge the Clauſe (from which Charge I allow he effectually clears himſelf) and ſecondly, argues for the Authority of the Clauſe from ſeveral antient printed Copies, and from the *publick Records kept in his Office*. And it cannot be doubted but his Zeal for that Clauſe would have led him to affirm *it was ratified by Parliament*, had not the Matter of Fact been very *notorious*.

2. Dr. *Thomas Fuller*, a Reverend Divine of the Church of *England*, in his *Church-Hiſtory of* Great-Britain, ſays, * That the *Clauſe* of the *Church's Power is omitted in the* Engliſh *and* Latin *Articles ſet forth in* 1571, *when they were firſt ratify'd by Act*: And then proceeds to make this juſt Obſervation upon

‡ Ib. p. 10. ‖ P. 13.

** Q. *Where to find the Articles by Law eſtabliſhed, ſince the* imprinted Book *paſt by Parliament, that contained them, is not upon Record?*

† Laud's *Speech in the Star-Chamber: in his* Remains, *vol.* 2. *p.* 86.

* Cent. 16. p. 74.

the Authority of the whole Body of the Articles, as they ſtood without this Clauſe; *That their being obligatory to Puniſhment bears not Date from their* * *Compoſition in Convocation in the Year* 1562, *but henceforward from their Confirmation in Parliament.*

3. Dr. *Heylin*, Archbiſhop *Laud*'s Chaplain, in his *Animadverſions* on this Paſſage of *Fuller*, confirms *Fuller*'s Account of the Matter, and only cenſures him, firſt, for making the Articles obligatory but from the Time of their being confirmed by Parliament; and ſecondly, for uſing the Term *Confirmation* with Relation to the Act wherein the Articles received their legal Authority. His Words are: † *Our Author does ſo dream of the Power of Parliaments in Matters of Religion, that he will not ſuffer any Act of Convocation to be obligatory to the Subject, till confirmed by Parliament. But I would fain know of him where he finds any Act of Parliament that confirms theſe Articles. There was nothing done* by the Parliament *to confirm theſe Articles, but only a pious Care expreſſed for Reformation, by requiring Subſcriptions of the Clergy to them under temporal Puniſhments.* And then concludes, *That* Fuller *might very well have ſpar'd this flouriſh,* "*That the Obligatorineſs of theſe Articles,* "*as to temporal Puniſhment, bears not Date nine Years before from their Com-*"*poſition in Convocation, but henceforward from their Confirmation in Parlia-*"*ment.*" And I think it can't be doubted, but *Heylin* had Zeal enough *for* the Authority of this *Clauſe*, and *againſt* his Adverſary *Fuller*, to have affirmed, *That it was not omitted in the imprinted Book, to which the Parliament required the Subſcriptions of the Clergy*; had not *Fuller*'s Aſſertion, *That it was omitted*, been undoubtedly true.

Biſhop *Pearſon* ſays, § *In the Year* 1571, *the Articles were re-printed, and then the Act of Parliament was publiſhed*; which Words do imply his Opinion, that the Book paſſed by Parliament was printed in 1571. But however, for a fuller Confirmation of the Matter, take this farther Explanation. He ſays, ††*That the Articles* of Religion *to which King* Charles Iſt's *Declaration are affixed,*

* Fuller, *tho' he thought the Clauſe not obligatory, was miſled ſo far by Biſhop* Laud's *Speech in the Star-Chamber, as to imagine it was extant in the Records of the Convocation of* 1562.

† *Heylin*'s Animad. on *Fuller*'s Church Hiſt. *p.* 146, 147.

‡ *The Convocation of* 1562, *diſclaim'd all Right to a Legiſlative Power in Matters of Religion, ſo much inſiſted on of late by High-Church* Prieſts; *and had very different Notions of their own and of the Parliament's Power, from this Reverend High Churchman: For at the End of the Original Manuſcript of the Articles, immediately after the Subſcribers Names, are added theſe Words*; ‖ Iſta Subſcriptio facta eſt ab omnibus ſub hac proteſtatione, quod nihil ſtatuunt in præjudicium cujuſquam Senatuſconſulti; ſed tantum ſupplicem libellum, Petitiones ſuas continentem, humiliter offerunt. *In Engliſh thus:* This Subſcription is made by all with this Proteſtation, That they reſolve on nothing in prejudice of the Privileges and Rights of either Houſe of Parliament; but only humbly offer this ſupplicatory Book of Articles, containing their Requeſts or Petitions.

§ Bibl. Scrip. Eccl. Ang. *p.* 362. †† P. 583.

‖ Strype's *Annals*, *p.* 291.

fixed, are the ſame with the Articles mentioned in the 13th *of* ‖ Elizabeth, *in Number, Nature, Subſtance and Words*; *as* he *is aſſured, having himſelf diligently collated them with an Edition of the Articles, printed by* R. Jugg *and* J. Cawood, *Printers to the Queen's Majeſty* Anno Domini 1571. Theſe laſt Words evidently ſhow Biſhop *Pearſon*'s Opinion, *That the imprinted Book ratify'd by Parliament, was a Book printed* 1571, *by* Jugg *and* Cawood. And if that was the Book ratify'd by Parliament, nothing can be plainer than that the Clauſe of the *Church's Power* was not ratify'd in Parliament. I have that very Edition without the Clauſe; but the Reader may perhaps be ſatisfy'd in this Matter by either * *Fuller*, or † *Laud*, or ‡ *Heylin*, or my ‖‖ Lord of *Sarum*, who all affirm that *the Clauſe of the Church's Power was left out in the Editions of* 1571.

There is one Thing in this laſt Citation out of Biſhop *Pearſon* would have amaz'd me, had not a little Inquiry into Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory convinced me that nothing was more reconcileable in Practice than writing *Expoſitions on the Creed*, and downright Forgery and Falſification. For notwithſtanding Biſhop *Pearſon* affirms that *the Articles printed with King* Charles I*ſt's Declaration before them are the ſame in Nature, Subſtance and Words, with thoſe printed by* Jugg *and* Cawood *in* 1571, and that *he himſelf collated them*: Yet there is this material Difference between theſe two Editions; the Articles printed with *Charles* the Firſt's Declaration have the Clauſe of the *Church's Power* in them, and the Articles printed by *Jugg* and *Cawood* in 1571, are without the Clauſe; and I am ready to produce both theſe Editions for the Satisfaction of any Inquirer.

5. The ſeveral printed Editions of the Articles in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* are another Evidence how *notorious* it was that the Clauſe of the *Church's Power* was never ratify'd by Parliament. I have, as I ſaid before, an Edition of the Articles in *Engliſh* in the Year 1571, by *Richard Jugg* and *John Cawood* Printers to the Queen, when they were firſt ratify'd by Parliament, wherein the Clauſe of the *Church's Power* is omitted. I have likewiſe another Edition, printed the ſame Year in *Latin* by *John Day*, without the Clauſe. And yet Biſhop § *Sparrow* has the Aſſurance to pretend to give us a *Latin* Copy of the *Articles*, under the Title of *Articles*, &c. *printed by* John Day *in* 1571, wherein he has inſerted the Clauſe of the *Church's Power*, contrary to *John Day*'s own Edition. But what ſurprized me extremely, was to find a *Latin* Copy of our *Articles* under the ſame Title, with the Clauſe likewiſe inſerted, printed before my Lord of *Sarum*'s *Expoſition of the thirty-nine Articles*; which I did not expect to find in a Book written by one that has ſhow'd ſo much Ingenuity as my Lord of *Sarum* has done in this Affair: For it is from the Diſcoveries made by him of old Manuſcripts, that I had the firſt Hint of the Forgery of this Clauſe.

However, I think I have juſt Grounds to clear my Lord himſelf from any Deſign to impoſe on the Reader; but may rather ſuppoſe in his Behalf, That

‖ C. 12.
† Remains, *vol.* 2. *p.* 83.
‖‖ Expoſ. *p.* 16.

* Church-Hiſt. *cent.* 16, *p.* 74.
‡ Hiſtory of the Preſbyt. 268.
§ Collection of Artic. *printed* 1671. *p.* 207.

when he ſent his *Expoſition of the thirty-nine Articles* to be printed, he truſted to ſome Chaplain or Corrector of the Preſs to put a *Latin* Edition of the Articles before his Book, who thus impoſed on his Lordſhip and the World. And my Reaſon for not making this an Act of his Lordſhip, is, becauſe his Lordſhip knew, * *That the Clauſe of the Church's Power was left out of the printed Editions of* 1571.

The Omiſſion of this Clauſe in the Year 1571 was ſo notorious, that Archbiſhop *Laud* confeſſes it, and gives Reaſons why it was ſo. Says he, † *In Fact this is manifeſt, that in the Year* 1571 *the Articles were printed both in* Latin *and* Engliſh, *and this Clauſe for the Church left out of both. And certainly,* ſays he, *this could not be done but by the malicious Cunning of that oppoſite Faction. And I ſhall ſpare dead Mens Names where I have no Certainty; yet if you pleaſe to conſider who they were that governed Buſineſſes in* 1571, *and rid the Church almoſt at their Pleaſure, you will think it no hard Matter to have the Articles printed, and this Clauſe left out.* This the Reader muſt needs think a moſt choice Remark, when he conſiders that the Convocation of 1571 paſſed the Articles without this Clauſe, as well as the Parliament; and conſequently that they who *rid the Church* at that Time, were the *Governors* thereof, in the Archbiſhop's own Senſe of the Word. By whom would he have had the *Church rid*, but by its Governors? And if he would have it *rid* by them, why ſhould he not ſuppoſe theſe Governors had as much *Right* to omit the Clauſe of the *Church's Power* if they thought fit, as any other Governors had to inſert it in the Articles? But I find no Proceedings of Church-Governors will ſatisfy the greateſt Advocates of their Power, unleſs they be perfectly agreeable to their Inclinations, any more than they do the erranteſt Fanaticks in the World. And this Obſervation is not only verify'd by this Remark of Archbiſhop *Laud*, but by the Proceedings of the High-Church Prieſts at this Day, who at the ſame Time that they preach up the greateſt Submiſſion in the World to the Governors of the Church, and make them all to be *Jure Divino*, are continually affronting and abuſing them in the moſt ſcandalous Manner: Whereby they become ſo much worſe than the Fanaticks of old, in that they are inconſiſtent with themſelves; whereas the Fanaticks denied that they ow'd the Biſhops any Subjection.

But to return: The Articles were not only printed without the Clauſe of the *Church's Power* in the Year 1571, but continued to be printed ſo for ſome Time after. A Friend at *Oxford* writes me Word, *That there is a* Latin *Copy of the Articles in the* Bodleian *Library, printed* 1575, *in which the Clauſe of the Church's Power is omitted.* How long it was after 1571 before the Clauſe was put into the printed Copies, my Lord of ‖ *Sarum* ſays *he cannot find out*. But if Archbiſhop *Laud* ‡ gives us a compleat Liſt of the printed Editions of the Articles, it was not inſerted in the Articles till 159[illegible]. And if Dr. *Heylin*'s Word is to be taken, he confirms the Omiſſion of the Clau

* Expoſ. *p.* 16. † *Speech in the Star-Chamber,* Rem. vol. 2. p. 83.
‖ Expoſ. *p.* 16. ‡ Speech, *p.* 83.

Clauſe till that Year. He ſays, * *The Clauſe of the* Church's Power *was left out in the new Impreſſion of* 1571, *and was accordingly left out in all the Harmonies of Confeſſion, or Collections of the ſame. And ſo it ſtood in* England *till the Death of* Leiceſter, *after which in the Year* 1593, *it was again re-printed.* So that, according to the Confeſſion even of *Laud* and *Heylin*, the Clauſe was left out in the printed Copies, not only in the Year wherein the Articles were ratify'd by Law, but for two and twenty Years afterwards: And this, I ſuppoſe, will be allow'd by all impartial Judges to be a good Evidence of the *Notoriety* of the Fact. That the Clauſe of the *Church's Power* was not in the *imprinted Book* ratify'd by Parliament.

But 6. and laſtly: To put the Matter upon ſuch an Iſſue as may clearly demonſtrate that the *imprinted Book* ratify'd by Parliament was without the Clauſe; I deſire thoſe who defend its Authority to produce any one *Engliſh* Edition of the Articles (for it was an *Engliſh* one that was ratify'd by Parliament) printed in or before the Year 1571, when the Articles were confirmed by Law, that contains the Clauſe of the Church's Pnwer in it. And if this cannot be done, it is a Demonſtration, that the Parliament paſſed the Articles without the Clauſe, unleſs they could paſs a printed Book before it was printed; tho' did ſuch an *Engliſh* Book appear, it would be no Proof at all that the *imprinted Book* ratify'd by Parliament had the Clauſe in: For I have proved by ſufficient Evidence, that they paſſed an *imprinted Book* without the Clauſe.

Having thus ſtated the Evidence againſt the Authority of the Clauſe, I come now to conſider what has been urged in its Behalf.

And firſt Archbiſhop *Laud* ſays, † *The Articles were printed in* Latin *in* 1563, (the Year after they paſſed in Convocation) *with the affirmative Clauſe of the Church's Power in them.* And my Lord of ‖ *Sarum* ſpeaks of one Copy printed in that Year: But Dr. *Heylin* goes farther, and ſays, ‡ *That the Clauſe of the Church's Power was printed as a Part of the twentieth Article, both in* Latin *and* Engliſh, 1562. [I ſuppoſe it ſhould be 1563.]

Of the Inſertion of this Clauſe in the printed Edition of 1563, contrary to the original Manuſcript of the Articles ſubſcribed by the Convocation in 1562, my Lord of *Sarum* makes the following Uſe: Says he, ‖‖ *The Alterations* from the original Manuſcript *was then made when the Thing was freſh and well known; therefore no Fraud nor Artifice is to be ſuſpected, ſince ſome Objections would have been then made, eſpecially by the great Party of the complying Papiſts, who then continued in the Church: They would not have fail'd to have made uſe of this, and to have taken great Advantages from it, if there had been any Occaſion or Colour for it; and yet nothing of this Kind was done.*

1. In anſwer to which, I beſeech his Lordſhip to conſider what greater Evidence there can be of *a Fraud*, than the printed Articles of 1563, contradicting the original Manuſcript ſubſcribed by both Houſes of Convocation the Year before? Eſpecially when a ſubſequent Convocation in 1571, thought fit to review

* Hiſt. of the Preſbyt. *p.* 268. † Speech, *p.* 83. ‖ Exp. *p.* 16.
‡ Hiſt. of the Preſbyt. *p.* 268. ‖‖ Exp. *p.* 16.

view the Articles, and ratify them without the Clauſe of the *Church's Power*. This laſt Act of Convocation ought to be look'd on as deciſive of the *Fraud*, ſince they proceeded ſo contrary to the printed Edition 1563.

2. As to my Lord of *Sarum*'s Reaſon why *no Fraud is to be ſuſpected*, viz. *Becauſe the complying Papiſts made no Complaint*; I can ſee no Force at all in it, becauſe the complying Papiſts were ſo far from having any Cauſe to complain of the Addition of that *Clauſe*, that they muſt be pleaſed to ſee our Church make ſo great a Step, ſo early after the Reformation, towards them, and veſt ſuch a Power in the *Church* as they always contended for. And perhaps theſe *complying Papiſts* had as great a Hand in the Forgery, as I ſhall prove their Succeſſors, the *complying High-Churchmen*, have had in endeavouring to perpetuate it to Poſterity.

3. But my Lord imagines, *That ſuch an Alteration could not be made while the Thing was freſh and well known:* Whereas I think the Experience of all Ages ſhows how eaſy Impoſitions of this kind are; and I dare ſay, my Lord of *Sarum*, out of his vaſt Reading, is able to give us a *Hiſtory* of Impoſitions of that kind, as big as his *Hiſtory of the Reformation*.

(1.) The Stupidity of Mankind, even in the Times of the greateſt Liberty and Freedom of Thinking, was always Security enough for ſome Impoſitions. For who, at this day, among the Laity, dare give themſelves the Trouble to examine into the Authority of the Articles of any Church (when meddling with ſuch ſacred Things always expoſes a Man to the Imputation of Atheiſm) or are able to tell what the Articles of their own Church are? The Laity are ever ready to fight the Prieſts Battles, and contend eagerly for what they determine in their Synods and Convocations, without ever troubling themſelves to underſtand what they fight and contend for. But in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time the State of Affairs was very different from what it is at this time. There was not only leſs Freedom of Thinking, but a moſt exceſſive Ignorance was ſpread throughout the Nation. Mr. *Strype* ſays in his *Annals*, Page 291, *That many of the Subſcribers of the Lower Houſe of Convocation of* 1562, (who were, without Doubt, the moſt learned of the inferior Clergy) *wrote ſo ill, that it is difficult to read their Names*. And in the *Injunctions* ſet forth in the Year 1559, *Sparrow*'s *Collect*. Page 81. *All Miniſters and Readers of publick Prayers, Chapters and Homilies*, are *charged to read leiſurely, plainly, and diſtinctly, and to peruſe over before, once or twice, the Chapters and Homilies, to the Intent they may read to the better Underſtanding of the People*. And, as a further Specimen of the Ignorance of thoſe times, it may not be amiſs to give the Reader an entertaining Paſſage out of Dr. *Langbain*'s *Preface* before a Book of Sir *John Cheek*'s, intitled, *The true Subject to the Rebel*. Says he, *What rare Preachers ſhall we imagine they had at the Univerſity in Queen* Elizabeth's *time, when Mr.* Tavernour *of* Water-Eaton, *High Sheriff of* Oxfordſhire, *came in pure Charity, not Oſtentation, to give the Scholars a Sermon in* St. Mary's, *with his Gold Chain about his Neck, and Sword by his Side, beginning with theſe Words:* "Arriving at the Mount "of *St. Mary's* on the ſtony Stage where I now ſtand, I have brought you "ſome fine Biſkets, baked in the Oven of Charity, and carefully conſerved for

" the Chickens of the Church, the Sparrows of the Spirit, and the ſweet Swal-
" lows of Salvation."

But to bring the Ignorance or Negligence of Queen *Elizabeth*'s time home to the preſent Queſtion, I aſk what greater Inſtance can there be either of the one or the other, than ſuch a Silence among the Writers of that time concerning the Authority of this Clauſe? For tho' it was printed in ſome Editions of the Articles, and left out in others, yet I cannot find the leaſt Notice taken of it by any of the Authors of that time; ſo little were the Articles of the Church regarded, and ſo eaſy was it for the Clergy to print what they pleaſed for Articles of the Church. Nothing therefore can poſſibly hinder Frauds of this kind, but the Honeſty and Integrity of the Clergy, or their Fear of being diſcovered: But neither of theſe can be thought a ſufficient Security to any one who has look'd into the Hiſtory of other Countries, or even of his own, where the Clergy, in the Reign of *Richard* the Second, have had the Impudence to forge an *Act of Parliament* for the Deſtruction of Hereticks, ſaid by them in the Title *to be made in the Parliament at* Weſtminſter *quinto Regis* *. This *Impoſture* was indeed detected in the next Seſſions of Parliament, and this Act of theirs declared to be null and void: So their Deſign came to nothing. But I think this ſufficiently ſhows their Diſpoſition, and what Uſes they are ready to make of our Simplicity.

(2.) But it will be ſtill more eaſy to conceive how this Clauſe was impoſed on us, if the *Articles* were only printed in *Latin* in the Year 1563 with the Clauſe in them, and in that very Year in *Engliſh* without the *Clauſe*, as I am apt to imagine they were. For tho' Dr. *Heylin* ſays, *they were printed both in* Latin *and* Engliſh, *with the Clauſe of the Church's Power in them, in* 1563, yet I find it affirmed by a Gentleman in the Year 1660 †, *That there was a Diverſity of printed Copies as to the Clauſe of the* Church's Power, *in the very Year they were* firſt *agreed on.* And again, at the Bottom of the ſame Page, *That in that very Year there were two printed Editions of the Articles, one in* Engliſh, *and another in* Latin, *whereof the one had the Clauſe, and the other wanted it.* And to confirm this Account, I ſhall preſent the Reader with a Paſſage out of a Letter from a Friend of mine at *Oxford*, whom I deſired to ſend me a Collation of the firſt *Engliſh* Edition of the Articles, mentioned in the *Oxford* Catalogue. He writes me word, *That he has done his Endeavour to ſatisfy me, but not with that good Succeſs he hoped for: Since for the firſt Edition of them in* Engliſh *in the Year* 1563, *he found there had been one; but when he came to look over the Book in which it had been bound up among other Miſcellanies, he found it intirely cut out, as appears by the Space that is there left.* So that if it be conſidered, that the Articles were only printed in *Latin* in 1563, with the Clauſe in them, but that it was left out in the *Engliſh* Edition of that Year, my Lord of *Sarum* may very eaſily imagine how ſuch an Impoſition might begin in thoſe times.

(3.) I have a further Reaſon beſides Mr. *Hamilton*'s Teſtimony, and the cutting out of the Articles of 1563 at *Oxford*, for ſuppoſing the *Engliſh* Edition of that

* The Caſe of *Ephraim* and *Judah*, p. 21, 22, 23.
† Some Neceſſity of Reformation, by *W. Hamilton*, Gent. p. 14.

that Year wanted the *Clauſe*. I have an old Edition of the Articles in *Engliſh*, printed by *R. Jugg* and *J. Cawood*, Printers to the Queen, without any Date, where the Clauſe is wanting. And, upon Examination, I think I have Reaſon to believe this to be the *Engliſh* Edition of 1563, becauſe I find it anſwers all the Characters that Biſhop *Pearſon* ** gives us of the firſt Edition of the Articles in *Engliſh*. He ſays, †† the firſt *Edition* was *ſet forth by* R. Jugg *and* J. Cawood, and *that the* Articles *had no Number affixed to them*; both which exactly agree to my Edition, and the laſt Particular diſtinguiſhes it from all the Editions I have ſeen; for in the Edition of 1571, and all ſince, I find the Articles are numbered.

Beſides, this old Edition of mine recites only the Titles of twenty Homilies, agreeable to an Edition of the Homilies printed in 1563, which contains only twenty; whereas the later Editions of the Articles give us the Titles of one and twenty Homilies, agreeable to the later Editions of the Homilies.

Wherefore I think I may with ſome Confidence aſſert, That in the very firſt Year wherein the Articles were printed, there were two different Copies going at at the ſame time, one in *Latin* with *the Clauſe*, and the other in *Engliſh* without the Clauſe; and conſequently the Difficulty of conceiving how the Impoſition of the Clauſe might begin, is very eaſily ſolved.

(4.) But for a full and effectual Confutation of my Lord of *Sarum*'s Suppoſition in favour of ſome (whom one would think he ſhould know better) *That no Fraud is to be ſuſpected while a Thing is freſh and well known*; I will lay before him two Inſtances, which his Lordſhip will allow to be juſt, whereby it may appear how very practicable it is for ſome Men to impoſe on others, *while Things are freſh and well known.*

In the Year 1552. and the 6th of King *Edward* the Sixth, there was a Convocation held in *London* *: And during the *ſitting of the Convocation* there came out in print a *Catechiſm* and *Articles of Religion*, both *bearing the Name of that Synod.* And it is a Matter of Fact delivered down to this time, that they both had the Authority of the Convocation. Dr. *Atterbury* ſays ‖, *That in the ſixth Year of King* Edward *the Sixth* (1552) *the Convocation then met, and paſt* 42 *Articles.* Biſhop *Pearſon* ‡ and Mr. *Strype* § both ſay the ſame thing. And Biſhop *Sparrow*, in his *Collection of* our *Articles and Canons*, gives them the Title of *Articles agreed upon in the Convocation of* 1552.

As for the *Catechiſm*, Dr. *Atterbury* ſays, (*Rights*, &c. p. 201, 202.) *It had the very ſame onvocational Authority which the Articles had, and that it was generally underſtood ſo* in thoſe times when it came abroad; and *Cranmer* ſays, (*Fox*, Vol. 3. p. 50.) *It bore the Name of a Synod.*

And yet nothing is more plain, than that neither the *Catechiſm* nor the *Articles* ever paſs'd the Synod, but were both Impoſitions of ſome of the Clergy and others of thoſe times upon the Synod.

For

** Bib. Scrip. Eccl. Ang. p. 357. †† Ibid. p. 361.
* Fox's *Martyrs*, Vol. 3. p. 50. Atterbury's *Rights*, 2d Edit. p. 205, 206, 401.
‖ Ibid. p. 401. ‡ Bibl. Scrip. Eccl. Ang. p. 356. § Annals, p. 286.

For, *1ſt*, As to the Catechiſm. There was a Diſputation between *Philpot* the Martyr, and *Weſton* a Papiſt, in the Convocation-Houſe in 1553, in the Beginning of Queen *Mary*'s Reign; where *Weſton* objected to *Philpot*, (*Fox*, Vol. 3. p. 16.) *That he had ſet forth a Catechiſm, bearing the Name of this honourable Synod, without your Conſents.* *Philpot* replied, *That this Houſe had granted Authority to make Eccleſiaſtical Laws, unto certain Perſons to be appointed by the King's Majeſty; and whatſoever Eccleſiaſtical Laws they, or the moſt Part of them, did ſet forth, they might be well ſaid to be done in the Synod of* London; *and in this Point* he *thought the Setter-forth nothing to have ſlandered this Houſe, as they went about to perſuade the World, ſince they had committed the Synodical Authority to them.*

There was a Diſpute likewiſe between the ſame *Weſton* and *Cranmer* in *Oxford* 1554, wherein *Weſton* objected to *Cranmer*, (*Fox*, Vol. 3. p. 50.) *That he had ſet forth a Catechiſm in the Name of the Synod, and yet there be fifty who witneſs that they were of the Number of the Convocation, and yet they never heard one Word of the Catechiſm.* And *Cranmer* anſwers, *I was ignorant of the ſetting to of that Title, and as ſoon as I had Knowledge of it, I did not like it; therefore, when I complained thereof to the Council, it was anſwered by them, That the Book was ſo intitled, becauſe it was ſet forth in the Time of Convocation.*

Theſe Anſwers of *Philpot* and *Cranmer* clearly ſhow the Impoſition on the Synod; and I cannot help adding, out of reſpect to that excellent Martyr *Cranmer*, that *Cranmer*'s Anſwer clearly ſhows his own Honeſty and Integrity in this whole Affair.

2dly, As to the *Articles* of 1552 being impoſed on the Synod, that will likewiſe appear evidently out of *Fox*. One of the Popiſh Charges againſt *Cranmer* in 1553, in the Beginning of Queen *Mary*'s Reign, was, (*Fox*, Vol. 3. p. 551.) *That he did compile and cauſe to be ſet abroad divers Books.* *Cranmer* anſwered, That, *as for the Catechiſm and Book of Articles, he granted them to be his Doings*; which Words, according to my Lord of *Sarum* himſelf, (*Reflections on* Atterbury's *Rights*, p. 28.) *decide the Point, ſo that it will admit of no more Debate*, viz. that neither the *Catechiſm* nor the *Articles* were compiled by the Convocation, tho' both of them were put out in their Name, and *while they ſat.*

My Lord of *Sarum*, to clear further the Authority of the Edition of the Articles in 1563, againſt the Original Manuſcript ſubſcribed by both Houſes of Convocation, ſays, (*Expoſ.* p. 16.) *The true Account of the Difficulty is this, When the Articles were firſt ſettled, they were ſubſcribed by both Houſes on Paper; but that being done, they were afterwards ingroſſed in Parchment, and made up in Form, to remain as Records. Now, in all ſuch Bodies, many Alterations are often made after a Minute or firſt Draught is agreed on, before the Matter is brought to full Perfection; ſo this Alteration was made between the Time that they were firſt ſubſcribed, and the laſt voting of them.* *But*, ſays my Lord Biſhop, *the Original Records, which, if extant, would have cleared the*

whole Matter, having been burnt in the Fire of London, *it is not poſſible to appeal to them.*

To which I anſwer, 1. That let the *Articles be ingroſs'd in Parchment, after they were ſubſcrib'd by both Houſes on Paper*, ſtill thoſe ſubſcrib'd are the authentick Originals; and were thoſe Parchments (which the Biſhop ſuppoſes) in Being, they would not be of equal Authority with the Originals in Paper, ſign'd by both Houſes of Convocation.

2. His Lordſhip's Suppoſition, *That the Alteration was made between the Time the Articles were firſt ſubſcrib'd, and the laſt voting of them*, is inconſiſtent with the Proceedings of all other Aſſemblies of Men, who always *vote* firſt and *ſubſcribe* laſt: And this Method which his Lordſhip ſuppoſes the Convocation took, will never be allow'd to be the Method of Convocation, even by Men who have no great Opinion of the reaſonable Proceedings of ſuch a Body.

3. His Lordſhip refers the Proof of his Suppoſition to Records that are *loſt* (which did they appear would ſignify nothing) and therefore can never be admitted to take place againſt ſuch inconteſtable Evidence as I have produced. And I hope, in regard to the Authority of human Teſtimony, whereon the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion in ſome Meaſure depends, that neither his Lordſhip, nor the Clergy will urge ſuch Preſumptions in Favour of themſelves and their own Power, againſt the higheſt Evidence a Matter of Fact is capable of, leſt *Infidels* and *Scepticks* with as much Reaſon turn ſuch Objections upon them.

4. But to vindicate beyond Contradiction the Authority of the Manuſcript Articles of 1562, left to *Corpus Chriſti* College by Archbiſhop *Parker*, and to deſtroy the Credit of the *Latin* Edition printed in 1563, and overthrow my Lord of *Sarum*'s Suppoſition of the Convocation's *firſt ſubſcribing the Articles* without the Clauſe, and then *voting* them with the Clauſe, I ſhall produce a Paſſage out of that very *Latin* Edition of 1563, where the Clauſe was firſt printed, with which I am furniſh'd by Biſhop *Pearſon*, who in a Book, intitled, *No Neceſſity of Reformation*, ſays, * *We know that there was an Original of the Articles enroll'd; we can tell them how many Pages that Original conſiſted of, even determinately Nineteen; we can aſſure them this was depoſited with* Matthew *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury; *we can tell them the Day when it was done*, viz. *the Fifth Day of* February: *All which appeareth by the Poſtſcript printed with the Articles in* Latin *in the Year* 1563, *by* Reynald Wolfe *the Queen's Printer.* And he then proceeds to give us the *Poſtſcript*, which in *Engliſh* runs thus: *Theſe Articles* † *of Chriſtian Faith, containing in all Nineteen*

* Bib. Scrip. Eccl. Ang. p. 362.

† Hos Articulos Chriſtianæ Fidei, continentes in univerſum novemdecem paginas in Autographo, quod aſſervatur apud Reverendiſſimum in Chriſto Patrem, Dominum Matthæum Cantuarienſem Archiepiſcopum, totius Angliæ Primatem & Metropolitanum, Archiepiſcopi & Epiſcopi utriuſque Provinciæ regno Angliæ, in ſacrâ Provinciali Synodo legitimé congregati, unanimi aſſenſu recipiunt & profitentur, & ut veros atque Orthodoxos, manuum ſuarum ſubſcriptionibus approbant, viceſimo nono die menſis Januarii, Anno

Nineteen Pages, in a Manuſcript in the Cuſtody of the moſt Reverend Father in Chriſt Matthew *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *Primate and Metropolitan of all* England, *the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of each Province, lawfully aſſembled in a Holy Provincial Synod, do receive and profeſs with unanimous Aſſent, and approve as true and orthodox by Subſcription of their Hands on the twenty-ninth of* January, *in the Year of our Lord, according to the Computation of the Church of* England, *One Thouſand Five Hundred Sixty-two: And all the Clergy of the Lower Houſe did unanimouſly receive and profeſs the ſame, as appears by the Subſcription of their Hands, which they brought and depoſited with the ſame moſt Reverend Archbiſhop, on the Fifth of* February *in the aforeſaid Year.*

Theſe Words contain ſuch a Deſcription of the Manuſcript left by Archbiſhop *Parker* to *Corpus Chriſti* College in *Cambridge*, as demonſtrate that to be the only authentick Original of the Articles of 1562.

For, 1*ſt*, The *Poſtſcript* ſays, That the *Articles in Manuſcript were kept by Archbiſhop* Parker; and it is certain *Parker* gave theſe *Manuſcript* Articles to *Corpus Chriſti* College.

2*dly*, The Poſtſcript ſays, *The Manuſcript in all contain'd nineteen Pages*, ſo does the Manuſcript of *Corpus Chriſti* College; for *at the End of it* are *theſe Words*, * *Theſe Articles containing in all nineteen Pages*, &c. † This Agreement of the *Poſtſcript* with the original Manuſcript as to nineteen Pages, is of the more Conſequence, becauſe this Manuſcript *is a fair Draught of K.* Edward's *Articles* (which were forty-two in Number) *accurately writ out for the Uſe and ſerious Conſideration of the Archbiſhop*; ſome of which *are wholly ſuperſeded and ſtruck out by the Archbiſhop with a red-lead Pen, and divers others of them are ſhortned, daſhing that thro' which he was minded to have omitted* ‡: Whereas had it been a Manuſcript conſiſting only of thirty-nine of thoſe Articles of K. *Edward*, and thoſe contracted too, it is reaſonable to imagine the Manuſcript would have fallen ſhort of nineteen Pages; but ſince it conſiſts of exactly nineteen Pages, it muſt be the Manuſcript refer'd to in the *Poſtſcript.*

3*dly*, The *Poſtſcript* ſays, *The Archbiſhops and Biſhops of both Provinces ſubſcrib'd the Manuſcript Articles, kept by Archbiſhop* Parker, *on the* 29th *of* January, 1562; and ſo ſays the *Manuſcript* of *Corpus Chriſti* College ‖. From all which nothing is more clear, than that the *Latin* Edition in 1563, upon which ſo much is built, deſtroys its own Credit, eſtabliſhes the Authority of the Manuſcript of *Corpus Chriſti* College, and cuts off all Pretence for imagining the *Clauſe of the Church's* Power was *voted* after the *Articles* were *firſt ſubſcrib'd*; ſince the printed Edition of 1563 came out after the Convocation had done both *ſubſcribing* and *voting.*

Anno Domini, ſecundum computationem Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, milleſimo quingenteſimo, ſexageſimo ſecundo: univerſuſque Clerus inferioris domus, eoſdem & recepit & profeſſus eſt, ut ex manuum ſuarum ſubſcriptionibus patet, quas obtulit & depoſuit apud eundem Reverendiſſimum, quinto die Februarii, Anno prædicto.

* Hos Articulos Fidei Chriſtianæ continentes in univerſum novemdecem paginas, &c.

† Strype's *Annals*, p. 289. ‡ Ib. p. 288. ‖ Ib. p. 289.

2. Beſides the Authority of the *Latin* Copy printed in 1563, it is further pretended, in Behalf of the Clauſe in queſtion, That before the *Fire of London* there were Records of Convocation in Being that had the *Clauſe* in them, and that from thence it was taken and printed in the Year 1563. (*Bp. of* Sarum's *Exp.* p. 16.)

Dr. *Heylin* ſays, (*Animad. on* Fuller's *Ch. Hiſt.* p. 144, 145.) *That having Occaſion to conſult the Records of Convocation, he found this controverted Clauſe of the Church's Power verbatim.* Archbiſhop *Laud*, in his Speech in the *Star-chamber*, at the Cenſure of *Pryn*, *Baſtwick* and *Burton*, is more particular, and ſays, (p. 83.) *That he ſent to the publick Records in his Office, and here, under his Officer's Hand, who is a Publick Notary, is return'd to* him *the 20th Article, with the affirmative Clauſe of the Church's Power in it. And there is the whole Body of the Articles to be ſeen*; and that theſe Articles *were fully and fairly agreed to and ſubſcrib'd in* 1562.

And as to the Articles review'd by the Convocation in 1571, he ſays, *They were ſettled as in the Year* 1562, *with the Clauſe in them for the Church: For looking further into the Records which were in* his *own Hands*, he *found the Book of* 1562, *ſubſcrib'd by all the Lower Houſe of Convocation in the Year* 1571. Theſe Particulars urg'd by *Heylin* and *Laud*, ſeem at firſt View to give ſome Authority to the diſputed *Clauſe*; but as all Objections to the Truth do, when examin'd, tend to its Confirmation, ſo here theſe Objections will give me an Opportunity of ſetting this Matter in a clearer Light than I could have done, had not Archbiſhop *Laud* and *Heylin* thought fit to produce theſe Authorities.

I begin firſt with the pretended *Record* of the Articles ſubſcrib'd in the Year 1571, becauſe my Anſwer here will diſcover what ſort of Evidence Archbiſhop *Laud* was, and thereby prepare my Reader for what I ſhall obſerve more largely, on Occaſion of the pretended Records of the Articles of 1562, cited alſo by Archbiſhop *Laud.*

Now that Archbiſhop *Laud* never ſaw any *Articles* that were *ſettled and ſubſcrib'd in* 1571, as he ſays he *did* in his *Speech in the Star-chamber* in 1637, will be evident from the following Paſſage written by him, in his *Hiſtory of his own Troubles and Trial:* Says he, (p. 208.) *A Committee of the Houſe of Commons ſent Mr.* Dobſon *my Comptroller to me to the* Tower, *to require me to ſend them, under my Hand, what Originals I had of the Articles of Religion eſtabliſh'd in* 1571. *This was on* Wedneſday, July 12, (1643.) *and I return'd him the ſame Day this Anſwer in Writing, with my Name to it:* "The "Original Articles of 1571, I could never find in my Paper Study at *Lam-* "*beth*, or any where elſe; and whether any Copy of them were left there, I "cannot tell." So that here you have *Laud* contradicting himſelf, and deſtroying his own Teſtimony in the *Star-chamber*, in the fulleſt Manner that can be. While he was in the Height of his Power, and had no Fear of being call'd to an Account for what he ſaid, this *bleſſed Martyr* made no Scruple to put a Falſhood on the World, by ſaying, *That looking into the Records which were in his own Hands, he found the* Articles *ſubſcrib'd by all the Lower Houſe of*

of Convocation in 1571. But when he was in Apprehenſion that he ſhould be obliged to produce his Vouchers for what he ſaid, he proceeded with more Caution, and tells the Parliament, *That he could not find the original Articles of* 1571, *either at* Lambeth, *or any where elſe.* I do not think his Admirers will alter their Opinion concerning him (any more than I do mine) on account of this notorious Prevarication: I do not hope to produce that Effect on them; nor is it of any Moment to the Queſtion in Debate, either whether they do not believe a Word that he ſays, or elſe lay an equal Streſs on both his Teſtimonies; for let them take which Side they pleaſe, it is demonſtrable that his Teſtimony in the Star-chamber muſt go for nothing.

2. As to the Record of the *Articles* that Archbiſhop *Laud* ſays *were agreed and ſubſcrib'd to in* 1562, and for which he produced the *Hand* of a *Publick Notary* in the Star-chamber, I anſwer,

1*ſt*, By aſking, (1.) On what Day this *Record* was *agreed to and ſubſcrib'd?* For if it was ſubſcrib'd before Archbiſhop *Parker*'s Manuſcript was ſubſcrib'd, it can be of no Validity to eſtabliſh the Authority of the controverted Clauſe, the ſubſequent Subſcription of *Parker*'s Manuſcript nulling all former Subſcription. (2.) I aſk by whom this Record was ſubſcrib'd? For unleſs it was ſubſcrib'd by both Houſes of Convocation, it is of no Validity againſt a Record ſubſcrib'd by both Houſes, as Archbiſhop *Parker*'s is. (3.) I aſk in what Manner this *Record* is ſubſcrib'd? For in my Enquiries I meet with ſomething very ſtrange, and that for ought I know Archbiſhop *Laud* may call *Subſcription.* A Friend at *Oxford* writes we word, *That there are two* Latin *Copies of the Articles printed in the Year* 1563, *by* Renald Wolfe, *wherein the Clauſe of the Church's Power is inſerted*; *and*, ſays he, *I cannot but obſerve a notable Piece of Fraud as to one of theſe Copies, to the Vellum Cover of which is paſted a long Scroul of Names, of the ſuppoſed Subſcribers to the Articles of* 1562. *But when I came to compare theſe Names with thoſe Mr.* Strype *has given* us out of *Corpus Chriſti* College Library, (*Annals*, p. 289,) that are ſubſcrib'd to Archbiſhop *Parker*'s Manuſcript of 1562, *I found them quite different*; *for tho' ſome of the Names are the ſame with theſe, yet it is commonly by other Titles: ſo that neither the Prolecutor nor the Members could be the ſame that ſubſcribed the Articles of* 1562. Unleſs therefore Archbiſhop *Laud*, Dr. *Heylin*, or ſomebody elſe, had told us in what Manner this Book was ſubſcribed; we may very well imagine that there was ſuch a Piece of Artifice uſed, as there is at *Oxford*, to give Credit to the controverted Clauſe: eſpecially ſince ſo much Prevarication appears in ſupporting it, and there is the greateſt Evidence in the World for rejecting it.

2*dly*, I anſwer, That there could be no Records of Convocation in the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Office left in *Laud*'s Time, proper to determine the Queſtion of the Authority of the controverted Clauſe. For it has already been ſhewn, that the original Articles were left with Archbiſhop *Parker*, and that they were given by him as a Legacy to *Corpus Chriſti* College in *Cambridge*, at his Death in 1575, where they ſtill remain.

3*dly*, Had

3*dly*, Had not the Manuſcript of 1562 all the marks in the World of being genuine, yet the Authority of Archbiſhop *Parker* muſt be allow'd to be greater in this caſe than Archbiſhop *Laud*'s. I ſuppoſe Archbiſhop *Parker* is generally eſteem'd a High Churchman, by what I meet with of him in *Wood* * (who never gives a good word to any one of another Character) That *he ſat in the See of* Canterbury *with great honour to the time of his death:* And therefore he muſt be ſuppos'd at leaſt willing to do juſtice to the Church, tho' he might make ſome ſcruple of prevaricating in its behalf, as *Laud* did. But there was a great difference between them in another reſpect. Archbiſhop *Parker*, as Preſident of the Convocation of 1562, and 1571, the only Convocations that ever had the affair of our Articles before them, muſt be acquainted perfectly with their Proceedings, and conſequently be better qualified to give an account of our Articles than any ſucceeding Archbiſhop.

4*thly*, That there were no Records in the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Office, proper to determine the queſtion before us, in *Laud*'s time, will appear likewiſe from a Paſſage out of Dr. *Heylin*'s *Cyprianus Anglicus, or Life of Archbiſhop* Laud; which on other accounts, as well as that before us, deſerves to be cited at large. Says he, † *The Archbiſhop* (that is Archbiſhop *Abbot*, *Laud*'s immediate Predeceſſor) *had been off the hooks ſince the Affront (as he conceiv'd) was put upon him, in burning his Chaplain Dr.* Mocket's *Book intitled*, Politia Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ; *which had given no ſmall reputation to the Church of* England *beyond the ſeas: for which Severity, tho' many juſt reaſons were alledg'd, yet it was generally conceiv'd, that as the Book far'd the worſe for the Author's ſake, ſo the Author did not ſpeed the better for the Archbiſhop's ſake; between whom and the Biſhop of* Wincheſter *there had been ſome differences, which the reſt of the Court-Biſhops were apt enough to make uſe of to his diſadvantage. This Dr.* Mocket *had publiſh'd in the* Latin *Tongue the Liturgy of the Church of* England, *the publick Catechiſms, the Thirty-nine Articles, the Book of Ordination of Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, and many doctrinal Points extracted out of the Book of Homilies; together with Biſhop* Jewel's *Apology, Mr.* Noel's *Catechiſm, and his own* Politia, *&c. A Collection which the good Man publiſh'd in a pious Zeal, for gaining honour to this Church among foreign Nations: But then this Zeal of his was accompany'd with ſo little Knowledge in the Conſtitution of this Church, or ſo much byaſs'd to* Calvin's *Platform, that it was thought fit not only to call it in, but to expiate the Errors of it in a publick flame. For firſt his Extracts out of the Book of Homilies were conceiv'd to be rather fram'd according to his own Judgment, which inclin'd him towards Calviniſm, as his Patron did; than ſquar'd according to the Rules and Dictates of the Church of* England. *And poſſible enough it is, that ſome juſt offence might be taken at him, for making the Faſt-days appointed in the Liturgy of the Church of* England *to be commanded and obſerv'd* ob Politicas Conſiderationes, *for politick Conſiderations only. But that which I conceive to have been the true cauſe why the Book was burnt, was, that in publiſhing the twentieth Article*

* Athenæ Oxon. *vol.* 1. *p.* 588.

† Pag. 70. Ann. Dom. 1617.

Article concerning the Authority of the Church, he totally left out the firſt Clauſe, viz. Habet Eccleſia Ritus ſive Ceremonias ſtatuendi jus, & in Controverſiis fidei authoritatem : *by means whereof the Article was apparently falſify'd, the Church's Authority diſavow'd, and conſequently a wide gap open'd to diſpute her Power in all her Canons and Determinations of what ſort ſoever.*

From which Paſſage of Dr. *Heylin*, I argue, (1.) That if *Mocket*'s Book was burnt out of enmity to Archbiſhop *Abbot* his Patron; and if the Reaſons publickly aſſign'd were what the Doctor ſuggeſts; and if the Doctor *conceives* aright as to *the true cauſe of burning it*; it is evident that the Clauſe of the *Church's Power* muſt be a pure piece of Forgery. For if the Omiſſion of the Clauſe had been really a defect in *Mocket*, why was not that aſſign'd as a publick Reaſon for burning the Book? That wou'd have been ſo glorious an opportunity for the *Court-Biſhops* to ſhow their enmity to *Abbot*, that their omitting to aſſign that as a Reaſon for burning his Book, evidently ſhows that they could not defend the Authority of the Clauſe. (2.) *Mocket*'s Book ſhow'd the Judgment of Archbiſhop *Abbot*, and in all likelihood of many other Divines of that time, and thereby render'd the Authority of the Clauſe very ſuſpicious; ſo that it became the *Court Biſhops* not only out of enmity to Archbiſhop *Abbot*, but out of regard to the Church, to have ſettled the Authority of this diſputed *Clauſe*, which the Records of that time muſt have enabled them to do, had there been any to the purpoſe. But ſince no attempt was made at that time towards eſtabliſhing the Authority of this doubtful Clauſe; and ſince Archbiſhop *Abbot* and ſeveral other eminent Divines muſt be ſuppos'd likewiſe to think it ſpurious; nothing can be plainer than that there were no Records then in being proper to determine the Affair of this controverted Clauſe, but what made againſt its Authority. The Records belonging to the Office of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* were as viſible then as they were afterwards in *Laud*'s time; but ſince no one then thought fit to make uſe of them, when ſo juſt an occaſion was given, I conclude that there were then none there in favour of the Clauſe, and that if Archbiſhop *Laud*'s Manuſcript did appear to have been there in Archbiſhop *Abbot*'s time, it wou'd be of no authority.

5thly, But Archbiſhop *Laud* himſelf has enabled me to put an end intirely to the Authority of this Manuſcript, (for which he produc'd the Hand of a publick Notary) in almoſt as ample a manner as he did in the caſe of the original Articles of 1571. For when the Houſe of Commons in 1643 ſent to him at the ſame time about the Original of the Articles of 1562, as they did about thoſe of 1571, he ſent this Anſwer with his *Name* to it: * *The original Articles of* 1562, *with many hands, I did ſee and peruſe at* Lambeth; *but whether the Biſhops hands were to them or not, I cannot remember.* So that theſe original Articles of 1562, for which he cites *a Publick Notary*, are plainly of no authority, when conſider'd in oppoſition to Archbiſhop *Parker*'s *Manuſcript:*

* Hiſt. of his Troubles, *p.* 208.

ſcript: For ſure no one will ſay that a Manuſcript ſubſcrib'd by one Houſe of Convocation, is of equal Authority with one ſubſcrib'd by both Houſes, and both Provinces. But,

6thly, It does appear, That there was a double Subſcription of the Articles, firſt by * *ſome Members of the Lower Houſe*, and afterwards by the *Body of the Lower Houſe on the fifth of* February †. From whence I argue, That either the Articles, which were thus doubly ſubſcrib'd, were numerically the ſame, or ſomewhat different from one another. If they were numerically the ſame, then the *Records* for which *Laud* produces the Hand of a *Publick Notary*, muſt be forg'd Records, with a ſham Liſt of Names tack'd to them: becauſe theſe Records of *Laud* differ from the Articles ſign'd by the *Body of the Lower Houſe on the fifth of* February, *which were lodg'd with Archbiſhop* Parker (as appears from a § *Poſtſcript* to the firſt *Latin* Edition of the Articles in 1563.) and are now to be ſeen at *Corpus-Chriſti* College in *Cambridge* without the Clauſe. If the Articles thus doubly ſubſcrib'd were not the ſame in all reſpects, then thoſe *Records*, for which *Laud* produc'd the Hand of a *Publick Notary* (if they were true Records) muſt be thoſe firſt ſubſcrib'd by ſome Members of the Lower Houſe; becauſe Archbiſhop *Parker*'s Manuſcript was left by him to *Corpus-Chriſti* College at his Death in 1575, and conſequently was remov'd from the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Office long before *Laud*'s time. Wherefore did thoſe Records now appear with the Clauſe for the *Church*'s *Power*, they wou'd be ſo far from eſtabliſhing its Authority, that they wou'd intirely deſtroy it. For the appearance of ſuch a Record would ſhow that there was a Conteſt in the Convocation of 1562, about the *Clauſe* of the *Church's Power*; and the Manuſcript of *Corpus-Chriſti* College would ſhow not only that the *Clauſe* is no part of our twentieth Article, but that the Convocation of 1562 acquitted themſelves like Proteſtants, in throwing out ſuch a *Clauſe*, which ſome at that time of day were ſo much Papiſts as to ſubſcribe; whereby the Senſe of our Church wou'd be diſcover'd in a more compleat manner againſt the Doctrine of the *Authority of the Church in Controverſies of Faith*, than if a Clauſe aſſerting its *Authority* had never been offer'd at.

Thus I have produc'd what I think fit at preſent to demonſtrate, both Forgery and Abſurdity of this Clauſe: But yet I hope no one can think me ſo irrational, as to propoſe either by the *one* or the *other* to produce any other effect on our *High-Church Prieſts*, than a greater Noiſe and Zeal than ever in its behalf; for as my Lord of *Sarum* very juſtly obſerves, *(Exp. p. 5.) When Corruptions are beneficial to the whole Body of the Clergy*, they can never be *reform'd without a Miracle by the major part.* And therefore I ſhall conclude this matter with a few Inferences from the whole, for the ſake of thoſe to whom it

* Acta Conv. 1562. *printed in the* Synodus Anglic. *p.* 206.

† Ibid. *p.* 207. *compar'd with the* Poſtſcript *(to the firſt* Latin *Edition of the Articles in* 1563.*) printed in* Bibl. Script. Eccl. Ang. *p.* 362.

§ Bib. Script. Eccl. Ang. *p.* 362.

it is written; who either have no Intereſt to miſlead them, or elſe have a Love of Truth ſuperior to ſuch a Conſideration.

As, 1*ſt*, A Man may ſee by this Inſtance how uncertain *Tradition* is, and by what ſort of means *that* has, not with the *Jews* only, but with the Majority of Chriſtians, gone a great way towards *making the Word of God of none effect. Mark* 7. 13.

2*dly*, How uncertain the Evidence of the graveſt Divines in Church-Matters is, more eſpecially ſince they give ground to make one believe, that they think themſelves oblig'd in Conſcience to promote the *good of the Church* by Fraud (as well as Force) as the Inſtances I have given would tempt one to imagine. For I can hardly conceive ſo ill an Opinion of Archbiſhop *Laud* or Biſhop *Pearſon*, as to believe them capable of offering things to the World againſt their own Knowledge, upon any other Principle, but that out of Conſcience they think themſelves oblig'd to uſe that *Trick* (as Archbiſhop *Tillotſon* * phraſes it) *of the Zealots, of Lying for the Truth.*

3*dly*, If Men may be impos'd on ſo eaſily in ſuch a Country as ours, how much more eaſily may they be impos'd on in the more ignorant and dark Corners of the Earth, eſpecially before Printing was invented, when all kind of Literature was wholly in the hands of Eccleſiaſticks?

4*thly*, If Prieſts are capable of venturing to forge an Article of Religion, and Mankind are ſo ſtupid as to let them have Succeſs, how can we receive Books of Bulk (ſuch as the *Fathers* and *Councils*) that have gone thro' their hands, and lay any ſtreſs or dependance on their Authority? Ought we not rather to ſuppoſe, that where they have had an Opportunity, they have laid out their natural Talents in Alterations, Interpolations and Raſures of thoſe Books, than that they have let us have any thing pure and unmix'd as from the Fountain, where it has been in the leaſt degree in their Power?

5*thly*, We may learn how advantageous ſuch Diſcoveries are to *True Religion*, which can never be rendered ſuſpicious, or of doubtful Authority, but when it is mix'd and blended, and put on the ſame foot of Credit with the Forgeries of Prieſts. Let Religion (which ſignifies Man's Duty to God) ſtand on thoſe Reaſons which muſt of courſe occur to every body, without the Aſſiſtance of Forgery from the Prieſts, and Perſecution from Magiſtrates at their Inſtigation; and it cannot be ſuppos'd, but that all *well-meaning* Men muſt come into it, without a high Reflection on Almighty God, in making him to require that as a Duty of us, which with the beſt Intentions we are not able to arrive at the Knowledge of.

6*thly*, And Laſtly, How great a value we Proteſtants ought to ſet upon the Holy Scriptures, thoſe ineſtimable Treaſures of Wiſdom and Knowledge, ſince there is nothing but Uncertainty to be met with every where elſe; and ſince we are aſſur'd by the Spirit of Truth itſelf, that *they* alone are *able to make us wiſe unto Salvation.* 2 *Tim.* 3. 15. They have a univerſal Tradition to ſupport them, infinitely beyond the Evidence of any other Matter of Fact, and

* *Sermons*, Vol. 4. *p.* 433.

have beſides the *Demonſtration of the Spirit and of Power.* * But I cannot expreſs my ſenſe better againſt the Authority of Prieſts, and for the Authority of the Proteſtant Religion contain'd in the Scriptures, than in the Words of our incomparable *Chillingworth:* † ſays he, "By the Religion of Proteſtants I "do not underſtand the Doctrine of *Luther*, or *Calvin*, or *Melanctbon*; nor "the Confeſſion of *Auguſta* or *Geneva*, nor the Catechiſm of *Heidelberg*, nor "the *Articles of the Church of England*; but the Bible, the Bible, I ſay, the "*Bible only* is the Religion of Proteſtants. Whatſoever elſe they may be-"lieve as Matter of Faith and Religion, they cannot do it with Coherence to "their own Grounds, nor require the Belief of it of others, without moſt high "and moſt ſchiſmatical Preſumption. I for my part, after a long, and (as I verily "believe and hope) impartial Search of the true way to Eternal Happineſs, "do profeſs plainly, that I cannot find any reſt for the Sole of my Feet, but "upon this Rock only. I ſee plainly and with my own Eyes, Councils "againſt Councils, ſome Fathers againſt others, the ſame Fathers againſt them-"ſelves, a Conſent of Fathers of one Age againſt a Conſent of Fathers of "another Age, and the Church of one Age againſt the Church of another "Age. Traditive Interpretations of Scripture are pretended, but few or none "to be found: No Tradition but only of Scripture, can derive itſelf from the "Fountain. In a word, there is no ſufficient Certainty, but of Scripture only, "for any conſidering Man to build upon. This therefore, and this only, I have "reaſon to believe: this I will profeſs, according to this I will live; and for "this, if there be occaſion, I will not only willingly, but gladly loſe my "Life, tho' I ſhould be ſorry that Chriſtians ſhould take it from me."

The French Favourites: or, the Seventh Diſcourſe of BALZAC'S POLITICKS. *Publiſh'd by the Rev. Dr.* KENNET, *Dean of* PETERBOROUGH, *February* 13*th*, 1708-9.

ADVERTISEMENT.

HE muſt be a Stranger to the HISTORY of Cardinal *Mazarine*'s Adminiſtration, who will not allow theſe Reflections of Monſieur *Balzac* to be very juſt, and well ſuited to his Times; and I preſume they are as applicable to the preſent State of the *French Court* and *Miniſtry*, ſince they are ſo lately and ſo warmly recommended to *Engliſh* Readers, by that *Impartial* Hiſtorian, and *Judicious* Writer, Dr. *Kennet*.

"This Tranſlation, *ſays he*, of the fineſt part of *Balzac*'s Works, will, I "preſume, be grateful to all Perſons who have a Taſte of Wit and Language, "and

* 1 Cor. 2. 4. † *Prot. Rel. a ſafe way*, cap. 6. Sect. 56.

" and the Converſation of a Court. The Subject is as nice in its Nature, and " as well ſet forth, as any thing that was ever yet prepar'd for publick Enter- " tainment. The Author writes like a *Briton*, and his Diſcourſes have " that Truth and Freedom, that they make a very good Book in *England*, " but would be thought a dangerous Libel in *France*."

I have nothing to add after ſo celebrated a Pen, only to aſſure the Reader, That tho' in ranging theſe ſelect Obſervations, I was oblig'd ſometimes to change the Author's Method, yet I have been very punctual in tranſcribing the very Words of the Tranſlator.

The French *FAVOURITES*, &c.

Page 153. AS there is not in the whole World any Good more Great and Excellent, and more univerſally Diffuſive of itſelf, than a good Prince; nor any Evil that ſpreads wider or with more miſchievous Effect, than an evil Prince: So there is not, in the utmoſt Extent of Human Juſtice, any Puniſhment proportion'd to their Crime, who turn this Good into Evil, and corrupt what is thus Sovereign and Salutary.

Page 144. Let us then inquire who they are, that Govern the World in Deſpight of itſelf? Who they are that Reign without *Right*, without *Merit*, and without a *Crown?*

Page 154. And ſince the Perſons of Sovereigns, whatever they are, ought to be held Sacred and Inviolable; ſince the Character of the Finger of God demands our higheſt Veneration, on whatever Matter it is impreſs'd, let us direct all our Hatred and Cenſure againſt theſe vile——, who lead us into Miſeries beyond retrieve.

Page 164. It is not long ſince we have ſeen a *Lady of the Court* arrive at ſuch a pitch of Inſolence, that being ſolicited in an Affair which, to engage her the more willingly, was repreſented as eaſy and juſt, ſhe reply'd with a Spirit worthy her,—— " That ſhe was not ſo laviſh of her Intereſt; that " another might ſerve on this ſlight occaſion, and might undertake Things juſt " and poſſible: As for her part ſhe uſed herſelf to attempt none but ſuch as " are Unjuſt and Impoſſible.

Page 165. What a train of Calamities muſt follow ſuch a Management? What Outrages will be committed under the ſhelter of this unlawful Favour? Has the *Great Man at Court* any one Slave who does not take himſelf to have the Privilege of abuſing *Freemen*, and of doing Violence with Impunity, in the Name and by the Authority of his Maſter? Does he not reſtrain thoſe about him whoſe Buſineſs it is to Rob and Plunder, and enrich themſelves with the refuſe of his *Avarice?*

Page 142. What ſhall we ſay to theſe Inſolent *Favourites*, who with Banners diſplay'd, bid Defiance to Law and Juſtice? Who undertake the Government of States, with a formal Deſign to Ruin them? Who owe their good Plight to the Juice and Subſtance of exhauſted *Province?* Who build their

Houſes with the Wrecks and Devaſtations of whole Kingdoms? Who proclaim all guilty of High Treaſon, that do not fall down and worſhip them? Who caſt a Nation into Deſpair, and reduce the beſt Subjects to an Incapacity of ſaving themſelves, otherwiſe than by turning Rebels?

Page 151, 144. There have been *Favourites* (I do not ſay where) that have introduced themſelves to Court, by Ways that are little and mean; and have ow'd the Beginnings of their Fortune to a well-adjuſted *Dance*, to Agility of Body, or Comelineſs of Perſon. And tho', as they roſe from a Hill, they are properly of Kin to no Man, yet they take themſelves for the true and lawful Heirs of all the World. There's no Office of the Crown, no Government or Commiſſion, but they think they have a Right of ſucceeding to.

Page 152. They perſuade the Prince in good Earneſt, that he is under no manner of Obligation to keep his *Word.*

Page 155. They Reign openly, and Uſurp without Diſguiſe. So that looking on him only as the Right and Title of their own obtruded Authority; they add to the Yoke of Tyranny, the Scandal of its being impos'd by private Hands.

Page 145. 'Tis incredible how many ſorts of Charms they make uſe of, without applying thoſe of *Magick*, which the People, however, don't fail of laying to their Charge. Their firſt Eſſay is to ſtrike him with a ſort of Emulation and Vain-glory, in the Eſtabliſhment of their own Fortunes.

Page 156. They give him to underſtand, that 'tis much Wiſer to prefer People of obſcure Parentage, who have no Dependencies, and ſhall hold only of his Majeſty, than to employ Men of illuſtrious Birth and known Probity, who are already engaged in ſome Party or Intereſt: That he is concerned in Honour not to leave his own Works unfiniſhed, but when he has prepar'd their *Subſtance* to do ſomewhat for their *Elegance* and *Ornament*; and to put them into ſuch a Condition, as that none but himſelf can unmake them: That he cannot deſert and give up a Perſon that has been once dear to him, without condemning his own Conduct for many Years, and giving a publick Proof of his paſt Blindneſs or preſent Levity.

Page 157. And indeed the deſire we have the World ſhould believe that all our Choices are well made, impoſes a ſubſequent Neceſſity upon an Action, which in its riſe was voluntary. Inſomuch, that ſince what has been done againſt Reaſon, cannot be juſtify'd but by Reſolution, we believe we can never be too Obſtinate in maintaining it. And upon the ſtrength of this Belief, even after we have withdrawn our *Affection*, we think ourſelves oblig'd to defend our Judgment.

Page 158. Thus the Prince is engag'd and devoted to the making his beloved Subject great. To him he opens his Coffers and employs his Treaſury. He has already loaded him with all the Offices of the Kingdom, and all the Ornaments of the Crown. He has nothing to add to his Royal Bounty, but his Royal Perſon, and this at length he makes over with ſo entire and abſolute a Conveyance, that the very Monaſteries do not afford an Inſtance of a more reſign'd Will, and Self-renunciation.

Page 159. He is never ſhown in publick, but when his Preſence may ſeem neceſſary to confirm thoſe Orders, which he had no ſhare in the making, and he is contented to come abroad upon this Errand. Care is taken to amuſe him with ſome pretty Diverſion unworthy his Condition, and his very Age; and ſhould they ſend him a Collection of Play-things from the Toyſhop, he would ſcarce fail to thank them for their agreeable Preſent. His Domeſticks are every Day chang'd, and without his Notice. Every thing that can ſpeak is remov'd from about his Perſon, and he does not gueſs at the Deſign. They new model the Court, and he takes it as they give it him. They contrive to bring all other Men into Hatred or Suſpicion. They find ſome pretence to eaſe themſelves of all that are truly Great and Virtuous, and he conſents to their Ruin. Thoſe that are more ſtubborn and impatient of the Yoke, they ſubdue by force of Arms. The Wealthy and Peaceable they attack with Informations and Calumnies. Such as are kept in Credit by their good Services and irreproachable Loyalty; on theſe they beſtow ſome fatal Commiſſion, or ſend them with feeble Troops, to reduce ſtrong Garriſons, where, if they come off with their Lives, they ſhall be ſure to loſe their Reputation. Some they drive away with an abſolute Command to leave the Court; others they more civilly baniſh. And in the room of all theſe, how numerous ſoever, the new Prime Miniſter ſubſtitutes Perſons intirely at his Devotion, who reſt in the viſible cauſe of their good Fortune, and never caſt a Look beyond their immediate Benefactor.

Page 165. The Prince all this while is not an Actor in the Sin, and yet is a Sharer in the Guilt, his Ignorance is inexcuſable, his Patience is a Vice; and thoſe Diſorders which happen either without his Knowledge or by his Sufferance, are no leſs imputed to him by God, than if committed by his own Hand. And therefore Princes ought not to reſt ſatisfy'd in a Private and *Perſonal* Innocence. It will not avail them to be Juſt themſelves, if they miſcarry thro' the Injuſtice of their *Miniſters*.

To this Purpoſe I cannot forget a notable Strain of an *Italian* in our Fathers Days, preaching before a Prince of the ſame Country: Being in the midſt of his Sermon, in which he had treated of the Duty of Sovereigns, and being weary of dwelling ſo long upon the general *Theſis*, he broke through it on a ſudden in the following Words, addreſs'd to the Prince himſelf: *May it pleaſe your Highneſs*, ſays he, *I had a very ſtrange Viſion laſt Night; methought the Earth open'd before me, and I could ſee diſtinctly to its very Center. I beheld the Puniſhments of the other World——and among the Wicked of paſt Ages, I could diſcern too many of the preſent——Yet having formerly obſerv'd their Lives, I did not wonder to ſee them arriv'd at a place, to which I knew they had wholly bent their Courſe. But that which ſtruck me with the utmoſt Aſtoniſhment, was, that I eſpy'd* You, Sir, *in this unhappy Company; and as I could not but be fill'd with Surprize and Trouble at ſo unexpected an Adventure, I cry'd out to your Highneſs, Is it poſſible a Man ſhould loſe his Soul by ſaying his* Prayers! *that* Your Highneſs *ſhould go this way! You who are the beſt and moſt* Religious Prince *in the World! To which your Highneſs anſwered with a Sigh,* I don't go, Father, I am led.

Page 169.

Page 169. Let the Monarch caſt the Reflection of his Greatneſs in what meaſure he pleaſes, upon thoſe who have found Favour in his Sight, let him communicate to them the Rays and Brightneſs of his Power; but let him not be ſhorn of his Beams, let him not impair his Orb of Light; let his Largeſſes enrich the Court, if they do not impoveriſh the Kingdom; let the Stream of his Magnificence flow abundantly into private Channels, provided he ſtill continues Maſter of the Fountain-Head.

Page 172. But what Miſery is more deplorable, than at the ſame time, to be placed at the top of Human Affairs, and yet to ſtand in the very loweſt Rank of Men! To be call'd his *Majeſty*, or his *Highneſs*, and ſhow nothing but what is Little and Low?

Page 169. I remember the Anſwer given me upon this Subject, by that Oracle of the *Low-Countries*, the Learned and Wiſe *Juſtus Lipſius*, when I conſulted him at *Lovain*; *What*, ſaid he, *ſhall the* King *and the* Ruler *be always two different Perſons? Shall Princes be oblig'd to correct the Form of their Decrees, and to alter their Subſcriptions? Where an Act bears Date, the Tenth or Fifteenth Year of Our* Reign, *ſhall they blot out* of Our Reign, *and put of our* Servitude, *or at leaſt of our* Subjection?

Page 160. Shall a poor Prince lie at the Mercy and Diſcretion of his Favourite? Speak not a Word but what is carried to his Governor's Ear? Not vent a *Sigh*, but what there's ſome Spy at Hand to catch and report?

Page 144. Shall he in the midſt of his own *Palace*, endure all the Uneaſineſs of a *Solitude?*

Page 145. Have a Guard placed at all the Avenues, and admittance refus'd to his very *Confeſſor?*

Page 160. Shall he ſee no one about his Perſon that is of his Knowledge or Acquaintance? Not one faithful Ear, to which he may whiſper what he ſuffers?

Page 161. Soberly ſpeaking, the Battle of *Pavia* was not ſo fatal to *Francis* the Firſt, nor the taking of *Rome* to *Clement* the Seventh: For if their Diſgrace was heavy, yet it was not voluntary; if they loſt their Liberty, yet, under all their Afflictions, they preſerv'd the Greatneſs of their Spirit; and if they were made *Priſoners*, it was to a great Emperor, their declar'd Enemy, and not to the loweſt of their People. There cannot be ſo baſe, ſo infamous, and ſo miſerable a *Captivity*, as that of a Prince taken in his own *Cloſet*, and by his own *Slave*.

Page 162. Tyranny is indeed a Thing very diſtant from Royalty, and yet bears a nearer Reſemblance to it than Servitude does. The former is at leaſt ſome kind of Government, and a Way of Commanding, tho' not the moſt excellent Way. But when a Sovereign ſhall reſign himſelf as a Prey to three or four puny Subjects, and not reſerve either the Diſpoſal of his own Will, for the following his *Inclinations*, or the Uſe of his own Reaſon, for the Knowledge of his Affairs, I want Words to expreſs the Wretchedneſs of his Condition; and I think a State can ſuffer no worſe *Interregnum*, than that of his Life, during which he does nothing, and yet does all the Miſchief that can happen to a People.

In

In this Caſe he ſeems to be dead in Law, and has, as it were, depoſed himſelf by his own Act. 'Tis only his Effigies that is carry'd in Publick, and to which ſome Duties of mere Cuſtom and Pageantry are perform'd, and many uſeleſs Reverences paid.

Page 163. Men having forgotten their Allegiance to the Rightful and Natural Sovereignty, there's another ſtarted up in his Place; which is foreign and uſurp'd, ſprung from the firſt by a *Violent*, and, as it were, adulterous Birth. They deſert *Royalty*, to run after Favour; of which the *Arabians* have this Proverb, *That the Daughters often deſtroy Mothers.*

Page 163. What a goodly Thing was it to ſee a King of *Caſtile*, who durſt not take a Walk, or put on a new Suit, without aſking Leave of *Alvarez de Luna?* Whatever Kindneſſes were begg'd of him, he was to beg 'em over again of his Favourite. The utmoſt he could do, was to recommend his own Friends, and to uſe his beſt Intereſt, for thoſe he loved and eſteem'd. A goodly Thing, when a Miniſter ſhall be offended with his Maſter, for deſiring once in his Life-time the Peruſal of a Paper, brought to him to *Sign!* When he ſhall complain that this is to injure his Fidelity, and to forget his important Services! A goodly Thing to ſee a Courtier *revoke* the Prince's *Choice*, and diſpoſe a-new of Commiſſions ſettled by the Royal Will!

Page 172. *Heavens blow this Plague to* Aſia's *diſtant Shore.*

The SPEECH *of* Sir CHARLES SIDLEY *in the* HOUSE *of* COMMONS, 1691.

WE have provided for the Navy, we have provided for the Army, and now at the latter End of a Seſſions here is a new Reckoning brought us; we muſt provide likewiſe for the Civil Liſt: Truly, Mr. Speaker, it is a ſad Reflection, that ſome Men ſhould wallow in Wealth and Places, whilſt others pay away in Taxes the fourth part of their yearly Revenue for the Support of the ſame Government; we are not upon equal Terms for his Majeſty's Service; the Courtiers and great Officers, charge as it were in Armour, they feel not the Taxes by reaſon of their Places, while the Country Gentlemen are ſhot through and through with them.

The King is pleaſed to lay his Wants before us, and I am confident expects our Advice upon it: We ought therefore to tell him what Penſions are too great, what Places may be extinguiſhed during this Time of War, and publick Calamities. His Majeſty is encompaſſed with, and ſees nothing but Plenty, great Tables, Coaches and Six Horſes, and all things ſuitable; and therefore cannot imagine the Want and Miſery of the reſt of his Subjects. He is a Wiſe and Virtuous Prince, but he is but a Young King, encompaſs'd and hemm'd in among a Company of crafty old Courtiers; to ſay no more of them, with Places ſome of 3000, ſome of 6000 and ſome 11,000. I am told the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury have 3000 *l.* a Year a-piece: Certainly ſuch Penſions, whatever they may have been formerly, are much too great, in the

preſent Want and Calamities that reign every where elſe; and it is a general Scandal, that a Government ſo ſick at Heart as ours, ſhould look ſo well in the Face. We muſt ſave the King Money where-ever we can, for I am afraid our Work is too big for our Purſes, if things be not managed with all the Thrift imaginable. When the People of *England* ſee that all is ſaved that can be ſaved, that there are no exorbitant Penſions nor unneceſſary Salaries, that all is apply'd to the Uſe for which it was given, we ſhall give and they will chearfully pay whatever his Majeſty can want to ſecure the Proteſtant Religion, to keep out the King of *France*, aye, and King *James* too: Whom, by the way, I have not heard named this Seſſion, whether out of Fear, Reſpect or Diſcretion, I cannot tell. I conclude, Mr. Speaker, let us ſave the King what we can, and then let us proceed to give him what we are able.

The SPEECH *of* Sir PETER KING, *Kt. Recorder of* London, at St. *Margaret's-Hill, to the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, upon his Royal Entry,* Sept. 20. 1714.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty.

YOUR Majeſty is now entring into the Liberties of the City of *London.* The Citizens have, with Impatience, waited for your Royal Preſence amongſt them, to ſecure thoſe invaluable Bleſſings which they promiſe themſelves from a Prince of the moſt illuſtrious Merit.

Enlivened by the diſtant Influence of your Majeſty's Government, they have earneſtly deſir'd its nearer Approaches.

The long-expected Day is now come, a Day of univerſal Joy, to ſee your Majeſty's ſolemn Entrance, with his Royal Highneſs the Prince, into the Capital of your Kingdoms: The Citizens of *London* never met any of your Predeceſſors, Kings or Queens of this Realm, with more Duty and Loyalty, than they meet your Majeſty; nor with a greater Deſire to teſtify their Joy in the moſt becoming and affectionate Manner.

Hiſtory hath preſerv'd the Memory of ſeveral triumphant and joyful Entries; but the Exultations and Triumphs of thoſe Entries, even of the moſt joyful, are not to be mention'd with the Extaſies and Rejoycings of this.

There was not the like Reaſon and Occaſion for them.

We now behold a Prince, fam'd for his Juſtice, Clemency and Wiſdom, come to take Poſſeſſion of his Kingdoms. We ſee our Religion ſecur'd, our Laws and Liberties preſerv'd, our Publick Credit advanced, our utmoſt Wiſhes exceeded, the Proteſtant Succeſſion (concerning which we had many anxious and ſolicitous Thoughts) taking effect in a quiet and peaceable Poſſeſſion, and a Proſpect of a laſting and continued Settlement under your Majeſty, and your Royal Poſterity after you.

We have nothing now to do, but ſecurely enjoying our own, to beſeech Almighty God to bleſs your Majeſty with a long, happy and glorious Reign; and to do every thing in our reſpective Stations, which may contribute to make your Majeſty's Government ſafe, proſperous and eaſy.

An

An Enquiry into the Authority of the Primitive Complutenſian *Edition of the* New Teſtament, *as principally founded on the moſt Ancient* Vatican *Manuſcripts; together with ſome Reſearch of that Manuſcript. In order to decide the* Diſpute *about* 1 John v. 7.

In a LETTER to the Reverend Mr. Archdeacon Bentley, Maſter of *Trinity-College* in *Cambridge*.

Rev. SIR,

THAT Regard is paid by the Learned World to your ſuperior Skill in Critical Enquiries, that I cannot think it improper to addreſs the following Eſſay to a Perſon of your acknowledg'd Sagacity, in order to receive a juſt Solution of the Queſtion propos'd. And indeed I am particularly determin'd to give you the Trouble of this Application, by your having lately publiſh'd your Deſign to give us the *New Teſtament* as review'd by yourſelf, and conſequently to oblige the World with an Examination of both *Greek* and *Latin* MSS. that relate to the diſputed Text in the 5th Chap. of the 1ſt Epiſt. of St. *John*; towards deciding the Authority of which, theſe Papers are now offer'd to the Conſideration of yourſelf and the Publick. Certainly it is high Time that this celebrated Paſſage ſhould be examin'd with the greateſt Accuracy, that either its Authority may be ſatisfactorily vindicated, or be fairly given up for an Interpolation, if it is not capable of being defended. The Church has been of late ſo rudely inſulted for retaining it in the *Engliſh* Tranſlation of St. *John*'s firſt Epiſtle, and the Memory of your ancient Friend, the late faithful and learned Reviſer of the *New Teſtament*, has been reflected on ſo ſeverely for deciding in Favour of it, that it may ſeem ſurprizing to ſome, that little more has on that Occaſion been wrote in Vindication of it, than what has been offer'd by the ingenious Mr. *Martin*, in his Controverſy with Mr. *Emlin*. (*a*)

But ſince this is a Text that has been frequently cited in Controverſy againſt the *Unitarians* and others, as a Paſſage of Scripture that moſt expreſly aſſerts Three Perſons in the Divine Nature; and ſince by the (*b*) *Greek* and *Latin*

(*a*) It ought to be added, that a copious Vindication of this Text has been very lately publiſh'd, in four Sermons, by Dr. *E. Calamy*.

(*b*) Certè in Ritualibus Eccleſiæ Græcorum Orientalis, velut ab antiquis ſeculis, recepta eſt ejuſdem [ſc. v. 7. c. 5. 1. Epiſt. S. Johann.] in Epiſtola illa lectio publica quotannis in quinta feria Hebdomadis a Paſchate trigeſimæ quintæ, ut liquet ex eorum Codice cui Titulus Ἀπόστολος. Vid. Selden. de Synedriis, l. 2. c. 4. In Lectionibus Dominicæ in Albis, ſeu Dominicæ Paſcha proximè ſequentis, reliquiſq; uſq; ad Feſtum Aſcenſionis,

Churches now read this Paſſage, and have done ſo for many Ages, in a very ſolemn Manner; and ſince in particular the Church of *England* has in her Liturgy appointed the reading of this Paſſage as Part of one of the *Leſſons* on *Trinity-Sunday*, and has likewiſe ever ſince the Reformation preſcrib'd the publick Reading of it in one of her (*c*) *Epiſtolary* Sections, namely, that on the firſt *Sunday* after *Eaſter*, according to ancient Cuſtom; ſince, I ſay, ſome Streſs ſeems to have been laid upon this Paſſage; in Honour and Decency, and out of a juſt Regard to what has been ſo long reputed Part of the Word of God, its Authority ought to be examin'd with the moſt mature Deliberation, before it be either tacitly or avowedly given up as an indefenſible Paſſage. It is not eaſy indeed to add any thing conſiderable to what has already been laid before the Publick about the Quotation of this Paſſage by St. *Cyprian*, or the ſuppos'd Alluſion to it by *Tertullian*, together with the Methods that have been made uſe of to elude thoſe Authorities; and therefore I ſhall not here enter into an Enquiry whether St. *Cyprian* directly quoted this Paſſage, as *Fulgentius* ſeems to affirm, or whether he mention'd it only as a Myſtical Interpretation of the 8th Verſe, as *Facundus* tells us; tho' *Facundus* liv'd too remotely from the Age of St *Cyprian*, to know with Certainty, that what St. *Cypriau* ſeems to quote literally out of Scripture, was deſign'd by him merely for a myſtical Interpretation of another Paſſage. Neither ſhall I now examine, whether *Tertullian* alluded to the controverted Paſſage, or ſpoke his own Senſe without any Alluſion. Theſe Matters have been ſo exſpatiated upon by our late Writers, who on one Side have copy'd chiefly after *F. Simon*, that inſtead of repeating what is ſo well known, I rather chooſe to lay before the Publick another Part of this Argument, that has not been ſo thoroughly diſcuſſed as it deſerves. And it is taken from the Authority of the *Complutenſian* Edition of the *Greek Teſtament*, which (as is well known) was not only the firſt, but the moſt accurate Edition of it, and which in Fact inſerted the diſputed Paſſage of the threefold Teſtimony in Heaven. An Edition this, that was firmly believ'd by the ſubſequent Editors of the *New Teſtament* to have been entirely founded on the moſt ancient MSS. as will appear in its proper Place. The Queſtion then is, upon what Authority the *Complutenſian* Editors inſerted this famous Paſſage of St. *John*, and particularly whether they did inſert it upon the Authority of the moſt ancient *Vatican* MS. or MSS. This is a Queſtion of great Importance to this Text, ſince the *Britiſh Greek* MS. cited by *Eraſmus* in Favour of this Text, and conſulted by himſelf, is periſh'd, or not now to be found; ſince likewiſe *Robert Stephens*'s *Greek* MSS. that have long been believ'd to have had this Text, are either loſt, or endeavour'd to be render'd dubious; tho' *Beza* (*d*) confirm'd their Authority, by declaring that he review'd

Aſcenſionis, ſolenne fuit antiquitùs ut hodieq; pro Epiſtola Diei inter alias propria legere partem Capitis jam dictæ Johannis Epiſtolæ quinti, atq; in lectione illa publica & receptiſſima velut omnino genuinum agnoſci jam dictum Comma. [ſc. 7. cap. 5.] Ibid.

(*c*)——ſub Henrico Octavo, in Epiſtolis poſt Reformationem ſic inceptam Solennibus, & ſub Edwardo Sexto in Liturgia Anglicana Publica, ut poſtmodum ſimiliter perpetuò ſub Elizabetha Regina deincepſq; legebatur [*hoc Comma*] ut alibi, ut pars Capitis quinti Epiſtolæ primæ Johannis, Dominicæ proximè Paſcha ſequenti propriæ. Ibid. p. 138. & 139. Lond. 1653.

(*d*) Vid. Præfat. & Epiſtl. Dedic. N. T.

view'd them himſelf; and tho' they have lately been vindicated with great Strength againſt the new Artifices of F. *Le Long:* (*e*) And ſince alſo the Authority of this Paſſage in the noble Edition of *Complutum* or *Alcala*, as being pretended to have been founded on no *Greek* MS. at all, is much diſputed. Since therefore it has been roundly aſſerted that this Text is not to be found in any ancient *Greek* MS. and ſince it muſt be confeſs'd that we are reduc'd into a narrow Compaſs with regard to *Greek* MSS. it may not be unſerviceable to endeavour to clear up the Authority of the *Complutenſian* Edition of the *Greek* Teſtament, and of this diſputed Text in particular, as founded on a very ancient MS. or MSS. And that it was ſo founded, I hope to evince in the following Method.

Firſt, I ſhall ſhew, that the *Complutenſian Greek* Teſtament, as ſoon as it appear'd in the World, was of that Authority, as to oblige *Eraſmus*, *Robert Stephens*, and the other ſubſequent Editors of the New Teſtament, to accommodate their Text very much to that Edition.

Tho' the *Complutenſian Greek* Teſtament was really the *firſt* that ever was printed, yet ſince (by ſome accidental Obſtructions) (*f*) it lay concealed and unpubliſhed for ſeveral Years after it was finiſhed, *Eraſmus* did in Fact publiſh Three Editions of the *Greek* Teſtament before the *Complutenſian* Edition ſaw the Light, and was known to the learned World. For the *Greek* Teſtament was finiſhed in 1514, but that Teſtament was not publiſhed, till about 1525. Before which Time, namely, in 1522, *Eraſmus* publiſhed his Third Edition of the *Greek* Teſtament. But *Eraſmus* in his Fourth Edition of it, namely, in 1527, (*g*) profeſſed his Agreement with the *Complutenſian* Text of the New Teſtament, took many various Readings out of the ſame, and in many Places alter'd his former Text, by taking into the room of it the Readings of that excellent *Spaniſh* Edition, that had by that Time gained the higheſt Reputation and Authority. And (*h*) as for his Fifth and laſt Edition, he made very little Alteration in it from that which immediately preceded it, that is, at the Diſtance of eight Years, and juſt before his Death. So that he continued his great Eſteem for the *Complutenſian* Edition as long as he lived. And more eſpecially with Application to the diſputed Verſe in St. *John*, whereas it has been ſaid by ſeveral Writers that *Eraſmus* put that Verſe into the Text of his Teſtament, merely on the Authority of the *Codex Britannicus*, and to prevent Calumny; it is obſervable, that this was ſpoke by *Eraſmus* only of his *Third* Edition of the New Teſtament, in which he inſerted that diſputed Verſe after he had omitted it in his two former Editions; for he ſeems to have been confirmed in the Genuineneſs of that Verſe, ſince he (*i*) continued it in his Fourth and Fifth Editions of the New Teſtament, that is, after he had ſeen it in the *Complutenſian* Edition, to which he paid a great Reſpect, and very much accommodated both thoſe Editions.

Next to *Eraſmus*'s Editions of the New Teſtament, thoſe of *Robert Stephens* made the greateſt Figure. And we have particular Reaſon to mention theſe, becauſe our Preſent Text of the New Teſtament is the ſame with his. Now

(*e*) Vid. Martin's Genuineneſs of this Text, p. 62.

(*f*) Vid. Millii Proleg. p. 109. Edit. Oxon. Vid. Alv. Gomecium de reb. geſt. Ximenii, lib. 2. p. 966.. apud A. Schotti Hiſpan. illuſtrat. Francof. 1603. 1 Vol. Fol.

(*g*) Vid. Millii Proleg. 114.

(*h*) Vid. Millii Prolegom. p. 116.

(*i*) Vid. Millii Prolegom. p. 114.

we are assured by Dr. *Mill*, (*k*) that *Robert Stephens* founded the Text of his New Testament upon the *Complutensian* Edition as the Basis of his Work; and likewise that upon Collation of *Greek* MSS. in the *French* King's Library, he judged those MSS. the best that most agreed with the *Complutensian* Edition; which he preferred to *Erasmus*'s fifth and last. This was his *Criterion*, and this his Method throughout his first Edition of the New Testament in 1546; with which his following one agreed, with regard to the controverted Verse. And as for his second Edition of the New Testament in 1549, he added more Readings out of the *Complutensian* Testament to what he had extracted thence in his former Edition. (*l*)

And with regard to *Robert Stephens*'s Third and most Celebrated Edition in 1550, in *Folio*, Dr. *Mill* computes that there are 598 Readings in it taken out of the *Complutensian* Edition. And he assures us, that *Robert Stephens* had that Value for it, and paid that Regard to its Authority, that in this his best Edition he resumed several Readings out of the *Complutensian* Testament, which he had before rejected; and this in Opposition to all other Editions then extant: Of which we have many eminent Instances in the *Apocalypse*. (*m*)

As for other Editors of lesser Character, tho' 'tis clear from Dr. *Mill*'s Collection that most of them paid that Deference to the *Complutensian* Edition as to accommodate their Editions of the New Testament to it, yet it would be superfluous to mention them in particular, after what has been asserted of those superior Editors *Erasmus* and *Robert Stephens*, who have been chiefly copied after by the subsequent Editors.

Secondly, The Reason of this Authority of the *Complutensian* Edition was founded on the most ancient *Vatican* MSS. and particularly on that excellent *Vatican* MS. which was recommended, or rather prescribed, to the *Complutensian* Editors as the Ground-work of their Edition of the New Testament.

It is so well known that the *Complutensian* New Testament was carried on at the vast Expence of that munificent Patron of Learning, Cardinal *Ximenes*, Archbishop of *Toledo*, just before the Reformation began, that I shall not here enlarge upon it: But shall only take notice, that that great Man was supplied with *Greek* MSS. of the New Testament out of the *Vatican* Library, by Order of Pope *Leo* X. for his Assistance on that Occasion; as we are assured from the Preface to the *Complutensian* New Testament, in which the learned Men employ'd as Editors under the Cardinal acquaint us, that the said *Greek* Testament was formed upon several most ancient and most correct MSS. But that it principally was transcribed from one particular *Vatican* MS. of great Character for its extraordinary Antiquity and Correctness, appears, says Dr. *Mill*, (*n*) from the Acknowledgment of those Editors, but (I think) more evidently from *Erasmus*'s (*o*) Sense of that Matter. It was this MS. from which Pope *Leo* commanded

(*k*) Vid. Millii Prolegom. p. 116, 117, 119, 120.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 125.

(*m*) Vid. Millii Prolegom. p. 126.

(*n*) Vid. Prolegom. p. 108.

(*o*) *Quibus* [sc. Hispanis Editoribus] *ex autoritate Exemplar eximiæ vetustatis spectataque fidei exhibitum e Bibliotheca Vaticana, a quo jussi sunt non recedere.* Apud Erasmi Epistol. ad Rob. Aldrisium, p. 1249. Edit. Lond. Vid. etiam Erasmi Cap. Argument. cont. morosi. præfix. 5tæ Edit. N. T. Bas. 1535.

commanded those Editors not to depart, but to adhere to it as the Ground-work and Text of their *Greek* Testament. Of all which since Dr. *Mill* has given a very copious Account, I rather chuse to refer to it than transcribe it. (*p*) It is sufficient under this Head to observe, that the great Authority which the *Complutensian* Edition of the New Testament soon obtained among the Learned must have been founded on the *Vatican* MSS. and more especially on that distinguished MS. which had the Honour to be prescrib'd by the Pope himself as the Text of that Edition; since I do not find that any more *Greek* MSS. than those of the *Vatican* were collated by the *Complutensian* Editors, except the *Rhodian* one of the *Acts* and *Epistles*, (cited often by *Stunica*) and except the *Codex Britannicus*, (mentioned by *Erasmus*) which the late Bishop *Stillingfleet* (*q*) assures us was sent to *Ximenes* on this Occasion; tho' I confess I know not upon what Authority this is asserted by that very learned Person.

Thirdly, It is highly probable that the *Complutensian* Editors found the Controverted Passage of St. *John* in the *Vatican* MS. recommended particularly by Pope *Leo*, and therefore inserted it in their Edition of the New Testament. And that for the following Reasons.

First, Pope *Leo* (as has been just now shewn) expresly commanded Cardinal *Ximenes* and the learned Men employed by him in the *Complutensian* Edition of the New Testament, not to vary from the *Vatican* MS. that he recommended to them. Now it cannot easily be imagined but that this Command of the supreme Head of their Church should have had great Weight with and Influence on them; and that not only when we consider those Editors for the most Part as *Spaniards*, that is, as Men most strongly attached to the Obedience of the Papal Chair, but more especially as engaged in a Work of so nice a Nature, as the giving the *first* Printed Edition of the *Greek* Testament, the great Rule of Faith and Manners, to the Christian World, and that from a certain Copy prescribed them as their unvaried Text by no less a Person than the supposed Vicar of Christ upon Earth. When these Circumstances, I say, are consider'd, it is by no means credible that those Editors should incur the Imputation of corrupting the Word of God, or run the greater Hazard of being disobedient to the Pope's expres Command on so solemn an Occasion.

Secondly, The *Complutensian* Editors themselves affirm (as has been already intimated from (*r*) Dr. *Mill*) that they formed their Edition of the New Testament principally upon one particular *Vatican* MS. Tho' he does not pretend that they did entirely do so in Exclusion of all the other MSS. sent by Pope *Leo*, he asserts, (*s*) that in effect they transcribed that MS. into their Edition. It is confessed indeed by the Editors in their Preface, that they were supplied with several ancient MSS. in order to perfect their Edition of the New Testament; yet since the chief Stress was by Pope *Leo*'s Command to be laid upon one particular MS. it is reasonable to think that tho' they might in some few Places vary from it upon the Credit of the other MSS. yet that they would not do so with regard to our Text in St. *John*, since it had been long read in both Eastern and Western Churches, and was known to be applied to so important a Doctrine as that of the Trinity. *Thirdly*,

(*p*) Vid. Proleg. p. 108, 109.
(*q*) Vid. Vindication of Trinity, p. 126.
(*r*) *Quam* [sc. Editionem] *ad eum* [sc. Cod. MS. Vaticanum] *maximè expressam aiunt.* [sc. Complutenses.] Vid. Mill. Proleg. p. 108.
(*s*) Vid. Ibid.

Thirdly, The Singular Readings of this Text (as well as of many others) in the *Complutenſian* Edition of the New Teſtament ſhew that they were taken from the *Vatican* MS. ſo particularly recommended to the Editors as their Standard. For, as Dr. *Mill* judiciouſly obſerves, thoſe Readings are not now to be met with in the other MSS. of the New Teſtament. And it is peculiar to this diſputed Paſſage in the *Complutenſian* Edition, that at the End of the 7th Verſe it is read of the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghoſt, Καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσι. All other Copies that we have heard of, that have the 7th Verſe, read it, Καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἕν εἰσι. In the *Complutenſian* Edition, the Words, Καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσι, are omitted at the End of the 8th Verſe. But this Omiſſion, tho' diſagreeable to the Common Reading is not peculiar to that Edition: For the *Codex Britannicus*, and ſome other Copies, have likewiſe omitted it. In the *Complutenſian* Edition it is read, ἐωι τῆς γῆς; whereas in the other Copies it is read, ἐν τῇ γῇ. Now ſince the *Complutenſian* Editors had, according to Dr. *Mill*, no other *Greek* Copies of the New Teſtament, (*t*) but the *Vatican* MSS. the *Rhodian* MS. and (perhaps) the *Britiſh* MS. thoſe Singular Readings of their Text muſt have been derived (if from any MS) from one or other of theſe. It has been juſt now ſhewn, that the 7th Verſe was read otherwiſe in the *Codex Britannicus*. And *Stunica* (who in his Diſpute with *Eraſmus* frequently cites the *Rhodian* MS. on other Occaſions) does not quote that MS. in favour of this Text of St. *John* when omitted by *Eraſmus*. It muſt therefore have been (if in any) in one or other of the *Vatican* MSS. And in which could it have been ſo probably, as in that diſtinguiſhed MS. from which the Pope expreſsly commanded them not to recede? Not to mention what is ſo frequently inſiſted on againſt this Text by our Adverſaries, but really turns in favour of it; namely, that this Text was not found in any of the *Vatican* MSS. by *Caryophilus* in the Review of *Urban* VIII. Whence it follows, that if thoſe *Vatican* MSS. were ſome of the MSS. that were formerly ſent to *Ximenes*, (as is the common Opinion) and if this Text was taken from a certain *Vatican* MS. it muſt have been ſo from ſome other *Vatican* MS. that was not collated by *Caryophilus*; and therefore moſt probably from that *Vatican* MS. which was enjoined by Pope *Leo* to be the Standard of the *Complutenſian* Edition. And that more eſpecially, ſince the many Singular Readings in the *Complutenſian* Edition, as well as thoſe of this diſputed Text, are not in the *Vatican* MSS. that were examined by *Caryophilus*, nor indeed in any other MSS. that are now extant, as far as we have heard. And therefore as it is not doubted that the many other Singular Readings in that primitve Edition were taken from ſome or other of the *Vatican* MSS. there is little Reaſon to doubt that this Singular Text in St. *John* was likewiſe taken from ſome or other of the ſame MSS. If the other Singular Readings are allowed to be genuine, this Singular Reading ought alſo to be ſo allow'd. For MSS. can now no more be produc'd for the one than the other. And if the many other Singular Readings are not allow'd to be genuine, the *Complutenſian* Edition of the New Teſtament, which has always been highly valued by all competent Judges, muſt be given up as of no Authority.

If

(*t*) Vid. Mill. Prolegom. p. 108.

If it be ſaid on this Occaſion, (*u*) *that an unprejudiced Reader would preſently gueſs from the marginal Note in the very* Complutenſian *Edition it ſelf, that the Editors put in this Text,* [i. e. 7th Verſe] *upon the Authority of St.* Thomas Aquinas, *who knew no* Greek, *and not from their* Vatican *MSS.* To this it may be replied, that the contrary is very evident from the ſaid marginal Note. (*x*) For from thence it by no means follows that the *Complutenſian* Editors made any Alteration in the 7th Verſe; but that if they made any at all, it was in the 8th Verſe; namely, that in the 8th they omitted theſe Words, Καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσι, after the Teſtimony of the Spirit, Water and Blood. For the Argument againſt Abbot *Joachim*, as mentioned in the marginal Note, turns upon *theſe* Words, with relation only to two or three Witneſſes on *Earth*, and cannot poſſibly be applied to the three Witneſſes in *Heaven*. But however, it does not follow, that even theſe Words in the 8th Verſe were omitted on the Account of *Aquinas*; ſince they were not in the *Codex Britannicus*, ſaid to have been conſulted by the *Complutenſian* Editors; and therefore might be omitted on the Authority of that MS. as well as of the *Vatican* MS. (*y*) And indeed ſeveral great Men, upon the Authority of ancient Copies, have been of Opinion, that this Paſſage in the 8th Verſe ought to be omitted; and have probably ſuppoſed that it was inſerted with Deſign to derogate from the Belief of the eſſential Unity of the Three Heavenly Witneſſes. The Conjecture then of the 7th Verſe having been inſerted in the *Complutenſian* Edition from *Aquinas*, is not only ill-grounded and unconcluſive, but is attended with ſome fatal Conſequences. For ſuch a Suppoſition would render the Authority of the firſt Editors of the *Greek* Teſtament ſo very precarious, as to derogate from the Authority of their great Work it ſelf, with regard to all thoſe Singular Readings that occur in it, and (as has been ſhewn) are on the ſame Foot with this Singular Reading in St. *John*. And if ſo, the ſubſequent Editions that have been copied after the *Complutenſian* Teſtament, and have retained many of its Singular Readings, will ſuffer ſome Diminution of Authority. For if it were allowed that the *Complutenſian* Editors could have taken the Liberty of inſerting a ſpurious Text merely from *Aquinas*, and without Regard, and indeed in Oppoſition to the *Vatican* MS. preſcribed them by Pope *Leo* as the Standard of their Edition; it muſt be granted that they deſerve to be cenſured

(*u*) Vid. Anſw. to Mr. *Nelſon*, p. 209.

(*x*) *Sanctus* Thomas *in Expoſitione ſecundæ Decretalis de ſumma Trinitate & fide Catholica tractans iſtum paſſum contra Abbatem* Joachim, *vid. Tres ſunt qui Teſtimonium dant in Cœlo, Pater, Verbum, & Spiritus Sanctus; dicit ad literam verba ſequentia. Et ad inſinuandam Unitatem Trium Perſonarum ſubditur, & hi tres unum ſunt. Quod quidem dicitur propter Eſſentiæ Unitatem: Sed hoc* Joachim *perverse trahere volens ad Unitatem Charitatis & Conſensûs inducebat conſequentem auctoritatem. Nam ſubditur ibidem; & tres ſunt qui teſtimonium dant in terrâ, ſc. Spiritus, Aqua, & Sanguis. Et in quibuſdam libris additur: & hi tres Unum ſunt. Sed hoc in veris Exemplaribus non habetur; ſed dicitur eſſe appoſitum ab Hæreticis Arianis ad pervertendum intellectum ſanum Auctoritatis præmiſſæ de Unitate Eſſentiæ trium Perſonarum. Hæ Beatus* Thomas *ubi ſupra.* Not. ad 5tum Cap. 1mæ Epiſt. S. Johannis in *Complutenſ.* Edit.

(*y*) Et quidem in MSS Exemplaribus multis Latinis Græciſque, etiam in Editionibus aliquot Græcis, *&c.* omittitur illud de Unitate Spiritus, Aquæ, & Sanguinis. Viri aliquot magni Veterum Exemplarium Autoritate ducti verbis illis locum ibi deberi nolunt. *Vid. Selden. de Synedriis*, l. 2. c. 4, p. 141.

ſured as wicked Impoſtors, that could have practiſed ſo great a Piece of Prevarication; and by ſo notorious a Cheat on the Chriſtian World, muſt have ſunk for ever not only their own Reputation, but that of their Edition of the New Teſtament. All which is contrary to the Judgment of the learned World both with regard to *Ximenes* and his Aſſiſtants, who have been ſo univerſally celebrated, and likewiſe with regard to their Edition it ſelf, which has been ſo juſtly valued and copied after by the ſubſequent Editors of the New Teſtament. And ſurely the Senſe of ſo many learned Perſons, who have allow'd that the Text of the *Complutenſian* Edition of the New Teſtament was entirely formed upon ancient MSS. is of great Weight againſt ſome late Suſpicions of Falſification.

Fourthly, It appears from ſeveral Paſſages of *Eraſmus*, that, as much as he doubted of the diſputed Text in St. *John*, he doubted not but that the *Complutenſian* Teſtament was taken from the ancient *Vatican* MS. and that in particular this controverted Text was taken out of it. For he not only aſſures us, (as has been ſhewn before under the ſecond Head) that the (*z*) *Complutenſian* Editors were commanded by P. *Leo* to adhere without Variation to that moſt ancient and correct Copy that was ſent them out of the *Vatican* Library by his Authority; but he farther declares in his Fourth Edition of the New Teſtament (which was the *firſt* after the Publication of the *Complutenſian* Teſtament) that he almoſt entirely agreed with the *Complutenſian Greek* Text, which (*a*) *Ximenes* had taken from the *Vatican* Copy that P. *Leo* had ſupplied him with. And in his fifth and laſt Edition of the New Teſtament, *Eraſmus* ſays in general, that thoſe Editors followed the ſaid *Vatican* Copy. (*b*) But above all, *Eraſmus* acquaints us more fully in his *Annotations* on this very Text, (*c*) that it was his Opinion that the *Spaniſh* Editors followed the *Vatican* Copy when they inſerted this Verſe of St. *John*. And ſurely the Judgment of ſo great a Critick as *Eraſmus*, conſidered as Cotemporary with the *Complutenſian* Editors, and likewiſe as the very firſt Perſon that raiſed Scruples about the Genuineneſs of this Verſe, is of ſo great Weight, as to be almoſt deciſive in the preſent Diſpute.

Fifthly, The *Louvain* Divines, who (after *Hontenius*) reviewed the New Teſtament in 1574, underſtood this Matter as *Eraſmus* did. For in their Corrected *Latin* Bible, and on this very Text of St. *John*, they declare, that (*d*) *the Concurrence of the two* Greek *Copies, namely, the* Britiſh *and* Spaniſh *Copies, produced by* Eraſmus, *is an Argument of the Genuineneſs of the ſaid Text.* In which Paſſage, as the *Britiſh* Copy was confeſſedly a *Manuſcript*, ſo (by all Rules of Conſtruction) muſt the *Spaniſh*, that is, the *Complutenſian* Copy, be underſtood to be likewiſe a *Manuſcript*, namely, the antient *Vatican* MS. recommended to and uſed by the *Complutenſian* Criticks, in their Edition of the New

(*z*) Vid. p. 13. in Margin.

(*a*) Vid. Mill. Prolegom p. 114.

(*b*) Vid. Cap. Argument. præfix. Edit. 5tæ [apud Mill. Prolegom. p. 108.]

(*c*) Exemplar ex eâdem, ni fallor, Bibliothecâ [*ſc. Vaticanâ*] petitum ſecuti ſunt Hiſpani. *Annotat. in locum.*

(*d*) Quod pro *Textûs* lectione facit, cui & Latinorum libri plurimi ſuffragantur, quibus conſentientes duos Græcos Codices, unum *Britannicum*, alterum *Hiſpanicum*, *Eraſmus* profert. *Apud Not. in N. T. Edit. Lovan.* 1574, *ad Epiſt.* 1. *Johan. c.* 5. *v.* 7. [*in Marg.* Simonii *de Verſion. Nov. Teſt.* p. 107.]

New Teſtament, which (as was juſt now ſhewn) was allowed by *Eraſmus* to have been followed by them.

And on this Occaſion I cannot but take notice, that tho' *Lucus Brugenſis* ſeems to doubt, whether the Semicircle placed by *Robert Stephens* after the Words ἐν τῳ οὐρανῳ, and not after the Words ἐν τῃ γῃ, be rightly placed; yet the Concurrence of *Hentenius*, the Editor of the firſt *Louvain* Bible in 1547, in placing the ſaid little Semicircle, that is, the Mark of ſpurious Addition, immediately after the Words *in Cælo*, and not after the Words *in terrâ*, and this upon the Authority of ſeveral *Latin* MSS. This Agreement, I ſay, in placing that ſignificant little Hook, by *Stephens* and *Hentenius*, is an Argument of ſome Weight to prove the Genuineneſs of our diſputed Verſe, ſince *Stephen*'s placing of it from *Greek* MSS. is confirmed by the very ſame Placing of it by *Hentenius* from *Latin* MSS. and indeed this Coincidence is ſo ſurprizing, as to remove all Suſpicion of Miſtake in the placing of it by *R. Stephens*.

Sixthly, F. *Amelote* of the Oratory, confeſſed by his Adverſary F. *Simon* to be a learned Man, and tho' vain-glorious, yet not falſe and diſhoneſt; he, I ſay, aſſures us in his Notes on his own Verſion of the New Teſtament, that he himſelf had *ſeen* this controverted Verſe in the moſt ancient MS. of the *Vatican* Library. If this Teſtimony of F. *Amelote* be not true, he was certainly one of the moſt egregious Liars in the World; and if it be true, there is an End put to our preſent Diſpute: Since then no doubt this was the very MS. that was ſent by Pope *Leo* to C. *Ximenes* as the Standard of his Edition of the New Teſtament. But this Matter ſhall be farther conſidered in its proper Place, under one of the following Heads of this Diſcourſe.

Seventhly, F. *Simon* himſelf, the moſt profeſſed Adverſary of our preſent Text, not only wiſhes that all the ſubſequent Editors had exactly followed the *(e) Complutenſian* New Teſtament, which he owns to be the firſt Edition; but likewiſe acknowledges that the ſaid Edition was taken from *Manuſcripts*, and makes no Queſtion but that C. *Ximenes* conſulted the moſt ancient Copies of the New Teſtament when he publiſhed his Edition. In Conſequence of which Conceſſion it appears, that F. *Simon* could not deny that this diſputed Verſe was taken by the *Complutenſian* Editors from ſome antient *Manuſcript*, which is what the late Writers, who generally tranſcribe his Arguments againſt this Text, are not ingenuous enough to allow. And I cannot but take Notice on this Occaſion, that F. *Simon (f)* is ſo frank as to acknowledge, that *Eraſmus* had declared, *he had ſeen a* Greek *Copy* in England, which obliged him to inſert in his following Edition of the New Teſtament the diſputed Paſſage of St. *John*. Which is another Piece of Ingenuity of F. *Simon*, not practiſed by our preſent Adverſaries, who are pleas'd to doubt, whether *Eraſmus* ever really *ſaw* ſuch a Manuſcript in *England*, tho' he himſelf ſays he had *ſeen* it; and tho' likewiſe he had owned *(g)* after his *Firſt* Edition of the New Teſta-

(e) See Crit. Hiſt. of the New Teſtament, Part II. E. Edit. p. 114. and p. 12. and p. 157.

(f) Vid. Crit. Hiſt. p. 3.

(g) Quod ſi mihi contigiſſet *unum* Exemplar in quo fuiſſet quod nos legimus [ſc. 1. *John* c. 5. v. 7.] nimirum illinc adjeciſſem quod in cæteris aberat.

Apud *Eraſmi* Reſponſ. ad E. Leum. p. 234. Tom. 9. Baſ. 1540.

ment, that if he had met with one Copy that had the disputed Verse, he would have inserted it; as accordingly he did, when he found it in a *Greek* Copy in *England*, as he himself acquaints us; and consequently must be allowed to have acted sincerely on that Occasion. And here we ought to reflect again, that the aforesaid Concessions of so zealous and learned an Adversary as F. *Simon*, are of the greatest Weight even against his own profess'd Opinion, with regard to the disputed Passage in St. *John*.

Fourthly, Notwithstanding the fore-mentioned Reasons, it would very much contribute to the Decision of the present Controversy above this Verse in St. *John*, if the Original *Vatican* Manuscript itself were again consulted, if it be still extant.

For tho' I cannot but think, that the Reasons now assigned carry an Air of great Probability, yet I am not so bigotted to them, as to pretend they are absolutely decisive in establishing the Authority of this Text as derived from the *Vatican* MS. For as I aim at nothing but the Discovery of Truth on this Occasion, it is acknowledged, that notwithstanding the Order of P. *Leo* to the *Complutensian* Editors not to depart from the most antient *Vatican* MS. that he recommended to them, it is certain that he likewise sent at the same time to them some other antient MS. no doubt to be made use of by them in Case of any considerable Defect in the aforesaid distinguished MS. And this is confessed in other Words by the Editors themselves, when they tell us in their Epistle to the Reader, That several very antient and very correct MSS. were communicated to them to form their Edition upon as the original Text. (*h*) And this is frankly owned by (*i*) *Gomecius* in his Life of *Ximenes*, and by (*k*) Dr. *Mill* himself. As for the Argument drawn from the many *Singular* Readings of the *Complutensian* New Testament, tho' it is really a good one, yet it is not quite decisive, nor does it irresistibly force our Assent, because *Stunica*, (*l*) one of the *Complutensian* Editors, and who bore a great Share in the Trouble of collating the *Vatican* MS. as well as the *Rhodian* one, does not in express Words inform us any where, in his Dispute with *Erasmus*, in what MS. he and the other Editors found the 7th Verse, and whether particularly they inserted it in their New Testament from the *Vatican* MS. so eminently recommended to them by P. *Leo*. And since I scorn to use any Disguise in this Enquiry, it is confessed; that tho' the Silence of *Stunica* does by no means overthrow the Argument drawn from the said *Singular* Readings, yet it is the greatest Difficulty to account for, and what sticks most with me. Again, *Erasmus*'s Authority, as above-cited, would have been decretory, if he had spoken more expressly. And as for the *Louvain* Divines, they build their Assertion upon *Erasmus*, and indeed in their Notes in some subsequent Editions of their New Testament, do not seem to have been quite so frank in their Acknowledgment. And again, a greater Regard would be due to so positive an Assertion as that of F. *Amelote*, if he had pointed out the Number and Place of that *most antient* MS. in the *Vatican* Library, in which he saw this disputed Verse, and had more plainly referred his Readers to it for their more entire Satisfaction.

Upon

(*h*)——Complura Exemplaria impressioni huic Archetypa fuisse antiquissima emendatissimaq;

——(*i*) Vid. Alv. Gomecium de vit. Ximen. lib. 2. p. 966.

(*k*) Vid. Prolegom. p. 109.

(*l*) Stunica——cui haud exiguæ in conferendis hisce Codicibus partes erant.—Apud Mill. Prolegom. p. 108.

Upon the Whole therefore, it is highly requiſite that this celebrated *Vatican* MS. ſaid to be the chief Standard of the firſt and nobleſt Edition of the *Greek* Teſtament, be again conſulted, reviewed, and collated a new, if it be ſtill in Being, in order to determine with greater Aſſurance what Emendations were made of it by the other MSS. in forming the Text of the *Complutenſian* New Teſtament, and conſequently whether this diſputed Paſſage of St. *John* was actually in it, and taken from it into the ſacred Text.

Fifthly, In order to ſuch a Review of the foreſaid *Vatican* MS. it is neceſſary to obviate a Miſtake that has been committed by ſeveral Writers, in confounding the *Vatican Greek* MS. which is at the End of *Sixtus Quintus*'s Bible, with that *Vatican Greek* MS. which was the Ground-work of the *Complutenſian* New Teſtament.

It was aſſerted by *Eraſmus* in his (*m*) Anſwers to *Lee* and *Stunica*, that the moſt antient MS. of the *Vatican* Library has not the 7th Verſe, and he gives us the very Words of *Paulus Bombaſius* (the Collater of that MS.) in his Epiſtle to him to prove the ſame. F. *Mabillon* (*n*) likewiſe has taken Notice, that the Teſtimony of the three Witneſſes in Heaven is wanting in the moſt antient MS. of the *Vatican* Library; and as he adds expreſly, in that MS. from which *Sixtus*'s Septuagint was publiſh'd. Biſhop (*o*) *Burnet* too, has acknowledg'd the ſame is not to be found in the moſt antient *Vatican* MS. And not to mention any more, Mr. *Emlyn* (*p*) (the lateſt Writer againſt this Paſſage in St. *John*) has ſaid the ſame after a great Number of Authors. And accordingly it has been imagin'd by Mr. *Emlyn* and many others, that this is the antient MS. that was recommended by P. *Leo*. Now all their Aſſertions that this Paſſage is not to be found in a *Vatican* MS. of great Antiquity are very true, if they are underſtood only of the very Ancient *Vatican* MS. which is at the End of *Sixtus Quintus*'s Septuagint-Bible. But then they are foreign to our preſent Purpoſe; ſince it is very certain that the Antient *Greek* MS. of the New Teſtament which is at the End of *Sixtus Quintus*'s Bible, is not the MS. that was recommended by Pope *Leo*, to the *Complutenſian* Editors as the Standard of their Edition of the New Teſtament. For (as has been ſhewn before) the many *Singular* Readings in their Edition plainly evince that thoſe Editors extracted them from ſome MS. very different from all the other MSS. that are now known, and conſequently from that at the End of *Sixtus*'s Septuagint. And if ſo, moſt probably they took them from that particular *Vatican* MS. which was recommended to them by *Leo* as the Text of their Edition. It is certain, that the MS. ſtiled by (*q*) Dr. *Mill* and others, the *Codex Vaticanus* of great Antiquity, is the Copy now extant at the End of *Sixtus*'s Bible: And it is as certain, that this MS. has not the *Singular* Readings that occur to the *Complutenſian* Edition. And therefore this MS. is different from that which the *Complutenſian* Editors made uſe of by particular

(*m*) Quid ſi comperiatur eadem Lectio in Exemplari Bibliothecæ Pontificiæ? Ap. Reſponſ. ad Leum. pag. 231. Vid. ſupra.—Codex vetuſtiſſimus in Bibliothecâ Vaticanâ ſummi Pontificis non habet teſtimonium triplex in Cælo.—nam Paulus Bombaſius conſulto Libro locum mihi deſcripſit ad Verbum.—Apud Apologiam ad Jac. Stunicam, p. 294. dict. Tom.—Vid. etiam. P. Bombaſii Epiſtolam inter Eraſmi Epiſtolas, p. 756, 757. Edit. Lond.

(*n*) Vid. Iter Italic. Part. 1. Pag. 63, Par. 1687.

(*o*) See Letter 1. p. 55. Amſterdam. 1686.

(*p*) See his *Enquiry*, p. 8 & 32.

(*q*) Vid. Diſſertat. in 1 Johan. 5. 7.

Order of *Leo* the 10th. This is very agreeable to the Sentiments of the late learned Reviſer of the New Teſtament Dr. *Mill*, who has made a juſt Diſtinction between theſe two ancient MSS. which ſeem to have been taken by Others for one and the ſame. He aſſures us (*r*), that all the *Greek* MSS. excepting that of the Apoſtolical Epiſtles ſent to *Ximenes* and *Rhodes*, were procur'd from the *Vatican* Library. Of which he particularly mentions two eminent MSS. The firſt, that which is now extant at the End of *Sixtus Quintus*'s Bible, written in large ſquare or uncial Characters, and ſaid to be above 1200 Years old. And to this MS. ſays he, no doubt thoſe Editors had ſome Regard. But as for all the Reſt of the *Vatican* MSS. that MS. was moſt eminently diſtinguiſh'd, as he adds, which for its great Antiquity and Correctneſs, P. *Leo* ſent as a Standard to the *Complutenſian* Editors. As Dr. *Mill* (*s*) proves likewiſe afterwards by the many Singular Readings of that Edition, not to be found in any other MS. and therefore not in the Ancient MS. annex'd to *Sixtus*'s Bible in the *Vatican* Library. By this juſt Diſtinction an End is effectually put to the vain Triumphs of the Adverſaries of the 7th Verſe: Thoſe I mean, who by affirming that the ſaid Verſe is wanting in the moſt Ancient MS. of the *Vatican* Library, have inſinuated that there neither is, nor was formerly, a moſt Ancient MS. there that has, or had, that Text. This Diſtinction, as far as I can find, is what has never been conſider'd in the Diſpute now depending; and ſince it is of Importance, ſurely it deſerves ſome farther Enquiry what is become of the latter *Greek* MS. on which the *Complutenſian* New Teſtament was almoſt entirely form'd, and where that moſt valuable Copy is lodg'd, that it may be again conſulted, as on other Occaſions, ſo in a particular Manner to clear up the Authority of this diſputed Verſe in St. *John*.

Sixthly, Since it is certain, that the *Vatican* MS. was ſent into *Spain* as the Ground-work of the *Complutenſian* New Teſtament, and it is uncertain, whether it was ever return'd from thence to the *Vatican* Library, if it is ſtill extant it muſt lie conceal'd at this Time in the Archives of the *Complutenſian*, or ſome other *Spaniſh* Library; or if return'd to *Rome*, in the *Vatican* Archives. And conſequently, till an accurate Search be made in thoſe ſeveral Archives, the Diſpute about the Authority of the aforeſaid Verſe in St. *John* ought to be ſuſpended.

It is confeſs'd indeed, that the Learned Dr. *Mill* was of Opinion (*t*), that the fore-mention'd *Vatican* MS. was actually return'd to *Rome*, and lies now conceal'd in the Archives of the *Vatican* Library, tho' probably diſtinguiſh'd there by its deſerv'd peculiar Character. And this ſeems to be favour'd by F. *Amelote*'s Aſſertion, as cited above. It muſt likewiſe be own'd, that the Suppoſition of its being ſent back to *Rome* looks plauſible enough, when we conſider that the

(*r*) Cæteri omnes Codices MSS. excepto ſc. *Rheodio* Epiſtolarum Apoſtolicarum Cod. è Bibliothecâ *Vaticanâ* conquiſiti ſunt: iſte certè in primis, qui extat jam ad finem Bibliorum Græcorum καλὰ τὰς ὁ, à *Sixto* quinto editorum; grandis ille, literiſq; Quadratis ſive Uncialibus, quas vocant, ante annos jam mille & ducentos, uti perhibent, exaratus. Hujus enim haud dubium eſt quin rationem habuerint Editores iſti. E reliquis erat inſignis ille præ cæteris Codex, eximiæ Vetuſtatis, ſpectatæq; fidei, quem tanquam Archetypum *Complutenſibus* noſtris tradidit *Leo* decimus. Apud Prolegom. p. 108. Edit. Oxon.

(*s*) Vid. p. 109. ibid.

(*t*) Vide Prolegom. p. 109.

the *Vatican* MS. of the New-Teſtament at the End of *Sixtus Quintus*'s Septuagint-Bible was return'd from *Spain* to *Rome*, after it had been collated by the *Complutenſian* Editors. For we are aſſur'd by Dr. *Mill*, that it was ſent thither with other *Vatican* MSS by Pope *Leo*; and it is very probable it was ſo ſent, upon Account of its great Antiquity. Now it is certain that this very MS. was return'd to *Rome* by the Time of *Sixtus Quintus*, ſince *Carafa* by *his* Order publiſh'd the Septuagint from that very MS. to the End of which the ſaid Copy of the New Teſtament was annex'd. If therefore Dr. *Mill*'s Suppoſition, that the MS. uſed by *Sixtus Quintus* in his Edition of the LXX was actually ſent to C. *Ximenes* in *Spain* be well-grounded, it is not improbable that the famous *Vatican* MS. which we are now in Search of, was ſent back to *Rome* with the foremention'd LXX Bible, and the annex'd MS. of the New-Teſtament. It is therefore highly expedient, that the Librarian of the *Vatican* ſhould be conſulted as ſoon as is poſſible, and the Archives of that Library be diligently examin'd, in order to find out the *Greek* MS. that was preſcrib'd to Cardinal *Ximenes* by Pope *Leo*, as the Baſis of his Edition of the New Teſtament. Hither then we ought to recur for Satisfaction in the very firſt Place. And indeed we have had not long ago ſuch an Inſtance of the Civility of the Court of *Rome* in the late Pope's Permiſſion of the Learned (*u*) Dr. *Wilkins*, to perfect his *Coptick* New Teſtament by the MSS. in the *Vatican* Library, that any Man of Learning is ſufficiently encourag'd to make his Application on this Occaſion, and eſpecially in Vindication of the Honour of the Noble *Complutenſian* Edition to which P. *Leo* ſo much contributed.

But ſince, notwithſtanding Dr. *Mill*'s (*x*) warm Way of expreſſing himſelf on this Occaſion, ſome Doubts may be rais'd, whether the ſending of the ſaid MS. of the New Teſtament (at the End of P. *Sixtus*'s Bible) to *Spain*, be any thing more than conjectural; and if that were ſent, whether the *Vatican* MS. which *Ximenes* chiefly uſed in this Edition of the New Teſtament might not be detained there either accidentally, or in Vindication of the Authority of his ſaid Edition, in order to be produced upon proper Occaſions againſt any Objections of Innovation, tho' *Sixtus*'s MS were ſuppoſed to have been ſent back to *Rome*, together with the other MSS. that were ſent into *Spain*; theſe, I ſay, are Doubts that deſerve ſome Conſideration. For when we reflect on the State of Things at *Rome*, a little before and after the Publication of the *Complutenſian* Bible, ſuch an Omiſſion to ſend back to *Rome* the *Vatican* MS. chiefly uſed by the *Complutenſian* Editors, may be accounted for. As it has been ſhewn before, that the *Complutenſian* Bible was not publiſhed till 1524, or rather 1525, and even then in ſome Confuſion; ſo it ought to be recollected that C. *Ximenes*, the Editor of that great Work, died in 1518, (according to (*y*) *Ciaconius*) and that P. *Leo* died in 1521; and that the Succeſſor of *Leo*, namely, *Adrian* the 6th not only had no great Genius for Critical Learning, and was wholly taken up with Schemes of reforming Abuſes in the Church, but (*z*) died within leſs than two Years from his Elevation to the Papal Chair; and likewiſe that the Succeſſors

(*u*) Vid. Præfat. ad *Copticum* N. Teſtam. Oxon. 4to.

(*x*) Vid. Prolegom. p. 109.

(*y*) Vid. Vit. Pontific. Rom p. 1381. Vol. II. Rom. 1630.

(*z*) Vid. Ciaconium in Vit. Adrian.

Succeſſors of *Adrian*, in a long Train, had little Inclination to Learning, or after ſo long a Time might eaſily have forgot to demand back any of the MSS. that were ſent to *Ximenes*; theſe Circumſtances, I ſay, being conſider'd, it appears by no means improbable, that the foreſaid *Vatican* MS. and perhaps others ſent from *Rome*, were never returned to the *Vatican* Library, but were either left among the Books and Papers of *Ximenes* at *Toledo* upon his Deceaſe, or among the MSS. that he himſelf bought for carrying on his Edition of the Bible, and left in the Library which he gave to his newly erected Univerſity at *Complutum* or *Alcala d'Henares*, where that primitive Edition was begun and perfected.

But to conſider the State of Things at *Rome* a little farther, it does not appear from the Lives of the following Popes, that is, from the Death of *Leo* the 10th till the Reign of *Urban* the 8th, which is about the Space of One Hundred Years, that any Deſign was carried on at *Rome* that required the Review or Examination of any of the *Vatican* MSS. of the New Teſtament that had been ſent by *Leo* to *Ximenes*, excepting that at the End of *Sixtus*'s Septuagint, which perhaps was never ſent into *Spain*. For tho' (*a*) the Popes *Pius* 4th and 5th are ſaid to have projected a New Edition of the Vulgar *Latin* Verſion, which *Sixtus* the 5th carried on, as well as order'd the Edition of the Septuagint by *Carafa*; and tho' *Clement* the 8th reformed the *Roman* Edition of the Vulgar *Latin*; yet, nothing appears to have been done at *Rome* with regard to the *Greek* Text of the New Taſtament, that required a Survey of the *Vatican* MSS. from the Time of *Leo* the 10th till *Urban* the 8th. And therefore in the Space of an whole Century, it might eaſily happen, that the foreſaid *Vatican* MS. and perhaps ſome others might be forgot to be demanded back again to *Rome*. And that the *Vatican* MS. ſo particularly recommended to *Ximenes*, was not returned to *Rome* by the Time of *Urban* the 8th, appears credible from hence, that (*b*) when by that Pope's Command there was a Review made of the *Greek* MSS. of the New Teſtament at *Rome* by *Matt. Caryophilus*, in order to carry on a New Edition of the ſame at that Place, and when he collated (beſides thoſe of the Goſpels) Eight *Greek* MSS. of the Epiſtles; MSS. of the greateſt Antiquity in the *Vatican* and the other Principal Libraries in *Rome*; the diſputed Verſe of St. *John* was not to be found in any of them, as has been already intimated in this Diſcourſe. But tho' the Suppreſſion of that deſigned Edition be to this Day a Secret, yet it appears that the *Vatican* MS. which was the Ground-work of the *Complutenſian* Edition, was not then at *Rome*. And if not then at *Rome*, it is not very probable that it has been ſent thither ſince, and is there now; and more eſpecially when we conſider that tho' thoſe Various Readings that were collected by *Caryophilus* have been ſince publiſhed by P. *Poſſinus*, the Deſign of another Review has not been ſince revived. We might have hoped for ſome Light in this Matter from ſome good Catalogue of the MSS. of the *Vatican* Library ſince the Reign of *Leo* the 10th. But there is no ſuch printed Catalogue to be found, nor indeed any other but the imperfect one of *Poſſevine*, (*c*) in which there is no Mention made of any *Greek* MSS. of the

(*a*) Vid. Ciaconium, p. 1825. Part II.
(*b*) Vid. Catenam in Marc. Pet. Poſſinum, p. 522, 523. Romæ. 1673. Vid. etiam Præfat.
(*c*) Vid. Poſſevini Apparat. Sacr.

the New Teſtament. It is certain from *Spizelius*, who publiſhed his *Arcana Bibliothecaram illuſtr. detecta*, in 1668, that there was then no Catalogue publiſhed of the *Vatican* MSS. but that of *Poſſevine*, whoſe Catalogue he has reprinted. As for (*d*) *Alexander Raynaldus*, after *Poſſevine*, he ſeems only to have been concerned in drawing up a Catalogue of the *Latin* MSS. in the *Vatican* Library: Which, however, is not yet publiſhed. And perhaps the true Reaſon of its not being publiſhed is, that the (*e*) Poverty of the *Vatican* Library with regard even to ancient *Latin* MSS. and that too after the Acceſſion of the *Palatine* and other Libraries to it, made it neceſſary to ſuppreſs the ſaid Catalogue, in order to preſerve the Reputation of the *Vatican* Library. If any thing of this Nature with regard either to *Greek* or *Latin* MSS. in the *Vatican* Library, is to be met with among us, we muſt recur for it to a curious Gentleman that reſides not far from *Windſor*; who, according to credible Fame, has by him more exact Catalogues of the MSS. of the *Vatican* and other Eminent Libraries abroad, than have yet been publiſhed. He would therefore oblige the Learned Word, if he would pleaſe to communicate to it ſome Account of thoſe MSS. and more eſpecially, with regard to the Subject of the preſent Enquiry, if he would beſtow upon the Publick what Catalogues he may have happen'd to be favour'd with of the MSS. of the *Vatican*, *Eſcurial*, *Toledo*, or *Alcala* Libraries. He will, I hope, pardon the Liberty of this Application from one who is is entirely a Stranger to him; ſince it is occaſioned by an Enquiry that may be beneficial to the Learned World.

In the mean Time with relation to the *Eſcurial* Library, it does not appear from the Collation of Eight *Greek* MSS. of that Library by (*f*) *Petrus Faxardus* that this diſputed Paſſage of St. *John* was in any of them. I cannot find, that there is any Catalogue of the *Eſcurial* MSS. as yet publiſhed but that of (*g*) *Barvoetius*, which is too imperfect to give us an Account of the MSS. of the *Greek* Teſtament, as having been made only by Help of Memory. And in the Deſcription of that Library by (*h*) *Claudius Clemens*, no Account is to be met with of any *Greek* MS. of the New Teſtament that is above 600 Years old. But indeed an End is put for ever to this Enquiry into the MSS. of the *Eſcurial* Library, if (*i*) F. *Montfaucon*'s Account be true, namely, that the numerous and moſt Ancient MSS. of that Library are all deſtroy'd by Fire.

As for the other Libraries in *Spain*, in which the fore-mentioned *Vatican* MS. may probably be thought to lie concealed ever ſince it was uſed by C. *Ximenes*, they are thoſe of *Complutum* or *Acala*, and *Toledo*, concerning either of which I confeſs I can meet with but ſlender Accounts. (*k*) But ſince *Ximenes* was the Founder of the Univerſity of *Alcala*, and ſettled Profeſſors there; ſince his celebrated Edition of the Old and New Teſtament was begun, carry'd on, and finiſh'd at *Alcala* by Seven very learned Perſons that were aſſembled by him

(*d*) Vid. Leon. Allatii Apes Urban. & Alibi.

(*e*) Vid. *Burnet*'s Letters, p. 227.

(*f*) Vid. De la Cerda Adverſar. p. 129. Lugd. 1626.

(*g*) Vid. Barvoëtii Catalogum præfix. Cyrilli Alex. Homiliis in Jeremiam editis Gr. & Lat. per Corderium. Antv. 1648. 8vo. & apud Labb. Biblioth. Nov. p. 175. Par. 1653. 4to.

(*h*) Vid. Claud. Clement. Biblioth. Eſcurial. Deſcript. c. 4. 528, &c. Lugd. 1635. 4to.

(*i*) Vid. Palæograph. Græc. p. 28.

(*k*) Vid. Alv. Gomecium de geſtis Ximenii, l. 2. p. 966.

him at that Place; since we are assur'd, that the Seven *Hebrew* Copies, with which the Old Testament was collated, are actually now at *Alcala*, or were so when *Gomecius* wrote his History of *Ximenes*; and lastly, since we are inform'd by (*l*) a very learned and competent Judge of these Matters, that the *Complutensian* or *Alcala* Library was filled with all Sorts of Books, and with those of Divinity in an extraordinary Manner by *Ximenes* himself, and that this Library is stiled *Wonderful* and *Singular*, and is recommended especially on Account of the *Bibles* contain'd in it; when all this, I say, is put together, it is by no Means improbable that the *Vatican* MS. so particularly used by *Ximenes* at *Alcala*, was lodg'd there with his own MSS. of the Bible, and in the fore-mention'd Hurry and Confusion occasion'd by the Death of *Ximenes* and *Leo* (before the Publication of the long-suppress'd *Complutensian* Edition of the Old Testament) may never have been return'd back to *Rome*. And consequently, since the said MS. may lie there conceal'd to this Day, the Library at *Alcala* well deserves to be nicely examin'd by some learned Person, upon Supposition that by a previous Search it is not be found in the *Vatican* Library.

With regard to *Toledo*, we are assured by the fore-mention'd (*m*) Writer of the Life of *Ximenes*, that there is a Volume of *Letters* wrote by *Ximenes* now extant in MS. in the Archives of the Church of *Toledo*; a few of which *Letters* are inserted by *Gomecius* in his said *Life*. Now these MSS. Letters of *Ximenes*, if consulted, may possibly give some Light to the Question what became of the *Vatican* MS. that we are now enquiring after, when *Ximenes* had perfected his Edition of the New Testament. For it is certain, that *Ximenes* lived one Year after that great Work was finish'd. For the whole Bible was begun in 1502, and finish'd in 15 Years, that is 1517, the famous Æra of *Luther*'s Reformation. And, as has been shewn before, *Ximenes* died in 1518. Indeed it is not improbable, that the said *Vatican* MS. may have accidentally been depositted in the Archives of that Church in which *Ximenes* presided as Primate, when he died, and in which are actually found his unpublish'd Letters and Papers; with which that MS. we are in Search of, might easily be convey'd, and lie there undisturbed to this Day. It is therefore worth farther Enquiry in those unpublish'd Letters of *Ximenes*, and the other Papers and Books in the Archives of *Toledo*, in order to discover the most valuable *Vatican* MS. And that such an Examination of the *Spanish* Archives is practicable at this Time, and especially by procuring a particular Order of the Government there for that End, the present Peace with *Spain*, and the late renewing a friendly Commerce with that Nation, seem to perswade us; if the Bigottry that too much prevails there be not an insuperable Obstacle to all Enquiries of this Nature.

To conlude, as you are engag'd, Mr. Arch-deacon, in giving the World a New Edition of the *Greek* Testament, as you are known to have employ'd some learned Persons Abroad in the Collation of MSS. on that Occasion; so may it be justly expected that you will depute some Persons of Learning, to examine more nicely than ever the Archives of the *Vatican* and the fore-mentioned *Spanish* Libraries, in order to find out, and (if it be still in Being) to

(*l*) Vid. De la Cerda de Apparat. Lat. Sermon. apud A. Schotti Hispaniæ Bibliothec. p. 61, 62. Francof. 1608. 4to.

(*m*) Vid. Lib. 4.

to collate a new the famous *Vatican* MS. that was the Ground-work of the firſt and nobleſt Edition of the *Greek* Teſtament. And indeed ſuch a Diſcovery, and ſubſequent Collation, of ſo valuable a MS. would be a very advantageous Diſtinction of your deſign'd Edition. For how antient ſoever thoſe Collations you promiſe in your new Edition, (whether ſome of them be thoſe of *Kuſter* (*h*) or diſtinct ones) and which poſſibly were unknown to the late induſtrious Reviſer Dr. *Mill*, yet it muſt add highly to your Honour, and that of your Work, if you ſhall be ſo happy as to diſcover and collate that moſt antient MS. on which not only the learned Doctor, but P. *Leo* and the *Complutenſian* Editors laid ſo great a Streſs. How falſe a Judgment ſoever has been made by ſome Criticks with regard to the Multitude of *Various Readings* in the New Teſtament, you have the Wiſhes of all competent Judges that you could diſcover many more *Greek* MSS. of it of ſo great Antiquity, and oblige the World with their Collations. But without derogating from the Value of your lately diſcovered *Greek* MSS. or any others that may be retrieved, it muſt be granted that none can be more deciſive in the Diſpute now depending about the Authority of the fore-mentioned Paſſage of St. *John* than the confeſſedly moſt antient *Vatican* MS. from which ſo many *Singular* Readings ſeem to have been copied into the *Complutenſian* Edition, and from thence were tranſcrib'd into the moſt eminent ſubſequent Editions of the New Teſtament, in an entire Dependance on the great Antiquity and Correctneſs of that MS.

And indeed, Sir, beſides theſe general Reaſons for making a ſtrict Enquiry after the *Vatican* MS. there ſeems to be a particular Reaſon or two for your giving Orders to ſome well-qualify'd Perſons to ſearch for, and (if it be extant) to collate that Copy. One Reaſon is, becauſe it is obvious that your Edition of the *Greek* Teſtament is deſigned to outſhine that of Dr. *Mill*. But, as he acquieſced in a mere Conjecture that the aforeſaid *Vatican* MS. lies concealed at this Time in the Archives of the *Vatican* Library; how will your Edition excel his in this Reſpect, if you do not exert your ſelf with great Vigour, in endeavouring to diſcover and collate ſo venerable a Copy of the New Teſtament? Another Reaſon is, that you are cited by profeſs'd (*i*) *Arian* Writers, as one that is of Opinion that the controverted Paſſage in St. *John* is ſpurious. Now as this Declaration of Opinion, previous to the Collation of ſeveral MSS. is no ſmall Prejudice to your deſigned Edition, ſo one of the Methods that ſeems neceſſary to be uſed in Order to vindicate yourſelf from the Imputation of Partiality and Prepoſſeſſion, ſeems to be that critical Examination of the *Vatican* and *Spaniſh* Libraries which is here propos'd, to find out and collate anew the moſt antient *Vatican* MS. which is ſo juſtly preſum'd to have in it the fore-mentioned Paſſage of St. *John*. The laſt Reaſon I ſhall aſſign is, that however expenſive ſuch an Examination of the foreſaid Libraries may be pretended to be, it is generally believ'd you have already receiv'd ſo large a Sum of Money, either in the Way of Bounty or Sub-

(*h*) Vid. Pref. to *Kuſter*'s Edit. of *Mill*'s Gr. T.

(*i*) See *Emlyn*'s Reply to *Martin*, p. 43. and *Whiſton*'s Anſwer to the Earl of *Nottingham*. p. 10. Pref.

ſcription, as will very amply ſupport the Expences of the propos'd Examination.

Upon the whole, if it ſhall appear from the *Vatican* MS. when retriev'd, that the *Complutenſian* Editors inſerted the diſputed Paſſage of St. *John* from that moſt antient Copy, an End will be put effectually to the Inſults of the Adverſaries of that Paſſage. And if it cannot be diſcovered, but muſt be given up for a loſt or periſh'd Copy, yet ſtill the ſtrong Probabilities will continue that the *Complutenſian* Editors inſerted the ſaid Paſſage from it. However, it is very juſt and reaſonable that the Controverſy about this Paſſage ſhould be ſuſpended, till the greateſt Diligence poſſible be uſed to find out the celebrated *Vatican* MS. And then it will be Time enough to decide upon the Authority of this Paſſage. In the mean Time, as the Method propoſed by yourſelf, Sir, of endeavouring to find out whether the ſaid Paſſage be genuine or not, by an accurate Collation of the moſt antient *Latin* MSS. of the New Teſtament, as ſuppoſed to be tranſlated from the moſt antient uncorrupt *Greek* Copies; as this conſequential Method, I ſay, is ſubſidiary, and may contribute to give ſome new Light in this Diſpute (tho' it cannot be allow'd to be a deciſive Argument) ſo is it highly probable that it is a Method that will be ſerviceable towards the Eſtabliſhment of this Paſſage of St. *John*. For far the greater Number of thoſe *Latin* MSS. that have been hitherto collated by learned Men, retain this Paſſage; and many of them no Doubt are very antient. Whatever be the Reſult of collating your own *Latin* MSS. aſſerted by you to be very antient, the Publick will be glad to be informed of it. For tho' it ſhould happen that they want this Paſſage, their Authority will not be concluſive againſt that of a Multitude of other very antient *Latin* MSS. that are not known to retain it.

On the other Side, if it ſhall appear from the *Vatican* MS. when retriev'd, that the *Complutenſian* Editors did not inſert the diſputed Paſſage of St. *John* from that moſt antient Copy, but from *Latin* Copies of great Antiquity; tho' ſuch a Diſcovery would confute the Reaſons aſſigned in this Diſcourſe, yet agreeably to the Method propoſed by yourſelf, Sir, of finding out the Genuine *Greek* Text by the Concurrence of very antient *Latin* Copies that were tranſlated from the moſt antient and uncorrupt *Greek* MSS. I ſay upon this Principle, neither the Reputation of the *Complutenſian* Edition of the *Greek* Teſtament, nor the Authority of this controverted Text in particular, would be affected by ſuch a Diſcovery. For if *Stunica* and his Brethren were perſwaded that moſt, if not all, the *Greek* MSS. of St. *John* that are now extant, were corrupted, and that the *Latin* Copies that retain this Controverted Paſſage were agreeable to the moſt antient uncorrupted *Greek* Copies, and that conſequently this Paſſage ought juſtly to be inſerted in that Edition, as in Fact it was; I do not ſee why they ought to undergo any Cenſure from yourſelf, who pay ſo great a Regard to, and lay ſo mighty a Streſs upon the antient *Latin* Copies of the New Teſtament, whatever Opinion the reſt of the learned World might on this Occaſion entertain, by way of Diminution, of the Authority of the *Complutenſian* Editors. *I am*,

Reverend S I R,

Your moſt humble Servant.

An

An Enquiry into the Reaſons for abrogating the Teſt impoſed on all Members of Parliament.

Offered by Sa. Oxon.

WHEN the Cardinals in *Rome* go abroad without *Fiocco*'s on their Horſes Heads, it is underſtood that they will be then *Incognito*, and they expect nothing of that Reſpect which is pay'd them on other Occaſions. So ſince there is no *Fiocco* at the Head of this *Diſcourſe*, no Name nor Deſignation, it ſeems the Writer offers himſelf to be examined without thoſe nice Regards that may be due to the Dignity he bears; and indeed when a Man forgets what he is himſelf, it is very natural for others to do it likewiſe.

It is no Wonder to ſee thoſe of the *Roman Communion* beſtir themſelves ſo much as they do, to be delivered from the *Teſt*, and every Thing elſe that is uneaſy to them: And though others may find it very reaſonable to oppoſe themſelves in all the juſt and legal Ways that agree with our Conſtitution to this Deſign, yet it is ſo natural to all that are under any Preſſure, to deſire to get free from it, that at the ſame Time that we cannot forbear to withſtand them, we cannot much condemn them: but it raiſes Nature a little, to ſee a *Man* that has been ſo long faten'd with the Spoils of our *Church*, and who has now got to a Degree ſo diſproportioned to his Merit, to turn ſo treacherouſly upon it. If he is already weary of his *comfortable Importance*, and will here give her into the Bargain, and declare himſelf, no Body will be ſurprized at the Change of his Maſque, ſince he has taken much Pains to convince the World, that his *Religion* goes no deeper than his *Habit*: Yet though his Confidence is of a Piece with all his other Virtues, few thought it could have carried him ſo far; I confeſs I am not ſurpriſed, but rather wonder to ſee that others ſhould be ſo; for he has given ſufficient Warning of what he is capable of; he has told the World *what is the worſt Thing that* Dr. Burnet *can do*, p. 50. but I am ſure the *Dr.* cannot be quit with him, to tell what is the *worſt Thing* that he can do; it muſt needs be a very fruitful Fancy that can find out all the Degrees of Wickedneſs to which he can go: And though the Pamphlet is a good Eſſay of his Talent that Way, yet that *Terra Incognita* is boundleſs. In the *Title Page* it is ſaid, that this was *firſt writ for the Author's own Satisfaction, and now publiſhed for all others whom it may concern.* But the Words are certainly wrong placed; for the Truth of the Matter is, That it was *written for the Author's own Benefit, and that it is now publiſhed for the Satisfaction of all whom it may concern:* In ſome Senſe perhaps it was written for the Author's own Satisfaction; for ſo petulant and ſo depraved a Mind as his, is capable of being delighted with his Treachery, and a poor Biſhoprick with the Addition of *Preſidentſhip*, being too low a Prize for his Ambition and Avarice. He reſolved to aſſure himſelf of the firſt great Biſhoprick that falls; the *Liege Letter* let us ſee how far the *Jeſuits* were aſſured of him, and how much courted by him: And that he ſaid, *that none but* Atheiſts *ſupported the Proteſtant Religion now in* England; yet how many ſoever of theſe may be among us, he is upon the Point of leſ-

ſening their Number by one at leaſt, and he takes care to juſtify the Hopes which theſe *Fathers* conceived of him. They are ſevere Maſters, and will not be put off with ſecret Civilities, lewd Jeſts, Entertainments, and Healths drank to their good Succeſs; ſo now the Price of the *Preſidentſhip* is to be pay'd, ſo good a Morſel as this deſerved that Dr. *Stillingfleet*, Dr. *Tillotſon*, Dr. *Burnet*, and ſome other Divines ſhould be ill uſed, and he to preſerve the Character of *Drawcanſir*, which is as due to him as that of *Bays*, falls upon the *Articles* of the *Church*, and upon both *Houſes of Parliament*. It is Reproach enough to the *Houſe of Lords*, that he is of it; but it is ſomewhat new, and a Character becoming *Sa. Oxon*, to arraign that *Houſe* with all the Inſolence to which he can raiſe his wanton Pen. Laws that are in Being are treated with Reſpect, even by thoſe who move their Repeal; but our *Drawcanſir* ſcorns that modeſt Strain; he is not contented to arraign the *Law*, but calls it *barbarous*, and ſays, *that nothing can be more barbarous and prophane than to make the renouncing of a Myſtery, ſo unanimouſly received, a* State Teſt, *pag.* 133. *pag.* 64. But he ought to have avoided the Word *Prophane*, ſince it leads Men to remember that he had taxed the Praying for the King, *as under God and Chriſt, as Crude*, not to ſay *Prophane:* When in the Proſpect he had then [36] of a Biſhoprick, he raiſed the King above Chriſt, but now another Proſpect will make him ſink him beneath the *Pope*, who is but at beſt Chriſt's Vicar. But this is not all, there comes another Flower that is worthy of him. He tells us, *That the* Teſt *was the Firſt-born of* Oats's *Plot, and brought forth on purpoſe to give Credit and Reputation to the Perjury*, pag. 5. And becauſe this went in common between the *two Houſes*, he beſtows a more particular Mark of his Favour on the *Houſe of Lords*, and tells them *that this was a Monument erected by themſelves in Honour of ſo groſs an Impoſture*, (ibid.) But after all, the Royal *Aſſent* was added, and here no doubt it itched ſomewhere; for if it had not been for the Manner of the late *King*'s Death, and the Papers publiſhed ſince his *Death*, he would have wreaked his Malice upon *his Memory*, for he will never forgive his not advancing him: And the late King being ſo true a Judge of Wit, could not but be much taken with the beſt *Satyr* of our Time, and ſaw that *Bays*'s *Wit*, when meaſured with anothers, was of a Piece with his Virtues, and therefore judged in Favour of the *Rehearſal Tranſpos'd*: This went deep, and though it gave Occaſion to the ſingle Piece of Modeſty, with which he can be charged, of withdrawing from the Town, and not importuning the Preſs more for ſome Years, ſince even a Face of Braſs muſt grow red when it is ſo burnt as his was then; yet his Malice againſt the elder Brother was never extinguiſhed but with his Life: But now a ſtrange Conjuncture has brought him again on the Stage, and *Bays* will be *Bays* ſtill.

He begins his Prologue with the only ſoft Word in the whole Piece, *I humbly conceive*, but he quickly repents him of that *Debonarity*, and ſo makes *Thunder* and *Lightning* ſpeak to the reſt, as if his Deſign were to inſult over the two Houſes, and not to convince them. He who is one of the Punies of his Order, and is one of its juſteſt Reproaches, tells us, *pag.* 8. "That to the Shame of the "Biſhops, this Law was conſented to by them in the Houſe of Lords." But what Shame is due to him who has treated that venerable *Bench*, and in particular his *Metropolitan*, in ſo ſcurrilous a Manner? The Order has much more

Cauſe

Cauſe to be aſhamed of ſuch a Member: Tho' if there are two or three ſuch as he is among the Twenty-ſix, they may comfort themſelves with this, That a Dozen of *much better* Men, had one among them, that I confeſs was not *much worſe*, if it was not for this, That he let the Price of his Treachery fall much lower than *Sa. Oxon* does, who is ſtill true to his Old *Maxim*, that he delivered in Anſwer to one who asked him, "What was the beſt Body of Divinity? "which was, That that which would help a Man to keep a Coach and ſix "Horſes, was certainly the beſt". But now I come to examine his Reaſons for abrogating the Teſt.

The Firſt is, "That it is contrary to the *Natural Rights of Peerage*, and "turns the Birth-Right of the *Engliſh* Nobility, into a precarious Title; "which is at the Mercy of every Faction and Paſſion in Parliament, and "that therefore, how uſeful ſoever the Teſt might have been in its Seaſon, it "ſometime muſt prove a very ill Preſident againſt the Right of Peerage: And "upon this he tells a Story of a Proteſtation made in the Houſe of Lords, "againſt the Teſt, that was brought in, in 1675, together with the Reſolution "of the Houſe againſt that Penalty upon the Peers, of loſing their Votes in "caſe of a Refuſal: He repreſents this, as a Teſt or Oath of Loyalty, againſt "the Lawfulneſs of taking Arms upon any Pretence whatſoever againſt the "King."

But in Anſwer to all this, one would gladly know what are the *Natural Rights* of *Peerage*, and in what Chapter of the Law of Nature they are to be found; for if thoſe Rights have no other Warrant, but the Conſtitution of this Government, and they are ſtill ſubject to the Legiſlative Authority, and may be regulated by it. The Right of Peerage is ſtill in the Family, only as the Exerciſe of it is limited by the Law to ſuch an Age, ſo it may be ſuſpended as oft as the Publick Safety comes to require it: Even the indelible Character itſelf, may be brought under a total Suſpenſion, of which our Author may, perhaps, afford an Inſtance at ſome Time or other.

2. Votes in either Houſe of Parliament, are never to be put in Ballance with eſtabliſh'd Laws: Theſe are but the Opinions of one Houſe, and are changeable.

3. But if the Teſt might have been uſeful in its Seaſon, one would gladly ſee how it ſhould be ſo ſoon out of Seaſon: For its chief Uſe being to ſecure the Proteſtant Religion in 1678, it does not appear, That now in 1688, the Dangers are ſo quite diſſipated, that there is no more Need of ſecuring it. In one Senſe we are in a ſafer Condition than we were then: For ſome falſe Brethren have ſhewed themſelves, and have loſt that little Credit which ſome unhappy Accident had procured them.

4. It was not the Loyalty in the Teſt of the Year 1675, that raiſed the greateſt Oppoſition to it: But another Part of it, "That they ſhould never endea-"vour any Alteration in the Government, either in the Church or State." Now it ſeemed to be an unreaſonable Limitation on the Legiſlative Body, to have the *Members* engaged to make no Alteration: And it is that which would not have much pleaſed thoſe, *For whoſe Satisfaction this Book is publiſhed.*

The ſecond Reaſon was already hinted at, *of its diſhoncurable Birth and Original*; pag. 10. which according to the Decency of his Stile, he calls *the firſt*

Sacrament

Sacrament of the Oteſian Villainy, pag. 9. This he aggravates *as ſuch a monſtrous and inhumane Piece of Barbarity as could never have entered into the Thoughts of any Man but the infamous Author of it*; this Piece of Elegance, tho' it belongs to this Reaſon, comes in again in its fourth Reaſon, *page.* 6. and to let the *Houſe of Lords* ſee their Fate, if they will not yield to his *Reaſon*, he tells them that this will be not only an "Eternal National Reproach, but ſuch a Blot "upon the *Peers*, that no Length of Time could wear away, nothing but the "Univerſal Conflagration could deſtroy," which are the apteſt Expreſſions that I know to mark how deeply, the many Blots with which he is ſtigmatized are rooted in his Nature. The wanton Man in his *Drawcanſir* Humour thinks that *Parliaments* and *a Houſe of Peers* are to be treated by him with as much Scorn as is juſtly due to himſelf. But to ſet this Matter in its true Light, it is to be remembred that in 1678, there were beſides the Evidences of the *Witneſſes*, a great many other Diſcoveries made of *Letters*, and *Negotiations* in Foreign Parts, chiefly in the Courts of *France* and *Rome*, for extirpating the *Proteſtant Religion*; upon which the *Party* that was moſt united to the *Court*, ſet on this Law, for the *Teſt*, as that which was both in itſelf, a juſt and neceſſary Security for the eſtabliſh'd *Religion*, and that would probably lay the Fermentation which was then in the Nation: And the *Act* was ſo little acceptable to him, whom he calls *its Author*, that he ſpake of it then with Contempt, as a *Trick* of the Court to lay the *Nation* too ſoon aſleep. The Negotiations beyond Sea were too evidently proved to be denied; and (which is not yet generally known) Mr. *Coleman* when examined by the *Committee* of the Houſe of *Commons*, ſaid plain enough to them, that the late *King* was concerned in them; but the *Committee* would not look into that Matter, ſo Mr. *Sacheverell*, that was their Chair-man, did not report it; yet the Thing was not ſo ſecret but that one to whom it was truſted, gave the late King an Account of it; who ſaid, That he had not heard of it any other way, and was ſo fully convinced that the Nation had Cauſe given them to be jealous, that he himſelf ſet forward the *Act*, and the rather, becauſe he ſaw that the *E.* of *S.* did not much like it. The *Parliament*, as long as it was known that the *Religion* was ſafe in the *King*'sNegative, had not taken any great Care of its own Conſtitution, but it ſeemed the beſt Expedient that could be found, for laying the Jealouſies of his late *Majeſty*, and the Apprehenſions of the *Succeſſor*, to take ſo much Care of the *two Houſes*, that ſo the Dangers with which Men were then alarm'd, might ſeem the leſs formidable, upon ſo effectual a Security: And thus all the Stir that he keeps with *Perjury* and *Impoſture*, ought to make no other Impreſſion, but to ſhew the Wantonneſs of his own Temper, that meddles ſo boldly with Things of which he knew ſo little the true Secret: For here was a *Law* paſſed of which all made great Uſe that oppoſed *the Bill of Excluſion*, to demonſtrate to the Nation that there could be no Danger of *Popery*, even under a *Prince* of that *Religion*; but as he would turn the Matter, it amounts to this, That that *Law* might be of good Uſe in that Seaſon, to lay the Jealouſies of the Nation, till there were a *Prince* on the Throne of that *Communion*, and then when the Turn is ſerved, it muſt be thrown away, to open the only Door that is now ſhut upon the Reeſtabliſhment of that *Religion*. This is but one Hint among a great many more of the State of Affairs at the Time that this *Act* of the Teſt was made,

ſhew

ſhew that the *Evidence* given by the *Witneſſes*, had no other Share in that Matter, but that it gave a Riſe to the other Diſcoveries; and a fair Opportunity to thoſe who knew the Secret of the late *King*'s Religion, and the Negotiation at *Dover*, to provide ſuch an effectual Security, as might both ſave the *Crown*, and ſecure the *Religion*; and this I am ſure ſome of the *Biſhops* knew, who *(to their Honour)* were faithful to both.

The third Reaſon he gives for repealing the *Act*, is, *the incompetent Authority of thoſe who enacted it; for it was of an Eccleſiaſtical Nature:* And here he ſtretches out his Wings to a Top-flight, and charges it with nothing leſs than *the Depoſing of Chriſt from his Throne, the diſowning, neglecting and affronting his Commiſſion to his Catholick Church, and entrenching upon this Sacred Prerogative of his Holy Catholick Church:* And then that, he might have Occaſion to feed his Spleen with railing at the whole *Order*, he makes a ridiculous Objection of the *Biſhops* being preſent in the *Houſe of Lords*, that he might ſhew his Reſpect to them, by telling in a Parentheſis *that (to their Shame) they had conſented to it.* But has this *Scaramuchio* no Shame left him? Did the *Parliament* pretend by this *Act* to make any Deciſion in thoſe two Points of *Tranſubſtantiation* and *Idolatry*? Had not the *Convocation* defined them both for above an Age before? In the 28*th Article* of our *Church* theſe Words are to be found; *Tranſubſtantiation (or the Change of the Subſtance of Bread and Wine) in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ; but it is repugnant to the plain Words of Scripture, overthrows the Nature of a Sacrament, and hath given Occaſion to many Superſtitions*; and for the *Idolatry* of the Church of *Rome* that was alſo declared very expreſly in the ſame Body of *Articles:* Since in the Article the 35 *Homilies* are declared, "to contain a godly and wholeſome Doctrine neceſſary for thoſe Times; "and upon this it is judged that they ſhould be read in the Churches, by the "Miniſters, diligently and diſtinctly, that they may be underſtood of the Peo- "ple." And the Second of theſe, which is againſt the *Peril of Idolatry*, aggravates the *Idolatry* of that *Church* in ſo many Particulars, and with ſuch ſevere Expreſſions, that thoſe who at firſt made thoſe *Articles*, and all thoſe who do now ſign them, or oblige others to ſign 'em, muſt either believe the *Church* of *Rome* to be guilty of *Idolatry*, or that the *Church* of *England* is the impudenteſt Society that ever aſſumed the Name of a *Church*, if ſhe propoſes ſuch *Homilies* to the People, in which this Charge is given ſo home, and yet does not believe it herſelf. A Man muſt be of *Bays*'s Pitch to riſe up to this Degree of Impudence. Upon the whole Matter then, thoſe Points had been already determined, and were a Part of our *Doctrine* enacted by *Law*: All that the *Parliament* did, was only to take theſe out of a great many more, that by this *Teſt* it might appear whether they who came into either *Houſe* were of that *Religion* or not; and now let our *Reaſoner* try what he can make out of this, or how he can juſtify the Scandal that he ſo boldly throws upon his Order; *as if they had as much as in them lay deſtroyed the very Being of a Chriſtian Church, and had profanely pawned the Biſhop to the Lord; and betrayed the Rights of the Church of England as by Law eſtabliſhed, in particular, as well as of the Church Catholick in general, p.* 8, 9. All this ſhews to whom he was pawned both the *Biſhop* and the *Lord*, and ſomething elſe too, which is both *Conſcience* and *Honour*, if he has any left. When one reflects on *two* of the *Biſhops*, that were of that Venerable

Body, while this *Act* paſſed, whoſe Memory will be bleſſed in the preſent and following Ages, thoſe two great and good Men that filled the *Sees* of *Cheſter* and *Oxford*, he muſt conclude, that as the World was not worthy of them, ſo certainly their *Sees* were not worthy of them, ſince they have been plagued with ſuch *Succeſſors*; that becauſe *Bays* delights in Figures taken from the *Roman* Empire, I muſt tell him, that ſince *Commodus* ſucceeded to *Marcus Aurelius*, I do not find a more incongruous Succeſſion in Hiſtory. With what ſenſible Regret muſt thoſe who were ſo often edified with the Gravity, the Piety, the Generoſity, and Charity of the late Biſhop of *Oxford*, look on, when they ſee ſuch a *Harlequin* in his room?

His fourth Reaſon is taken from the *Uncertainty and Falſehood of the Matters contained in the Declaration itſelf*, p. 9. for our Comedian maintains his Character ſtill, and ſcorns to ſpeak of eſtabliſhed Laws with any Decency; here he puts in a Paragraph, as was formerly marked, which belonged to his ſecond Reaſon, but it ſeems ſome of thoſe to whom he has *pawned himſelf*, thought he had not ſaid enough on that Head, and therefore to ſave Blottings, he put it in here. After that, he tells the Gentry, that *Tranſubſtantiation was a Notion belonging to the School-men and Metaphyſicians*, and that he may beſpeak their Favour, he tells them in very ſoft Words: *That their Learning was more polite and practicable in the Civil Affairs of human Life, to underſtand the Rules of Honour, and the Laws of their Country, the Practice of Martial Diſcipline, and the Examples of great Men in former Ages, and by them to ſquare their Actions in their reſpective Stations, and the like.* But ſure the Biſhop is here without his *Hocco*, ; yet at leaſt for Decency's ſake he ſhould have named *Religion* and *Virtue* among the proper Studies of the Gentry; and if he dares not truſt them with the Reading the *Scriptures*, yet at leaſt they might read the *Articles of our Church*, and hearken to the *Homilies*; for tho' it has been long one of the firſt Maxims that he has infuſed into all the Clergy that come near him; that the People ought to be brought into an Ignorance in Matters of *Religion*, that Preaching ought to be laid aſide, for a preaching Church could not ſtand, that in *Sermons* no Points of Doctrine ought to be explained, and that only the Rules of human Life ought to be told the People; yet after all, they may read the *ſhort Articles:* and tho' they were as blindly implicit as he would wiſh them to be, yet they would without Enquiry, find *Tranſubſtantiation* to be condemned in them. Next he triumphs over the renouncing of it, p. 11. "as "too bold and too prophane an Affront to the Almighty God: when Men ab- "jure a Thing which it is morally impoſſible for them to underſtand." And he appeals to the Members of both *Houſes* (whom in a Fit of Reſpect he calls *Honourable*, after he had reproached them all he could) "if they have any "diſtinct Idea or Notion in their Minds, of the Thing they here ſo ſolemnly "renounce." I do verily believe none of them have any diſtinct Notion of *Tranſubſtantiation*, and that it is not only *Morally* but *Phyſically impoſſible for them to underſtand it:* But one would think that this is enough for declaring that they do not believe it, ſince the Teſt contains no Declaration concerning *Tranſubſtantiation* itſelf, whether it is a true or falſe Doctrine; but only concerning the Belief of him that takes it. And if one can have "no diſtinct "Notion of it, ſo that it is morally impoſſible for him to underſtand it, he may

may very well declare, *that he does not believe it.* After a Farce of a ſlight Story he concludes, that *there ſeems to be nothing but a prophane Levity in the whole Matter; and a ſhameleſs Abuſe put upon God and Religion, to carry on the Wicked Deſigns of a Rebel Faction.* For he cannot for his Heart, abate an ace of his Inſolence, even when he makes the *King, Lords, and Commons*, the Subject of his Scorn. Certainly, whatever his Character is, it ought not to be expected that a Man who attacks all that is ſacred under God and Chriſt, ſhould not be treated as he deſerves; it were a feeble Weakneſs, to have ſo great a Regard to a Character that is ſo proſtituted by him. He tells us, *p.* 47. "That all "Parties agree in the Thing, and that they differ only in the Word and Man-"ner": And here he makes a long Excurſion to ſhew his Learning, in tacking great many Things together, which paſſes with ignorant Readers as a Mark of his great Reading: whereas in this, as well as in all his other Books, in which any Shews of Learning appear, thoſe who have ſearched into the Fountains, ſee that he does nothing but gather from the Collection of others: only he ſpoils them with the *Levities* of his *Buffoon Stile*, and which is worſe, with his *Diſingenuity*. I leave all theſe Matters to be examined, by thoſe who have Leiſure for it, and that think them worth their Pains. But as for *Tranſubſtantiation*, the Words that I have cited from out of our *Articles* ſhew plainly, that it is rejected in our *Church*, ſo that he is bound either to renounce it, or to renounce our *Church*; therefore all that Shew he makes with our Hiſtory, comes to nothing, ſince whatever he may ſay with relation to *Edward* the Sixth's Reign, it cannot be denied, but they were enacted by the Convocation in the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, and they have been ever ſince, the Doctrine of our *Church*; ſo that without going further, this is now our *Doctrine*, and ſince *Sa. Oxon* carries the Authority of the *Convocation* ſo high, he will find the Original Record of theſe *Articles* in *Corpus Chriſti College* in *Cambridge*, ſubſcribed by the Members of both Houſes, in which there is a much more poſitive Deciſion than is in the Prints, not only againſt *Tranſubſtantiation*, but againſt any *corporal or real Preſence of the Body and Blood of Chriſt in the Sacrament:* And if he will give himſelf Scope to rail at thoſe who ſuppreſſed this, I leave him to his Liberty. But here is the formal Deciſion of this *Church*, and the pretending that there was no Evidence of *Cranmer*'s Opinion, but in an unknown *Manuſcript*, or a famous *Inviſible Manuſcript*, p. 47. 49. when there are two Books writ on this Matter by *Cranmer* himſelf, and when all the Diſputes in Queen *Mary*'s Time, beſides thoſe that were both in *Oxford*, and *Cambridge*, in King *Edward*'s Time, ſhew ſo clearly, that this was his Doctrine, is a Strain becoming his Sincerity, that gives this, among many other Eſſays, of the Truſt that is due to him.

But it ſeems he thought that Dr. *Tillotſon*, Dr. *Stillingfleet*, and *Dr. Burnet*, beſides ſome others whom he does not name, had not Reputation enough in the World, and therefore he intended to raiſe it, by uſing them ill; which is all the Effect that his Malice can have. He had ſet on one of his poor under Workmen, ſome Years ago, to decry the *Manuſcript* which Dr. *Stillingfleet* had in his keeping for above twenty Years, and which Dr. *Burnet* had in his Hands, for many Months, and which they ſhewed to as many as deſired to ſee it, but that had turned ſo much to his Shame that firſt vented the Calumny, that it

ſeems he ſummoned *Sa. Oxon* to appear his Second in the Slander; and he whoſe Brow is of ſo peculiar a Compoſition, will needs bring it here, tho' ever ſo impertinently. But I forgive the Hatred that he bears both to that *Manuſcript* and to thoſe *Doctors*, ſince nothing could be leſs to *the Satisfaction of thoſe for whom he publiſhed his Book*, than to ſee the mature and regular Methods in which the *Reformation* was advanced: For the *Biſhops* and *Divines* were appointed, to examine all Points with much Care, and to bring every Man his Opinion in Writing, all which were compared very faithfully, and upon theſe the Deciſions were made.

There are many other Papers yet extant, which by comparing the Hands, ſhew theſe to be Originals; and they were in the *Salisbury* Family probably ever ſince they were at firſt brought together. Their Anceſtor the Lord *Burghly*, who was *Secretary of State* in *Edward* the Sixth's Time, gathered them up; and as appears in a Letter under his own Hand yet extant, he had ſix or ſeven *Volumes* of them, of which Dr. *Stillingfleet* had only *two*, but Dr. *Burnet* ſaw *two* more of theſe Volumes.

The *Hiſtory of the Reformation* ſells ſtill ſo well, that I do not believe Mr. *Chiſwell*, the Printer of it, has made any Preſent to this Reaſoner, to raiſe its Price; for to attack it with ſo much Malice, and yet not to offer one Reaſon to leſſen its Credit, is as effectual a Recommendation, as this Author can give it.

He pretends, that Dr. *Burnet*'s Deſign was, to make *Cranmer* appear a mere *Sacramentarian* as to *Doctrine*, as if he had made him appear an *Eraſtian*, as to *Diſcipline*; and he thinks the *vain Man* was flattered into all the Pains he took, that he might give Reputation to the Errors of his Patrons, and that thoſe two grand Forgeries are the grand Singularities of his Hiſtory: and the main Things that gave it popular Vogue and Reputation with his Party. So that were theſe two blind Stories, and the Reaſons depending upon them retrenched, it would be like the ſhaving of *Sampſon*'s Hair, and deſtroy all the Strength peculiar to the Hiſtory. But to all this Stuff I ſhall only ſay, 1. That the Charge of *Forgery* falls back on the Reaſoner, ſince as to *Cranmer*'s Opinion of the *Sacrament*, his own Books, and his Diſpute at *Oxford* are ſuch plain Evidences, that none but *Bays* could have queſtioned it: and for his being an *Eraſtian*, Dr. *Burnet* had clearly proved that he had changed his Opinion in that Point, ſo that tho' he ſhewed that he had been indeed once engaged in thoſe Opinions, yet he proved that he had forſaken them: Let the Reader judge to whom the Charge of *Forgery* belongs. 2. Dr. *Burnet* has indeed ſome Temptations to *Vanity* now, ſince he is ill uſed by *Bays*; and put in ſuch Company: But I dare ſay, if he goes to give him his Character he will never mention ſo ſlight a one as *Vanity*, in which how exceſſive ſo ever he may be, yet it is the ſmalleſt of all his Faults. 3. Theſe two Particulars here mentioned, bear ſo inconſiderable a Share in that Hiſtory, and have been ſo little minded, that I dare ſay of an hundred that are pleaſed with that Work, there is not one that will aſſign theſe as their Motives.

He cenſures *Dr. Burnet* for ſaying, *he had often heard it ſaid that the Articles of our Church were framed by* Cranmer *and* Ridley; *as if it were the meaneſt Trade of an Hiſtorian to ſtoop to Hearſays*, p. 55. But the beſt of all the *Roman Hiſtorians* (*Salluſt. in bello Catil.*) does it, and in this Dr. *Burnet* maintains

the Character of a ſincere Hiſtorian to ſay nothing that was not well grounded: And ſince it has been often ſaid by many Writers that theſe two Biſhops prepared our *Articles*, he finding no particular Evidence of that, delivers it with its own Doubtfulneſs. It is very like *Sa. Oxon* would have been more poſitive upon half the Grounds, that Dr. *Burnet* had, but the other choſe to write exactly; yet he adds, that it is probable that they penned them: And if either the Dignity of their *Sees*, or of their Perſons be conſidered, the Thing will appear reaſonable enough. But I do not wonder to ſee any thing that looks like a Modeſty of Stile offend our Author. He is next ſo kind to Dr. *Burnet* as to offer him ſome Counſel, (p. 50.) *that he would be well adviſed to employ his Pen in writing Lampoons upon the preſent Princes of Chriſtendom; eſpecially his own which he delights in moſt; becauſe it is the worſt Thing that himſelf can do, than collecting the Records of former Times; for the Firſt will require Time and Poſtage, to purſue his Malice; but the Second is eaſily traced in the Chimney-corner.*

One would think that this Period was writ by Mr. *Leuth*, it is ſo obſcure and ill expreſſed, that nothing is plain, but the Malice of it: But he, of all Men, ſhould be the furtheſt from reproaching any for writing *Lampoons*, who has now given ſo rude a one, on the late *King* and the *Lords* and *Commons*; if bold Railing without either Wit or Decency, deſerves that Name. I will only ſay this further, that if one had the ill Nature to write a *Lampoon* on the Government, one of the ſevereſt Articles in it, would be. That it ſeems Writers are hard to be found, when ſuch a Baboon is made uſe of. It is *Lampoon* enough upon the Age, that he is a Biſhop; but it is downright *Reproach* that he is made the Champion of a Cauſe, which if it is bad of itſelf, muſt ſuffer extremely by being in ſuch Hands.

And thus I think enough is ſaid in Anſwer to his impertinent Digreſſion upon *Tranſubſtantiation*, let him renounce the *Article* of our *Church*, and all that he poſſeſſes in Conſequence of his having ſigned it, and then we will agree all the Reſt with him upon the Square; but as long as he owns that, he is bound likewiſe to own the firſt Branch of the Teſt, which is the Renouncing *Tranſubſtantiation*. In this Diſcourſe he makes his old Hatred to *Calvin* and the *Calviniſts* return ſo often, that it appears very conſpicuouſly. I believe it is ſtronger now than ever, and that for a particular Reaſon: When the *Prince* and *Princeſs* of *Orange* were married, he was perhaps the only Man in *England* that expreſſed his Uneaſineſs at that happy Conjunction, in ſo clowniſh a Manner, that when their *Highneſſes* paſſed thro' *Canterbury*, he would not go with the reſt of that Body, to which he was ſo long a Blemiſh, to pay his Duty to them, and when he was aſked the Reaſon, he ſaid, *He could have no Regard to a Calviniſt Prince*. Now this *Calviniſt Prince* has declared his Mind ſo openly and fully againſt the *Repeal of the Teſt*, that no doubt this has encreaſed *Bays*'s Diſtemper, and heightned his Choler againſt the whole Party.

The ſecond Branch of the Teſt is the Declaration made of the *Idolatry committed in the Roman Church*: Upon which he tells us, pag. 71, 72. That *Idolatry is a ſtabbing and cut-throat Word, and that it is an inviting and Warranting the Rabble whenever Opportunity favours to deſtroy the Roman Catholicks*, and here *Bays* will own to himſelf, ſince this was a Maſter-piece of Service, therefore he makes the Taxing the Church of *Rome* with Idolatry, *a Piece of Humanity*

that outdoes the Savages of the Canibals themſelves; *and damns at once both Body and Soul.* He charges Dr. *Stillingfleet* as the *great Founder of this, and all other Anti-catholick and Antichriſtian and uncharitable Principles amongſt us, and that the Teſt is the Swearing to the Truth of his unlearned and fanatick Notion of Idolatry*, *pag.* 130, 135. And the Reſult of all is, *That Idolatry made the Plot, and then the Plot made Idolatry, and that the ſame Perſons made both.* He has alſo troubled the Reader with a ſecond Impertinence to ſhew his ſecond-hand Reading again upon the Notion of *Idolatry*. But all this falls off with a very ſhort Anſwer, if he is of the *Church of England*, and believes that the *Homilies contain a godly and wholeſome Doctrine*, all this Clamour againſt *Idolatry*, turns againſt himſelf, for he will find the *Church of Rome* charged with this, almoſt an Age before Dr. *Stillingfleet* was born; and tho' perhaps none has ever defended the *Charge*, with ſo much Learning as he has done, yet no Malice leſs impudent than his is, could make him the Author of the Accuſation. It will be another Strain of our Author's Modeſty, if he will pretend that our Church is not bound to own the Doctrine that is contained in her *Homilies*, he muſt by this make our Church as treacherous to her Members, as *Sa. Oxon* is to her, or to deliver this Doctrine to the People, if we believe it not ourſelves, is to be as impudent as he himſelf can pretend to be. A Church may believe a Doctrine which ſhe does not think neceſſary to propoſe to all her Members; but ſhe were indeed a Society fit for ſuch Paſtors as he is, if ſhe could propoſe to the People a Doctrine, chiefly one of ſo great Conſequence as this is, without ſhe believed it herſelf. So then he muſt either renounce our Church and her *Articles*, or he muſt anſwer all his own Plea for clearing that Church of this Imputation; which is ſo ſlight, that it will be no hard Matter even for ſuch a trifling Writer as himſelf is, to do it; as for what he ſays of ſtabbing and cut-throat Words, he may charge us with ſuch Words, if he will, but we know who we may charge with the Deeds. I would gladly ſee the Liſt of all that have been murdered by theſe Words, to try if they can be put in the Ballance, either with the *Maſſacre* of *Ireland*, or that of *Paris*; upon which I muſt take Notice of his ſlight Way of mentioning *Coligny*, *and Faction*, and telling us in plain Words, *pag.* 45. "That "they were Rebels," this is perhaps another Inſtance of his Kindneſs to the *Calviniſt Prince*, that is deſcended from that Great Man.

If *Idolatry made our Plot*, it was not the firſt that it made, but his Malignity is ſtill like himſelf, his charging Dr. *Stillingfleet*, who he ſays is the Author of the Imputation of *Idolatry*, as if he had ſuborned the *Evidence in our Plot.* I ſhould congratulate to the Dr. the Honour that is done him by the Malice of one who muſt needs be the Object of the Hatred of all good Men, if I did not look upon him as ſo contemptible a Perſon, that his Love and his Hatred are equally inſignificant. If he thinks our Church worſe than Canibals, I wiſh he would be at the Pains to go and make a Trial, and ſee whether theſe Salvages will uſe him as we have done. I dare ſay, they would not eat him, for they would find ſo much Gall and Choler in him, that the firſt Bit would quite diſguſt them.

SAMUEL

SAMUEL Lord Biſhop of *Oxon*, his Celebrated Reaſons for Abrogating the Teſt, and Notion of *Idolatry*, anſwered by *Samuel*, Arch-deacon of *Canterbury*.

It's better to Indulge Men's Vices *and* Debaucheries, *than their* Conſciences. *Sam. Park.* Eccleſ. Pol. *Pag.* 54.

THERE is nothing hereby intended to impugn the *Abrogation of the TEST:* May his Majeſty's Sacred Will and Pleaſure be fulfill'd; and may the Rights of the *Engliſh Peerage* remain inviolable. But there ſeems to have been an abſolute Neceſſity, for the *Author* of the *Reaſons* for *Abrogating the TEST*, to have repeal'd his moſt bitter Invectives againſt the *Nonconformiſts*, and his tempeſtuous Indignation againſt *Diſſenters* in general; ſo diametrically oppoſite to the ſerene and pious Deſires and Reſolutions of his Majeſty, to make his Subjects happy, and unite them to him as well by Inclination, as Duty; and to have ſhew'd his Compliance to his Majeſty in all his moſt laudable and generous Deſigns, before he had ſingled out that particular Point of the *TEST*, merely to hook in a Plea for *Tranſubſtantiation*, and his own new-modell'd Notions of *Idolatry*. But let others, whom it may concern, diſpute thoſe *Controverſies:* The preſent Queſtion is, Whether his Lordſhip of *Oxon*, have retracted his Diſcourſes of *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, or at leaſt, thoſe Paſſages in them, which run ſo apparently counter to his Majeſty's *Gracious Declaration for Liberty of Conſceince?* Otherwiſe he may ſeem to have calculated his *Writings* for the various *Meridians* of *State*; and his *Arguments* will not bear that Weight, which (tho' the ſame, yet,) coming from another Perſon, they would have done.

NOW, there cannot be a more certain Touch-ſtone of Truth of the Biſhop's, or Arch-deacon's (which you pleaſe, for they are both the ſame Perſon's) Eccleſiaſtical Policy, than the Declaration itſelf: Only, out of his Chriſtian Charity, the Arch-deacon has peopled the Kingdom with ſuch a dreadful Canaille (all but thoſe of the Church of *England*) that Aſtoniſhment itſelf might wonder well, were his unconſcionable Epithets to be allow'd, that ſo gracious, ſo indulgent, ſo ſoft and calm a Declaration, ſhould come forth in Kindneſs to ſuch a Rabble: For thoſe whom his Majeſty calls his good Subjects, the Arch-deacon continually ſtigmatizes with the foul Epithets of Jugglers, Diſſemblers, Wicked, Rebellious, Hypocrites, Sons of Strife and Singularity, and moſt notorious Hereticks. (*a*) And, upon this Suppoſition, as the Foundation of his Pile, that the Generality of the People of *England* are ſuch, (for he excepts none but Thoſe of the Church of *England*) he rears the Fabrick of his Eccleſiaſtical Polity; wherein he had only this Misfortune, to be of a quite contrary Opinion to his Prince; and that his *Draconicks* were not repeal'd, before the Declaration came forth.

The

(*a*) Eccleſiaſt. Polit. *pag.* 241, 242, 273, 319, 187.

The Declaration expreſſes his Majeſty's "Earneſt Deſire to eſtabliſh his "Government on ſuch a Foundation, as to make his Subjects happy, and unite "them to him as well by Inclination, as Duty; which he thinks can be done "by no means ſo effectually, as by granting them the free Exerciſe of their "Religion."

But the Arch Deacon's Politicks are of another Strain: For, in his Preface to his *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, p. 12. he ſays; "That the Aim of his Diſcourſe "is, by repreſenting the palpable Inconſiſtency of *Phanatick* Tempers and "Principles, with the Welfare and Security of Government, to awaken Au-"thority to beware of its worſt, and moſt dangerous Enemies, and force "them to Modeſty and Obedience by Severity of Laws."

Pag. 52. of the ſame Preface: "If Princes (ſays he) would but conſider, "how liable Mankind are to abuſe themſelves with ſerious and conſcientious "Villainies, they would quickly ſee it to be abſolutely neceſſary to the Peace "and Happineſs of their Kingdoms, that there be ſet up a more ſevere "Government over Mens Conſciences, than over their Vices and Immorali-"ties."

Pag. 54. of the ſame, he boaſts his having proved, "That Indulgence and "Toleration is the moſt abſolute Sort of Anarchy; and that Princes may "with leſs Hazard give Liberty to Mens Vices and Debaucheries, than to "their Conſciences."

But the Declaration is quite of another Temper: "We humbly thank Al-"mighty God, it is, and hath of a long Time been, our conſtant Senſe and "Opinion, which upon divers Occaſions we have declared, that Conſcience "ought not to be conſtrain'd, nor People forced in Matters of mere Reli-"gion."

But this will not be admitted by the Arch Deacon: "For, (ſays he, *Ec-"cleſiaſt. Pol.* pag. 321.) when Mens Conſciences are ſo ſqueamiſh, that they "will riſe againſt the Cuſtoms and Injunctions of the Church, ſhe muſt "ſcourge them into Order, and chaſtize them for their troubleſome Peeviſh-"neſs."

Pag. 324. (*Eccleſiaſt. Polit.*) He pretends to have prov'd the "Unavoida-"ble Danger of Toleration, and keeping religious Differences, that Religion "muſt be governed by the ſame Rules, as all other Tranſactions of human "Life; and that nothing can do it but ſevere Laws; nor they neither, unleſs "ſeverely executed."

Eccleſiaſt. Polit Pag. 311. "If Princes (ſays he) will ſuffer themſelves to be "checked in their Laws Spiritual by every Syſtematical Theologue, they may "as well bare to ſee themſelves affronted in their Laws Civil by every Village "Attorney."

Pag. 284. "But to indulge Ideots in their Folly becauſe they threaten Au-"thority to be peeviſh and ſcrupulous, and to infeſt the Government with a "ſullen and croſs-grain'd Godlineſs, (an Artifice not much unlike the Tricks "of froward Children) is to ſuffer Ignorance to ride in Triumph; and there-"fore ſuch humourſome Saints muſt be laſh'd out of their Sullenneſs, into "Compliance, and better Manners. This (as the Arch Deacon calls it: Pre-"face to *Bramhal*'s *Vindication*) was one of his Rhapſodies of haſty and hud-

"dled

" dled Thoughts. Moſt divine Words, and moſt ſeraphick Charity! but the " Arch Deacon will have Tenderneſs of Conſcience to be Pride, Vanity, and " Inſolence, though all the ſeven Champions ſhould contradict him.

Pag. 273. " He that pretends Conſcience to vouch his Humour, and his Inſo- " lence is a Villian, and an Hypocrite; and ſo far from deſerving Pity, eſpeci- " ally from Authority, that no Offenders can more need or provoke their Seve- " rity." This may be true: (*e*) But where the ſupreme Government, which muſt of Neceſſity be abſolute, uncontroulable, and unlimited, as well in Matters of Religion, *&c.* more ſagaciouſly diſcerns beyond the Arch Deacon's, that ſame Conſcience to be neither Humour nor Inſolence, nor will comprehend it under that Notion; there it is to be hoped, the Man is not a Villain, nor an Hypocrite, and ſo not liable to the Fury of Correction.

Pag. 271. " And therefore, if Princes will be reſolute, they may eaſily make " the moſt ſtubborn Conſciences bend to their Commands; But, if they will " not, they muſt ſubmit themſelves, and their Power, to all the Follies and " Paſſions of their Subjects." *Probatum eſt.* S. P.

Pag. 270. " Governors muſt look to the Publick, and let tender Conſcience " look to themſelves. Laws muſt be of an unyielding, and unflexible Tem- " per, and not ſoft and eaſy Things. Princes muſt not be diffident in their Maxims of Policy; but, as they muſt ſet up ſome to themſelves; ſo they muſt act roundly up to them." *Dii te donent Tonſore.*—*Quære*, Why this Counſel was not taken, ſince the Counſel was given ſo long before the Declaration came forth? *Anſw.* Becauſe it was ever contrary to his Majeſty's Inclination.

Pag. 269. " 'Tis all one to the Concernments of Government, whether Ten- " derneſs of Conſcience be ſerious or counterfeit: for whether ſo or ſo, 'tis " directly contrary to the Ends and Intereſt of Government." Better unſaid, than not believed.

Pag. 263. " And what can be more deſtructive to all Manner of Govern- " ment, than to make all the Rules of Order and Diſcipline leſs ſacred than " the Whimſies of every *Phanatick* Zealot?" Pray be patient, Sir, there is no ſuch Thing done.

Ibid. " When to pick Quarrels with the Laws, and make Scruple of obeying " them, ſhall be made the ſpecifick Character of the Godly: When giddy " and humourous Zeal ſhall not only excuſe, but hallow Diſobedience; when " every one that has Fancy enough to fancy himſelf a Child of God, ſhall have " Licenſe to deſpiſe Authority." Who would have been at the Trouble of all this Rhetorick, had he known what would have followed?

Pag. 252. " In brief, the only Cauſe of all our Troubles and Diſturbances, is, " the inflexible Perverſeneſs of about an hundred proud, ignorant and ſeditious " Preachers; againſt whom, if the Severity of the Laws were particularly le- " vell'd, how eaſy would it be to reduce the People to a peaceable Temper?" There were juſt three more than his Number, and that ſpoil'd the Project.

Page.

(*e*) *Eccleſiaſt. Pol.* p. 27, 28, 36, *&c.*
(*f*) Declar. p. 2.

Pag. 187. " What can be more apparently vain, than to talk of Accommoda-
" tions, or to hope for any Poſſibility of Quiet or Settlement, till Authority
" ſhall ſee it neceſſary to ſcourge them into better Manners, and wiſer Opi-
" nions ?

Pag. 219. " 'Tis eaſy and poſſible for well-meaning People, through Igno-
" rance or Inadvertency, to be betray'd into ſuch unhappy Errors as may tend
" to the publick Diſturbance; which, though it be not ſo much their Crime as
" Infelicity; yet is there no Remedy, but it muſt expoſe them to the Correc-
" tion of the publick Rods and Axes." Surely, *Rhadamanthus*'s own Chap-lain could not have preached more ſevere Divinity ?

Pag. 271. " In brief, There is nothing ſo ungovernable as a tender Con-
" ſcience, or ſo reſtiff and inflexible as Folly or Wickedneſs, when hardened
" with Religion: And therefore, inſtead of being comply'd with, they muſt
" be reſtrained with a more peremptory and unyielding Rigour, than naked
" and unſanctified Villany."

Pag. 223. " Nay, ſo eaſy it is for Men to deſerve to be puniſhed for their
" Conſciences, that there is no Nation in the World, (were Government rightly
" underſtood, and duly managed) wherein Miſtakes and Abuſes in Religion,
" would not ſupply the Gallies with vaſtly greater Numbers than Villainy."
'Tis a Comfort, curſt Cows have now ſhort Horns.

However, to this the tender Declaration makes a Reply, declaring one of the Reaſons of His Majeſty's Indulgence to be ; becauſe he finds that Force in Matter of meer Religion, tends to the depopulating of Countries.

On the other Side, the *Arch-deacon*, in Oppoſition to the King's Reaſon, is for depopulating the Land, and peopling the Gallies ; and arraigns that Government for Want of Underſtanding and due Management, that does not obſerve his Method of Cruelty. He is for *Pillories*, *Whipping-poſts*, *Rods*, *Axes*, *Scourges*, &c. as if no Government pleaſed him, but that deſcribed by *Virgil* in Hell.

Hinc exaudiri gemitus, & ſæva ſonare
Verbera ; tum ſtridor Ferri, tractæque catenæ.
——————Accincta flagella
Tiſiphone quatit inſultus, torvoſque ſiniſtra
Intentans Angues vocat Agmina ſæva ſororum.

This, in the *Arch-deacon*'s *Eccleſiaſtical Polity* ; and to ſhew that no other Government will content him but this, *pag.* 18. " I leave it, (ſays he) to Gover-
" nors themſelves to judge, whether it does not concern them with as much
" Vigilance and Severity, either to prevent the Riſe, or ſuppreſs the Growth,
" (of Phanaticks he means, that find themſelves grieved by the Penal Laws) as
" to puniſh any the fouleſt Crimes of Immorality ? And if they would ſe-
" rioufly conſider into what Exorbitancies, peeviſh and untoward Principles
" about Religion improve themſelves, they could not but perceive it to be as
" much their Concernment to puniſh them with the ſevereſt Inflictions, as any
" whatſoever Principles and Rebellions in the State."——Well ! The Buſineſs is conſidered, and his *Eccleſiaſtical Polity* is found to be deficiant.

Nay, he goes farther, and arraigns all Kings and Princes for their Folly, under the Title of Governors: For, ſays he, in the following, *pag.* 19. "This "certainly has ever been one of the fatal Miſcarriages of all Governors, in that "they have not been aware of this fierce and implacable Enemy, (meaning the "Phanaticks, who care no more for *Whips* and *Scourges*, than the *Devil* does "for *Holy-Water*) but have gone about to govern unruly Conſciences, but more "eaſy and remiſs Laws than thoſe that are only able to ſuppreſs ſcandalous and "confeſs'd Villanies, and have thought them ſufficiently reſtrained, by threatn-"ing Puniſhments without inflicting them; and indeed, in moſt Kingdoms, "ſo little have Princes underſtood their own Intereſts in Matters of Religion, "*&c.*" Hearken, O ye Princes of *Europe*, and go to School again to the Author of the *Diſcourſes* of *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*.

But, here is another bold Touch. "Prohibition diſobliges Diſſenters, and "that is no Evil; Impunity allows them Toleration, but that is a greater; "and where Governors permit what their Laws permit, (this is not the pre-"ſent Caſe) there the Commonwealth muſt at one feel all the Evils both of "Reſtraint and Liberty. So that, as they would expect Peace and Settlement, "they muſt be ſure, at firſt, to bind on their Eccleſiaſtical Laws with the "ſtreighteſt Knot, and afterwards keep them in Force and Countenance by the "Severity of the Law. Their Reſtraint muſt be proportioned to their Unruli-"neſs of the Conſcience; and they muſt be managed with ſo much the greater "Strictneſs than all the other Principles of Diſturbance, by how much they "are the more dangerous." *Gratias Domine*, now Princes underſtand what "they have to do.

Yet a little more of the *Arch-deacon*'s *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*. Beloved, in his Preface to Biſhop *Bramhal*'s *Vindication*, (for it is not paged) you ſhall find it thus written. "They (meaning the Phanaticks, or Complainants againſt the "Penal Statutes) have been ſo long accuſtomed to undutiful Demeanor, that "it is feared they are grown too head-ſtrong and incorrigible, to be aw'd "into a more modeſt Behaviour by Threatnings of Severity. Therefore it will "be thought neceſſary to bridle their ungoverned Tongues and Spirits with "*Pillories* and *Whipping-poſts*."

And at the Bottom of the ſame Page: "To this Peeviſhneſs of their Hu-"mours, I might add the Reſtleſneſs of their Minds that is always diſpleaſed "with the ſettled Frame of Things, (*Innuendo*, the ſettled Penal Laws) and that "no Alterations can ſatisfy. If you condeſcend to their Demands, you only "encourage them to make new Remonſtrances: Appeaſe all their old Com-"plaints, and they are immediately picking new Faults to be redreſſed. They "that at firſt only requeſt Indulgence, will, when ſtrong enough demand it." In ſhort, Give the *Nonconformiſts* an Inch, and they'll take an Ell.

"But, (in the ſame Preface) ſhould it ever ſo happen hereafter, that any "*King* of *England* ſhould be prevailed with to deliver up the Church," (that is to ſay, to diſpence with the Penal Laws and *Teſt*; for the *Teſt*, notwithſtanding the Reaſons againſt it, muſt be included in this long Parentheſis, becauſe the Church framed it) "he had as good at the ſame Time reſign up his Crown." And thus you ſee the Danger of the preſent Government, through the *Non-conformity* to the *Arch-Deacon*'s *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*.

There is another Reason why His Majesty was graciously pleased to think, Force in Matter of meer Religion, directly contrary to the Interest of Government; and that is, *Spoiling of Trade*.

Trade! cries the *Arch-Deacon*: Trade! No. Let Grass grow about the *Custom-House*, rather than abate one Tittle of my *Ecclesiastical Polity*: For, (in in his Preface to his *Eccles. Pol.* pag. 49.) "'Tis notorious, (says he) that "there is not any Sort of People so inclinable to Seditious Practices, as the "Trading Part of a Nation; and their Pride and Arrogance naturally increases "with the Improvement of their Stock. And if we reflect upon our late miserable Distractions, 'tis easy to observe how the Quarrel was hatched in Trade, "Mens Shops, and cherished by the Zeal of Prentices." (By the Way, this is plausable Nonsense all over) But he goes on, *pag.* 50. "'Tis a very odd, and "prepostorous Piece of Policy to design the enriching this Sort of People, while "their Heads are distempered with Religious Lunacies." And, *pag.* 51. "He is a very silly Man, and understands nothing of the Follies, Passions, and "Inclinations of Human Nature, who sees not there is no Creature so ungovernable as a Wealthy Phanatick." And therefore, (*pag.* 48.) "I confess, I "cannot but smile, when I observe how some that would be thought wonderful grave and solemn Statesmen, labour with mighty Projects of setting up "this and that Manufacture in their several respective Towns and Corporations; "and how eagerly they pursue these petty Attempts, beyond the great Affair of a "more publick Concernment, (meaning the dreadful and terrible Execution of "the Penal Laws) and how wisely they neglect the Settlement of a whole Nation, for the Benefit of a *Village* or *Burrough*?" Very pleasant *Ecclesiastical Polity!* No Man must eat or drink, or maintain his Family: The grand Relation of Human Necessities depending one upon another, must stand still, to oblige the *Arch-deacon*'s *Ecclesiastical Polity*. Here's a *Quietus est* for above the third Part of the Nation. None but those that can swallow a *Surplice*, and adore the *Parochial Levite*, must weave Camblets at *Norwich*, make Bays at *Colchester*, Spurs at *Rippon*, Nails at *Birmingham*, or Saddles at *Burford*. For why? "There is not any Sort of People so seditious as the Trading Part of the Nation." So that supposing the Greater Part of the Trading Part of the Nation be, as the *Arch-deacon* calls them *Phanaticks* and *Non-conformists*, (that is, Men conscientiously scrupling the Ceremonies of the Church of *England*) they must either be (*g*) scourged into better Manners with Briars and Thorns, or else the Nation must be laid waste and desolate. For to tell you true, as good have no People, as those that will not pay Tithes; 'tis no Matter for the King's Duties, nor how the Nation may be otherwise weakned and exposed.

There is yet behind one more Reason urged in the Declaration, and that is this; "That Force in Matter of meer Religion, never obtained the End for "which it was imployed; wherein His Majesty declares himself the more confirmed, by the Reflections he made upon the four last Reigns."

Now, here's the utter Subversion of the *Arch-deacon*'s *Ecclesiastical Polity*; all meer Labour in vain; Abundance of ranting, raving, reviling Expressions, insomuch, that the *Arch-Angel* was more civil to the *Devil*, than the *Arch-Deacon* to

(*g*) Preface to *Bramhall*'s *Vindication*.

to the *Diſſenters*; and yet all to no Purpoſe. He has been at a great deal of pains in ſetting up Pillories and Whipping-poſts in all Parts and Corners of the Kingdom; and now he may even go, and pull them down again. What are now become of all his Politick Let-but's? In his Preface to Biſhop *Bramhall*'s Vindication; "Let but the Government think it ſeaſonable at any time "to reprieve them (meaning the *Diſſenters*) from the Severity of the Laws, "and they immediately ſtart up into that Confidence, as to imagine themſelves "the only Darlings of State. Let but the Publick Rods be removed from their "Backs, and they are preſently full of Expectations to have them put into their "own Hands. If they are not always ſcourg'd and chaſtis'd, they will grow "Sawcy, and muſt by all means become Cronies to Kings and Princes.

Many other Paſſages might have been collected out of his ſeveral bitter (if they may not be ſaid to be ſcurrilous) Invectives againſt the *Diſſenters*; but here are ſufficient to make it apparently manifeſt, that the Author of the *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, was as great a *Diſſenter* from the mild and tender Maxims of his Majeſty's Government, and his conſtant Senſe and Opinion, of a long time profeſſed and declared upon ſeveral Occaſions in Matters of Religion, as the *Diſſenters* were diſſatisfied with the rigid Severity of the Church of *England*; or, at leaſt, with the Principles of his *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*.

Which makes it ſeem queſtionable, whether a Perſon, who has brandiſh'd his Pen with that Virulency, againſt the *Diſſenters* in general, and his Majeſty's Royal Opinion, and the mature Reſults of his moſt ſerious Deliberations, may be a proper Champion againſt the Teſt? For moſt certainly, there has been much more ſaid already, and much more to the Purpoſe, than he has produced.

(*h*) On the other ſide, he has moſt dogmatically avouched, "That if ever the "boiſterous and unreaſonable Oppoſition (as he calls it) of the *Nonconformiſts* "to the Church of *England*, be re-erected it muſt be upon its Ruins: And "that if ever the *Roman Catholicks* get any Ground, or Advantage of the "Church of *England*, they will be bound to make their Acknowledgments to "the *Puritans*, and the Strength of their Aſſiſtance. Whence he draws his Concluſion, "That it would be a pleaſant Spectacle, (that is to ſay, A ridiculous Over-ſight in Government) to ſee either the Claſſical or Congregational "Diſcipline eſtabliſhed by Authority."

Moreover, in the 721ſt Page of the *Vindication of his Eccleſ. Pol.* he appeals to all Men, whether Liberty of Conſcience be any better, than a Licenſe for Anarchy and Confuſion? *Pag.* 238. he ſays, "That to grant Subjects a "lawleſs and uncontroul'd Liberty of Conſcience, in all Matters and Pretences "of Religion, is to diſſolve one half of the Government into perfect Anarchy, "and yield up the Conſtitution of all Publick Affairs, to the Humour of every "wild Enthuſiaſt." And *Pag.* 553. you find it thus written, "So that, ſeeing "an Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction (of Pillories and Whipping-Poſts, Thorns "and Bryars) is abſolutely neceſſary to prevent all Confuſions, ariſing from "unreſtrain'd Liberty, it is better that Mankind ſhould be ſometimes expoſed to the Miſeries of Tyranny and Perſecution, than always groan under "the intolerable Diſorders of Anarchy, or Reluctancy to Penal Statutes."

(*h*) *Preface to Biſhop* Bramhall's *Vindication.*

If then the Church of *England* be eſtabliſh'd upon ſuch a firm Foundation, that nothing can endanger it, but Indulgence to the *Diſſenters*, 'tis to be admir'd, that a Man, ſo knowing in Eccleſiaſtcal Policy, and ſo great a Friend to the Church of *England*, would open ſuch a Gap as to plead for the Abrogation of the Teſt, which the Church-men of *England* fram'd and ſet-up, as the only Bulwark to prevent her Diſſolution. So that, to uſe his own Words, " 'Tis " very hardly credible, That a Perſon, who has lately appear'd ſo vigorouſly " in her Cauſe, ſhould, notwithſtanding all his ſeeming Zeal and Earneſtneſs, " be really in good Earneſt, in his Pretences, againſt the Teſt." For what ſignifies the abrogating the Teſt, if there be no Way to ſhake the otherwiſe immoveable Church of *England*, but by making two Bridges of *Diſſenters*, one between *Callais* and *Dover*, the other between *Diepe* and *Rye*, for *Popery* to return into *England*: For, when he comes to that Part of his Preface to Biſhop *Bramhall*'s Vindication, where he conſiders what Likelihood, or how much Danger there is of the Return of *Popery* into this Nation: For my own Part, ſays he, " I " know none, but the *Nonconformiſt*'s boiſterous and unreaſonable Oppoſition to " the Church of *England*." If he thinks, that the Abrogation of the Teſt may be a Means to unite the *Papiſts*, and the *Diſſenters*, which he ſeems to intimate, by ſaying; " That the Faction of *Diſſenters* may be made uſe of, as Inſtru- " ments (Journey-men Tools) to diſſolve and unravel the eſtabliſh'd Frame of " Things, and deſtroy the Church of *England*; and ſo make an unobſtructed " Paſſage for the Return of *Popery* in Glory and Triumph;" then he has left his Cauſe in the Lurch, and relinquiſh'd all his Eccleſiaſtical Polity at once.

As for the *Papiſts* he deals with them after ſuch a rate, that no Man living knows where to have him. In his Preface to Biſhop *Bramhall*'s Vindication, he ſeems neither to love nor fear them: For that, as long as the Church of *England* ſtands in Power and Reputation, it will eaſily beat back and baffle all the Attempts of *Rome*, and its Adherents; their plauſible Reaſons being evidently no more, than little Tricks and Sophiſms, and ſeem intended by themſelves, rather to abuſe the Simple, than ſatisfy the Wiſe. Their Innovations are ſo undeniable, and the Deſign of the Church of *England*'s Reformation, ſo apparently *Apoſtolical*, that thoſe People muſt needs argue at a ſtrange wild Rate, that will be demonſtrating againſt Experience, and ocular Inſpection. So then, the Reformation made by the Church of *England*, in the Points of Tranſubſtantiation, Worſhip of Images, Adoration of the Hoſt, and Invocation of Saints, being Apoſtolical; What muſt be thought of his Reaſons againſt the Teſt? Nay, there is nothing could preſerve the *Papiſts* from being hiſs'd out of the Pit, but that they are extreamly confident, and moſt Readers ſufficiently ignorant: So that the Church of *England* may ſafely deſire all their Oppoſition. She does not ſtand upon ſuch Trembling Foundations, as to be thruſt down with Bull-ruſh Spears, and Oral Traditions, with Labyrinths, and Caſtles in the Air.

But then his Heart miſgives him again, and he begins to fear the Return of *Popery* into the Nation, ſhould the *Nonconformiſts* join with the *Papiſts*: And therefore, at the End of his Preface, he begs the hearty Prayers of his Friend, for the Peace and Proſperity of the Church of *England*; for when that is gone,

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(farewell Froſt) 'twill be hard to find out another, with which any, that are either honeſt or wiſe, will be over forward to join in Communion.

Notwithſtanding all this, upon better Conſiderations, as it were in Compaſſion of the deſpis'd Weakneſs of the Church of *Rome*, and her Adherents, he undertakes to furniſh them with better Arguments of his own, than any they have themſelves, to vindicate *Tranſubſtantiation*, and clear them from *Idolatry*: For which he ſtrains an Argument deduced from the *Cherubims*, that cover'd the *Ark*. And yet, in his Defence of his *Eccleſiaſtical Policy*. Pag. 285, 286. he condemns both *Turk* and *Pope* together in a Breath; the one for giving Divine Worſhip to a lewd Impoſtor; the other, to a ſenſeleſs Piece of Matter. And thus, what, by Vertue of apparent, apoſtolical Reformation, he call'd (Before) a ſenſeleſs Piece of Matter, he has (Now) cover'd with the *Cherubim*'s Golden Wings, and render'd adorable by Scripture-Warrant: But, *Bene ſcribit, qui bene intelligitur*; What he has Written, he has Written.

A Plain Account of the Perſecution, *now laid to the Charge of the Church of* ENGLAND.

I. THE Deſire of *Liberty* to ſerve God in that Way and Manner, which Men judge to be moſt acceptable to him, is ſo natural and reaſonable, that they cannot but be extremely provoked againſt thoſe who would force them to ſerve him in any other. But the Conceit withal, which moſt Men have that their Way of ſerving God, is the only acceptable Way; naturally inclines them, when they have Power, to uſe all means to conſtrain all others to ſerve him in that Way only. So that *Liberty* is not more deſired by all, at one time, than it is denied by the very ſame Perſons at another. Put them into different Conditions, and they are not of the ſame Mind, but have different Inclinations, in one State, from what they have in another; as will be apparent by a ſhort View of what hath paſſed in theſe Churches and Kingdoms, within our Memory.

II. Before the late Civil Wars, there were very grievous Complaints made of the *Biſhops*; that they preſſed the Ceremonies ſo ſtrictly, as to inflict heavy Cenſures upon thoſe called *Puritans*, who could not in *Conſcience* conform to them. Now no ſooner had thoſe very Perſons who thus complain'd, got their Liberty to do as they pleaſed, but they took it quite away from the other, and ſequeſtred all thoſe who would not enter into their *Holy League and Covenant*; for the reforming all Things, according to the Model which they propounded. Nay they were not willing to bear with *five* Diſſenting Brethren amongſt themſelves; who could not conform to the *Preſbyterial* Government. And when theſe Diſſenting Brethren, commonly known by the Name of *Independents*, had got a Party, ſtrong enough, which carried all before them; they would not allow the Uſe of the *Common Prayer* in any Pariſh, no not the *King* himſelf in his own Chappel: Nor grant to one of the old Clergy, ſo much Liberty as to teach a School, *&c.* Which Things I do not mention (God knows) to reproach thoſe who

who were guilty of them, but only to put them in mind of their own Failings; that they may be humbled for them, and not insult over the Church of *England*, nor severely upbraid them with that, which, when Time was, they acted with a higher Hand themselves. If I should report all that the *Presbyterians* did here and in *Scotland*, and all that the *Independents* did here and in *New-England*; it would not be thought that I exceed the Truth, when I say they have been more guilty of this Fault, than those whom they now charge with it. Which doth not excuse the Church of *England*, it must be confessed; but doth in some measure, mitigate her Fault. For the conformable Clergy having met with such very hard Usage in that dismal Time, wherein many of them were oppressed above Measure: No wonder if the Smart of it, then fresh in their Minds, something imbittered their Spirits, when God was pleased, by a wonderful Revolution, to put them into Power again.

III. Then a stricter *Act of Uniformity* was made, and several Laws pursuant to it, for the enforcing that Uniformity, by severe Penalties. But let it be remembred that none were by those Laws constrained to come to Church, but had *Liberty* left them to serve God at home, (and some Company with them) in their own Way. And let it be farther remembred, that the Reason why they were denied their Liberty of meeting in greater Assemblies was; because such Assemblies were represented as *greatly endangering the publick Peace and Safety*: As the Words are in the very first Act of this Nature against *Quakers*, in the Year 1662. Let any one read the *Oxford Act*, (as it is commonly called) made in the Year 1662, and that at *Westminster* in the Year 1670. and he will find them intended against *Seditious Conventicles*; that is, they who made them were persuaded by the *Jesuit Interest* at first to look upon such Meetings as *Nurseries of Sedition*, where bad *Principles* were infused into Mens Minds, destructive to *Civil Government*. If it had not been for this, it doth not appear that the Contrivers of these Laws were inclined to such *Severities* as were thereby enacted; but the *Nonconformists* might have enjoyed a larger Liberty in *Religion*. It was not *Religion* alone which was considered, and pretended, but the *publick Peace* and *Settlement:* With respect to which they were tied up so straitly in the Exercise of their *Religion*. Which, to deal clearly, I do not believe would have taught *Rebellion*; but this was constantly insinuated by the *Court Agents*, and it is no *Wonder* that the *Parliament*, who remembred how the Ministers of that Persuasion (though indeed from the then Appearance of *Popery*) had been the principal Encouragers of that *Defensive War* against the *King*, were easily made to believe that they still retained the same *Principles*, and would propagate them, if they were suffered, among the People. Certain it is also, that the *Court* made it their Care to have those Acts passed; though at the same Time they hindred their Execution, that they might keep up both Parties, in the Height of their Animosities, and especially that they might make the Church of *England*, be both, hated and despised by the *Dissenters*.

IV. Thus Things continued for some Time, till wise Men began to see into the Secret; and think of a *Reconciliation*. But it was also hindred by the *Court*, who never thought of giving *Liberty* by a *Law*, but only by the *Prerogative*, which could as easily take it away. There was a Time, for Instance, when a *Comprehension*, &c. was projected by several Great Men, both in *Church and State*; for the taking as many as was possible into Union with us, and provid-

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ed Eaſe for the Reſt. Which ſo nettled the late *King*, that meeting with the then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he ſaid to him, (as I perfectly remember) *What, My Lord, you are for a Comprehenſion?* To which he made ſuch a Reply as ſignified, he heard ſome were about it: *No*, ſaid the King, *I will keep the Church of* England *pure and unmixed*; that is, never ſuffer a Reconciliation with the *Diſſenters*. And when the *Lords and Commons* alſo had, not many Years ago, paſſed a Bill for the Repealing of the moſt Heavy of all the *Penal Laws* againſt *Diſſenters*, viz. The Statute of 35 *Eliz.* 1. (which, by the Parliament is made, againſt the *wicked and dangerous Practices of ſeditious Sectaries, and diſloyal Perſons*) His late Majeſty ſo dealt with the Clerk of the Parliament, that it was ſhuffled *away* and could not be found, when it was to have been preſented to him, among other Bills, for his Royal Conſent to it. A notable Token of the Abhorrence the Court then had of all *Penal Laws*, and of their great Kindneſs to *Diſſenters*.

V. Who may remember, if they pleaſe, that as once there was a Time, when the Court turned out, or chid, thoſe *Juſtices*, who were forward in the Execution of the Laws againſt *Nonconformiſts*, becauſe they were in ſo low a Condition, that the Court was afraid the Church of *England* might indeed be eſtabliſhed in its Uniformity: So when the *Nonconformiſts* were, by ſome Liberty, grown ſtronger, and ſet themſelves againſt the Court Intereſt, in the Election of *Sheriffs*, and ſuch like Things; then all thoſe *Juſtices* were turned out who hung back, and would not execute the Laws againſt them; and *Juſtices* pickt out for the Purpoſe, who would do it ſeverely. Nay, the Clergy were called upon, and had Orders ſent them, to return the Names of all *Nonconformiſts* in their ſeveral Pariſhes, that they might be proceeded againſt in the *Courts Eccleſiaſtical*. And here I cannot forget the Order made by the *Middleſex Juſtices* at the Seſſions at *Hickes-Hall*, *Jan.* 13, 1681, where they urge the Execution of the Act of 22. *Car.* 2. againſt *Conventicles*, becauſe *in all probability they will deſtroy both Church and State*. This was the Reaſon which moved them to call upon *Conſtables* and all other *Officers* to do their Duty in this Matter: Nay, to call upon the *B. of London* himſelf, *that he would uſe his utmoſt Endeavours, within his Juriſdiction, that all ſuch Perſons may be Excommunicate*. This was a bold Stroke, proceeding from an unuſual Degree of Zeal; which plainly enough ſignifies that the *Biſhops* were not ſo forward as the *Juſtices*, in the proſecuting of *Diſſenters*. Who may do well to remember that the *Houſe of Commons*, a little before this, had been ſo kind to them, that thoſe Juſtices would not have dared to have been ſo ſevere as they were at *Hickes-Hall*, if they had not been ſet on by Directors from *Whitehall*. For in their *Order* they preſs the Execution of the Statute, 1 *Eliz.* and 3 *Jac.* 1. for levying *Twelve-pence* a *Sunday* upon all thoſe that do not come to Church: Whereas the *Houſe of Commons*, *Nov.* 6, 1680, had *Reſolved*, Nemine contradicente, *that it is in the Opinion of this Houſe, That the Acts of Parliament made in the Reign of* Q. Elizabeth, *and King* James, *againſt Popiſh Recuſants, ought not to be extended againſt Proteſtant Diſſenters*.

VI. Who ſhould not forget how backward the Clergy of *London* eſpecially were to comply with this Deſign, of reviving the Execution of the Laws againſt them; what Courſes they took to ſave them from this Danger! And what Hatred they incurred for being ſo kind to them! Which in truth was Kindneſs to

themſelves; for now they ſaw plainly enough that nothing was intended but the Deſtruction of us both, by ſetting us, in our Turns, one againſt the other. Many indeed were poſſeſſed with the old Opinion, that the Diſſenters aimed at the Overthrow of the Government both in Church and State; which made them the more readily join with thoſe who were employed to ſuppreſs them, by turning the Edge of the Laws upon them. But both theſe were moſt induſtriouſly promoted by the Court; who laboured might and main to have this believed, that they who were called *Whigs*, intended the Ruin of the Church and the Monarchy too: And therefore none had the Court Favour, but they alone who were for the ruining of *them*. All others were frown'd upon, and branded with the Name of *Trimmers*, who they adventured at laſt, to ſay they were worſe than *Whigs*; merely becauſe they, ſeeing the Deſign, deſired thoſe ugly Names of *Whig* and *Tory* might be laid aſide; and perſwaded all to *Moderation*, *Love*, *Unity*, and *Peace*. If any Man had theſe dangerous Words in his Mouth, he had a Mark ſet upon him, and was look't upon as an Enemy, as ſoon as he diſcovered any Deſires of Reconciliation. *No Peace with Diſſenters* was then as much in ſome Mens Mouths, as *no Peace with Rome*, had been in others. They were all voted to Deſtruction, and it was an unpardonable Crime ſo much as to mention an Accommodation.

Such Things as theſe ought not to be forgotten.

VII. But if they liſt not to call them to mind, (tho' they be of freſh Memory) yet let them at leaſt conſider what they have had at their Tongues End, ever ſince they knew any thing, That *the Church of Rome is a perſecuting Church, and the Mother of Perſecution*. Will they then be deluded by the preſent *Sham of Liberty of Conſcience*; which they of that Church pretend to give it: It is not in their *Power*, no more than in their *Spirit*; they never *will* nor *can* give Liberty of Conſcience, but with a Deſign to take all Liberty from us. That Church muſt be obeyed, and there is no middle Choice among them, between *turn or burn*, *conform or be undone*. What Liberty *do* they give in any Country, where their *Power* is eſtabliſhed: What Liberty *can* they give, who have determined that all Hereticks ought to be rooted out: Look into *France* (with which we have had the ſtricteſt Alliance and Friendſhip a long Time) and behold, how at this Moment they compel thoſe to go to *Maſs*, who they know abhor it as an abominable Idolatry. Such a violent *Spirit* now acts them, that they ſtick not to profane their own moſt *Holy Myſteries*; that they may have the Face of an *Univerſal Conformity*, without the leaſt *Liberty*. For the *new Converts*, as they are called, poor Wretches, are known to be mere *outward Compliers*, in their Hearts abominating that which they are forced externally to worſhip. They declare as much by eſcaping from this Tyranny over their Conſciences, and bewailing their ſinful Compliance, whenſoever they have an Opportunity. And they that cannot eſcape, frequently proteſt they have been conſtrained to adore that, which they believe ought not be adored. And when they come to die, refuſe to receive the *Romiſh Sacrament*; and thereupon are dragg'd, when dead, along the Streets, and thrown, like dead Dogs upon the Dung-hills. Unto what a Height of Rage are the Spirits of the *Romiſh Clergy* inflamed, that it perfectly blinds their Eyes, and will not let them ſee how they expoſe the moſt ſacred Things in all their *Religion* (the *Holy Sacrament*, which they believe to be

Jesus Christ himself) to be received by those who they know have no Reverence at all for it, but utterly abhor it; for they force them, by all manner of Violence, to adore the *Host* against their Will, and to eat what they have adored, tho' they have the greatest Reason to believe, that those poor Creatures do not adore it. That is, the Church of *Rome* will have her Mysteries adored by all, tho' it be by *Hypocrites*. None shall be excused, but whether they *believe* or not believe, they shall be compelled to *do* as that Church doth. Nothing shall hinder it, for the Hatred and Fury wherewith they are now transported, is so exceeding great, that it makes them (as I have said) offer *Violence* even to their own Religion, rather than suffer any Body not to conform to it.

VIII. And assure yourselves they are very desirous to extend this Violence beyond the Bounds of *France*. They would fain see *England* also, in the same Condition. The Bishop of *Valence* and *Die*, hath told us as much, in the Speech which he made to the *French King*, in the Name of the Clergy of *France*, to congratulate his glorious Atchivements, in rooting out the Heresy of *Calvin*, in which he hath a most memorable Passage, for which we are beholden to him, because it informs us, that they are not satisfied with what their King hath done there; but would have him think there is a further Glory reserved for him, or lending his Help to make us such good Catholicks, as he hath made in *France*. This is the blessed Work they would be at; and if any among us be still so blind as not to see it, we must look upon it as the just Judgment of God upon them for some other Sins which they have committed. They are delivered up to a reprobate Mind, which cannot discern the most evident Things. They declare to all the World that they have been above *fifty* Years, crying out against they know not what, for they know not what *Popery* is (of which they have seemed to be horribly afraid) if they believe that they of that Religion either can or will give any *Liberty*, when they have *Power* to establish their *Tyranny*. It is no better: St. *John* himself hath described that Church under the Name of *Babylon*, that cruel City; and of a Beast, which like a *Bear*, tramples all under its Feet; and of *another Beast*, *which causes as many as will not worship the Image of the Beast*, *to be killed*; *and that no Man may buy or sell save such as have had his Mark*; *i. e.* are of his Religion, *Rev.* xiii. 14, 15, 16. This Character they will make good to be the very End of their Reign, as they have fulfilled it from the Begining. They cannot alter their Nature, no more than the *Ethiopian change his Skin*, *or the Leopard his Spots*. It ever was, since the Rise of the Beast, and it ever will be till its Fall, a bloody Church, which can bear no Contradiction to her Doctrine and Orders, but will endeavour to root out all those that oppose her, from the Face of the Earth. Witness the barbarous *Crusado's* against the poor *Albigenses* in *France*; in one of which alone *Bellarmine* himself saith, and not without Triumph, there were killed no less than an *hundred thousand*. Witness the horrible *Butcheries* committed in *France*, in *England*, and in the *Low-Countries* in the Age before us; and in *Poland*, the Vallies of *Piedmont*, and in *Ireland* in this Age; upon those who had no other Fault but this, that they made the *Holy Scriptures*, and not the *Roman Church*, the Rule of their Faith.

IX. But if you be ignorant of what hath been done, and is doing abroad, yet I hope you observe what they do here at Home. What do you think of

the Declaration which was very lately impoſed to be read in all our Churches? Which when ſeveral Biſhops and their Clergy, moſt humbly repreſented, they could not in Conſcience publiſh to the People in Time of divine Service; this would not excuſe them; their Petition was received with Indignation, and look'd upon as a Libel; the Biſhops were proſecuted for it; and Enquiry is now ordered to be made after thoſe who did not read it (as well as thoſe that did) that they may be puniſhed by the high Commiſſioners. Call you this Liberty of Conſcience? Or do you imagine you ſhall never have any thing impoſed upon you, to be read in your Congregations, which you cannot comply with all? Conſider, I beſeech you, what will become of you when that Time ſhall come? What's the Meaning of this, that ever they are look'd upon as Offenders, for following their Conſcience, whoſe Services have been acknowledged to be ſo great, that they ſhould never be forgotten? It ought to teach Diſſenters what they are to expect hereafter, when they have ſerved them ſo far, (by taking off the Teſts and the Penal Laws) as to enable them with Safety to remember all their former pretended Tranſgreſſions. Let them aſſure themſelves the Services of the Church of *England* are not now more certainly forgotten, than the Sins of Diſſenters will hereafter, when they have got Power to puniſh them, be moſt certainly remembred. Be not drawn in then by deceitful Words, to help forward your own Deſtruction. If you will not be aſſiſtant to it, they cannot do it alone; and it will be very ſtrange if you be perſwaded to lend them your Help, when the Deceit is ſo apparent. For what are all the preſent Pleas for Liberty, but ſo many infamous Libels upon the *Roman* Church, which denies all Men this Liberty? While they declaim ſo loudly againſt Perſecution, they moſt notoriouſly reproach *Popery*; which ſubſiſts by nothing but Deceit and Cruelty. And who can think that they would ſuffer their Church to be ſo expoſed and reviled, as it is by ſuch Diſcourſes, but with a Deſign to cheat heedleſs People into its Obedience? For this End they can hear it proved, nay prove it themſelves to be an Anti-chriſtian Church; when they prove it is againſt Chriſtianity, nay againſt the Law of Nature and common Reaſon, to trouble any body for his Opinion in Religion.

X. Once more then I beſeech you, be not deceived by good Words, if you love your Liberty, and your Life. Call to mind how our poor Brethren in *France* were very lately deluded by the repeated Proteſtations which their King made, he would obſerve the Edict of *Nantz* (which was the Foundation of their Liberty) even then, when he was about to overthrow it; and by many Aſſurances which were given them by thoſe who came to torment them, that the King intended to reform the Church of *France*, as ſoon as he had united his Subjects. What he had done already againſt the Court of *Rome*, they told them was an Inſtance of it; and they ſhould ſhortly ſee other Matters. Such enſnaring Words they heard there daily from the Mouths of their armed Perſecutors, who were ready to fall upon them, or had begun to oppreſs them: And therefore they would be arrant Fools here, if they did not give good Words, when they have no Power to hurt us. But we ſhall be far greater Fools if we believe they will keep their Word, when they have got that Power. They have no other Way but this, to wheedle us out of our Laws and Liberties. Do but ſurrender the one, I mean our Laws; and they will ſoon take

take away the other, our beloved Liberties. But be not tempted to make such a dangerous Experiment; but let the Laws stand as they are, because they are against them (as appears by their earnest Endeavours to repeal them) and be not used as Tools to take them away, because they have been grievous to you. They never can be so again. For can they who now court you have the Face to turn them again upon you, after they have made all this Noise for Liberty? And the Church of *England*, you may be assured, will not any more trouble you; but when a Protestant Prince shall come, will join in the healing of all our Breaches; by removing all things out of the Way, which have long hindered that blessed Work. They cannot meet together in a Body to give you this Assurance (how should they without the King's Authority so to do?) but every particular Person that I have discoursed withal, which are not a few (and you yourselves would do well to ask them, when you meet them) profess that they see an absolute Necessity of making an End of these Differences that have almost undone us; and will no longer contend to bring all Men to one Uniformity; but promote an uniform Liberty. Do not imagine I intend to give mere Words: I mean honestly; such a regular Liberty, as willl be the Beauty and Honour, not the Blot and Discredit of our Religion. To such a Temper the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, with several other Bishops of his Province, and their Clergy, have openly declared they are willing to come. And the Bishops and Clergy of the Church of *England* have never been known to act deceitfully. Our Religion will not at any Time allow them to equivocate; nor to give good Words without a Meaning. Much less at such a Time as this, when our Religion is in great Danger; and we have nothing to trust unto, but God's Protection of sincere Persons. Let Integrity and Uprightness preserve us, is their constant Prayer. They can hope for no Help from Heaven, if they should prevaricate with Men. God they know would desert them, if they should go about to delude their Brethren. And they are not so void of Sense, as to adventure to incur his most high Displeasure, when have nothing to rely upon but his Favour.

In short, trust to those who own you for their Brethren, as you do them: for tho' they have been angry Brethren, yet there is Hope of Reconciliation between such near Relations. But put no Confidence in those, who not only utterly disown any such Relation to you, but have ever treated you with an implacable Hatred, as their most mortal Enemies; unto whom it is impossible they should be reconciled.

Prov. xii. 19, 20. *The Lips of Truth shall be established for ever: but a lying Tongue is but for a Moment.*

Lying Lips are an Abomination to the Lord: but they that deal truly are his Delight.

An APOLOGY for the Church of *England*, with Relation to the Spirit of Perſecution: For which She is accuſed. By Biſhop *Burnet*.

1. ONE ſhould think, that the Behaviour of the *Engliſh* Clergy for ſome Years paſt, and the preſent Circumſtances in which they are, ſhould ſet them beyond Slander, and by Conſequence above Apologies; yet ſince the Malice of her Enemies work againſt her with ſo much Spite, and ſince there is no Inſinuation that carries ſo much Malice in it, and that ſeems to have ſuch Colours of Truth on it, as this of their having ſet on a ſevere Perſecution againſt the Diſſenters, of ſtill being ſoured with that Leven, and of carrying the ſame implacable Hatred to them, which the preſent Reputation that they have gained, may put them in a further Capacity of executing, if another Revolution of Affairs ſhould give them Authority to ſet about it; it ſeems neceſſary to examine it, and that the rather, becauſe ſome aggravate this ſo far, as if nothing were now to be ſo much dreaded as the Church of *England*'s getting out of her preſent Diſtreſs.

2. If theſe Imputations were charged on us only by the Church of *Rome*, we ſhould not much wonder at it; for though it argues a good Degree of Confidence, for any of that Communion to declaim againſt the Severities that have been put in Practice among us, ſince their little Finger muſt be heavier than ever our Loins were, and to whoſe Scorpions our Rods ought not to be compared; yet after all, we are ſo much accuſtomed to their Methods, that nothing from them can ſurpriſe us. To hear *Papiſts* declare againſt Perſecution, and *Jeſuits* cry up Liberty of Conſcience, are, we confeſs, unuſual Things: Yet there are ſome Degrees of Shame, over which when People are once paſſed, all Things become ſo familiar to them, that they can no more be put out of Countenance. But it ſeems very ſtrange to us, that ſome, who if they are to be believed, are ſtrict to the ſevereſt Forms and Subdiviſions of the reformed Religion, and that who ſome Years ago were jealous of the ſmalleſt Steps that the Court made, when the Danger was more remote; and who cried out Popery and Perſecution, when the Deſign was ſo mask'd that ſome well-meaning Men could not miſs being deceived by the Promiſes that were made, and the Diſguiſes that were put on; that, I ſay, thoſe very Perſons who were formerly ſo diſtruſtful, ſhould now, when the Mask is laid off, and the Deſign is avowed, of a ſudden grow to be ſo believing, as to throw off all Diſtruſt, and to be ſo gulled as to betray all, and expoſe us to the Rage of thoſe who muſt needs give ſome good Words till they have gone the Round, and tried how effectually they can divide and deceive us, that ſo they may deſtroy us the more eaſily; this is indeed ſomewhat extraordinary. They are not ſo ignorant as not to know that Popery cannot change its Nature, and that Cruelty and Breach of Faith to Hereticks, are as neceſſary Parts of that Religion, as Tranſubſtantiation and the

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Pope's Supremacy are. If *Papiſts* were not Fools, they muſt give good Words and fair Promiſes, till by theſe they have ſo far deluded the poor credulous Hereticks, that they may put themſelves in a Poſture to execute the Decrees of their Church againſt them: And though we accuſe that Religion as guilty both of Cruelty and Treachery, yet we do not think them Fools: So till their Party is ſtronger than God be thanked it is at preſent, they can take no other Method than that they take. The Church of *England* was the Word among them ſome Years ago, Liberty of Conſcience is the Word at preſent; and we have all poſſible Reaſon to aſſure us, that the Promiſes for maintaining the one, will be as religiouſly kept as we ſee thoſe are which are lately made with ſo great Profuſion of Proteſtations, and Shews of Friendſhip for the ſupporting of the other.

3. It were great Injuſtice to charge all the Diſſenters with the Impertinences that have appeared in many Addreſſes of late, or to take our Meaſures of them, for the impudent Strains of an *Alſop* or a *Care*, or for the more important and now more viſible Steps that ſome among them, of a higher Form, are every Day making; and yet after all this, it cannot be denied but the ſeveral Bodies of the Diſſenters, have behaved themſelves of late, like Men that underſtood too well the true Intereſt of the Proteſtant Religion, and of the *Engliſh* Government, to ſacrifice the Whole, and themſelves in Concluſion to their private Reſentments. I hope the ſame Juſtice will be allowed me in ſtating the Matter relating to the ſo much decried Perſecution ſet on by the Church of *England*, and that I may be ſuffered to diſtinguiſh the Heats of ſome angry and deluded Men from the Doctrine of the Church, and the Practices that have been authorized in it; that ſo I may ſhew that there is no Reaſon to infer from paſt Errors, that we are incurable; or that new Opportunities inviting us again into the ſame Severities, are like to prevail over us to commit the ſame Follies over again. I will firſt ſtate what is paſt, with the Sincerity that becomes one that would not lie for God, that is, not afraid nor aſhamed to confeſs Faults, that will neither aggravate nor extenuate them beyond what is juſt, and that yet will avoid the ſaying any Thing that may give any Cauſe of Offence to any Party in the Nation.

4. I am ſorry that I muſt confeſs, that all the Parties among us, have ſhewed, that as their Turn came to be uppermoſt, they have forgot the ſame Principles of Moderation and Liberty, which they all claimed when they were oppreſſed. If it ſhould ſhew too much ill Nature to examine what the Presbytery did in *Scotland* when the Covenant was in Dominion, or what the Independants have done in *New-England*; why may not I claim the ſame Privilege with Relation to the Church of *England*, if Severities have been committed by her while ſhe bore Rule? Yet it were as eaſy as it would be invidious to ſhew, that both *Presbyterians* and *Independants* have carried the Principle of Rigour in the Point of Conſcience much higher, and have acted more implacably upon it than ever the Church of *England* had done, even in its angrieſt Fits; ſo that none of them can much reproach another for their Exceſſes in thoſe Matters. And as of all the Religions in the World, the Church of *Rome* is the moſt perſecuting, and the moſt bound by her Principles to be unalterably cruel; ſo the Church of *England* is the leaſt perſecuting in her Principles, and the leaſt obliged to repeat any Errors to which the Intrigues of Court, or the Paſſions incident to all Parties may have engaged her, of any National Church in *Europe*. It cannot be ſaid to

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be any Part of our Doctrine, when we came out of one of the blackeſt Perſecutions that is in Hiſtory, I mean Q. *Mary*'s, we ſhewed how little we retained of the Cruelty of that Church, which had provoked us ſo ſeverely; when not only no Enquiries were made into the illegal Acts of Fury that were committed in that perſecuting Reign, but even the Perſecutors themſelves lived among us at Eaſe and in Peace; and no penal Law was made, except againſt the publick Exerciſe of that Religion, till a great many Rebellions and Treaſons extorted them from us for our own Preſervation. This is an Inſtance of the Clemency of our Church, that perhaps cannot be matched in Hiſtory: And why ſhould it not be ſuppoſed, that if God ſhould again put us in the State in which we were of late, that we ſhould imitate ſo noble a Pattern, than return to thoſe Miſtakes of which we are now aſhamed?

5. It is to be conſidered, that upon the late King's Reſtoration, the Remembrance of the former War, the ill Uſage that our Clergy met with in their Sequeſtrations, the angry Reſentments of the Cavalier Party, who were ruined by the War, the Intereſt of the Court to have all thoſe Principles condemned that had occaſioned it, the Heat that all Parties that have been ill uſed are apt to fall into upon a Revolution; but above all, the Practices of thoſe who have ſtill blown the Coals, and ſet us one againſt another, that ſo they might not only have a divided Force to deal with, but might by Turns make the Diviſions among us ſerve their Ends: All theſe, I ſay, concurred to make us loſe the happy Opportunity that was offered in the Year 1660. to have healed all our Diviſions, and to have triumphed over all the Diſſenters; not by ruining them, but by overcoming them with a Spirit of Love and Gentleneſs, which is the only Victory that a generous Chriſtian Temper can deſire. In ſhort, unhappy Councils were followed, and ſeveral Laws were made. But after all, it was the Court-party that carried it for rougher Methods: Some conſiderable Accidents, not neceſſary to be here mentioned, as they ſtopped the Mouths of ſome that had formed a wiſer Project, ſo they gave a fatal Advantage to angry and crafty Men, that to our Misfortune, had too great a Stroke in the Conduct of our Affairs at that Time. The Spirit of Severity was heightned by the Practices of the Papiſts, who engaged the late King in *December* 1662. to give a Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience. Thoſe who knew the Secret of his Religion, as they ſaw that it aimed at the Introduction to *Popery*, ſo they thought there was no Way ſo effectual for the keeping out of *Popery*, as the maintaining the Uniformity, and the ſuppreſſing all Deſigns for a Toleration. But while thoſe who managed this, uſed a due Reſerve in not diſcovering the ſecret Motive that led them to it, and others fled unto Severity, as the Principle in Vogue: And thus all the Slacknings of the Rigour of the Laws during the firſt *Dutch* War, that were ſet on upon the Pretence of quieting the Nation, and of encouraging Trade, were reſiſted by the Inſtruments of an honeſt Miniſter of State, who knew as well then, as we do now, what lay at Bottom, when Liberty of Conſcience was pretended.

6. Upon that Miniſter's Diſgrace, ſome that ſaw but the Half of the Secret, perceiving in the Court a great Inclination to Toleration, and being willing to take Meaſures quite different from thoſe of the former Miniſtry, they entred into a Treaty for a Comprehenſion of ſome Diſſenters, and the Tolerating of others, and

ſome Biſhops and Clergy-men, that were inferior to none of the Age in which they lived, for true Worth and a right Judgment of Things, engaged ſo far, and with ſo much Succeſs into this Project, that the Matter ſeemed done, all Things being concerted among ſome of the moſt conſiderable Men of the different Parties. But the Diſlike of that Miniſtry, and the Jealouſy of the ill Deſigns of the Court, gave ſo ſtrong a Prejudice againſt this, that the Propoſition could not be ſo much hearkned unto by the Houſe of Commons; and then it appeared how much the whole Popiſh Party was alarmed at the Project. It is well known with how much Deteſtation they ſpeak of it to this Day: Though we are now ſo fully ſatisfied of their Intentions to deſtroy us, that the Zeal which they pretend for us in oppoſing that Deſign, can no more paſs upon us.

7. At laſt, in the Year 1672. the Deſign for Popery diſcovering itſelf, the End that the Court had in favouring a Toleration, became more viſible: And when the Parliament met, that condemned the Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience; the Members of the Houſe of Commons, that either were Diſſenters, or that favoured them, behaving themſelves ſo worthily in concurring with the Church of *England* for ſtifling that Toleration, chooſing rather to loſe the Benefit of it, than to open a Breach at which Popery came in; that many of the Members that were for the Church of *England*, promiſed to procure them a Bill of Eaſe for Proteſtant Diſſenters. But the Seſſion was not long enough for bringing that to Perfection; and all the Seſſions of that Parliament after that, were ſpent in ſuch a continual Struggle between the Court and Country Party, that there was never Room given for calm and wiſe Conſultations. Yet though the Party of the Church of *England* did not perform what had been promiſed by ſome leading Men to the Diſſenters, there was little or nothing done againſt them after that, till the Year, 1681. So that for about nine Years together, they had their Meetings almoſt as publickly and as regularly as the Church of *England* had their Churches, and in all that Time, whatſoever particular Hardſhips any of them might have met with in ſome Corners of *England*, it cannot be denied, but they had the free Exerciſe of their Religion, at leaſt in moſt Parts.

8. In the Year 1678. Things began to change their Face; it is known, that upon the breaking out of the *Popiſh Plot*, the Clergy did univerſally expreſs a great Deſire for coming to ſome Temper in the Points of Conformity: All Sorts and Ranks of the Clergy ſeemed to be ſo well diſpoſed towards it, that if it had met with a ſuitable Entertainment, Matters might probably have been in a greater Meaſure compoſed. But the Jealouſies that thoſe who managed the civil Concerns of the Nation in the Houſe of Commons, took off all that was done at Court, or propoſed by it, occaſioned a fatal Breach in our publick Councils; in which Diviſion the Principles and Intereſts, and their Diſpoſition to believe well of the Court, were determined to be of the King's Side. They thought it was a Sin to miſtruſt the late King's Word, who aſſured them of his Steadineſs to the Proteſtant Religion ſo often, that they firmly depended on it: And his preſent Majeſty gave them ſo many Aſſurances of his maintaining ſtill the Church of *England*, that they believed him likewiſe: And ſo thought that the Excluſion of him from the Crown, was a Degree of Rigour to which they in Conſcience could

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not consent. Upon which they were generally cried out on, as the *Betrayers* of the *Nation*, and of the *Protestant Religion:* Those who demanded the *Exclusion* and some other Securities, to which the *Bishops* would not consent in *Parliament*, looked on them as the chief Hindrance that was in their Way; and the *License* of the *Press* at that Time was such, that many *Libels* and some severe Discourses were published against them. Nor can it be denied, that many *Church-men*, who understood not the Principles of Human Society, and the Rules of our *Government*, so well as other Points of *Divinity*, writ several Treatises concerning the Measures of *Submission*, that were then as much censured, as their Performances since against *Popery* have been deservedly admired. All this gave such a Jealousy of them to the *Nation*, that it must be confessed, that the Spirit which was then in *Fermentation*, went very high against the *Church of England*, as a Confederate, at least to *Popery* and *Tyranny*. Nor were several of the *Nonconformists* wanting to inflame this Dislike; all secret Propositions were so coldly entertained, that they were scarce hearkned unto. The Propositions which an Eminent *Divine* made even in his *Books* writ against *Separation*, shewed, that while we maintained the *War* in the way of Dispute, yet we were still willing to *Treat*; for that *Great Man* made not those Advances towards them without consulting with his *Superiors*. Yet we were then fatally given up to a *Spirit* of *Dissension:* And tho' the Parliament in 1680, entered upon a Project for healing our *Differences*, in which great Steps were made to the removing all the Occasions of our *Contests*; the *Leaders of the Dissenters*, to the Amazement of all Persons, made no Account of this, and even seemed uneasy at it, of which the Earl of *Nottingham*, and Sir *Thomas Clarges*, that set on that *Bill* with much Zeal, can give a more particular Account. All these Things concurred to make those of the *Church of England* conclude, *a little too rashly*, that their Ruin was resolved on; and then it was no *Wonder* if the *Spirit* of a Party, the Remembrance of the *last War*, the present Prospect of *Danger*, and above all, the great Favour that was shewn them at *Court*, threw them *fatally* into some angry and *violent Counsels*; Self-preservation is very natural; and it is plain, that many of them took that to be the *Case*, so that truly speaking, it was not so much at first a *Spirit* of *Persecution*, as a Desire of disabling those who they believed intended to *ruin* them from effecting their *Designs*, that set them on to all those *unhappy* Things that followed. They were animated to all they did by the *continued* Earnestness of the *King* and *Duke*, and of their *Ministers*. That Reproach of *Justice*, and of the Profession of the *Law*, who is now so *high*, was singled out for no other End, but to be their *Common Hangman* over *England*; of whom the late *King* gave this true Character, *That he hath neither Wit, Law, nor Common Sense; but that he had the Impudence of ten Carted Whores in him.* Another *Buffoon*, was hired to plague the Nation with three or four Papers a Week, which to the Reproach of the Age in which we live, had but too great and too general an Effect, for poisoning the Spirits of the *Clergy*. But those who knew how all this was managed, saw that it was not only set on, but still kept up by the *Court*. If any of the *Clergy* had but preached a Word for *Moderation*, he had a *Chiding* sent him presently from the *Court*, that he was from that Day marked out as a *disaffected Person:* And when the City of *London* did very worthily refuse to give *Informations* against their *Parishioners* that had

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not always *conformed*, the Deſign having been form'd upon that to bring them into the *Spiritual Courts*, and *excommunicate* them, and make them loſe their Right of *Voting*, and ſo the *Charter of London* might have been delivered up when ſo many *Citizens* were by ſuch Means ſhut out of the *Common-Council*; we remember well how ſeverely they were cenſured for this, by ſome that are now dead, and others that are yet alive. I will not go farther into this Matter, I will not deny but many of the *Diſſenters* were put to great Hardſhips, in many Parts of *England*. I cannot deny it, and I am ſure I will never juſtify it; but this I will poſitively ſay, having obſerved it all narrowly, that he muſt have the Brow of a *Jeſuit*, that can caſt this wholly on the *Church of England*, and free the *Court* from it. The Beginning and the Progreſs of it came from the Court, and from the *Popiſh Party*; and tho' perhaps every one does not know all the Secrets of this Matter, that others may have found out, yet no Man was ſo ignorant as not to ſee what was the chief Spring of all thoſe irregular Motions that ſome of us made at that Time: So upon the whole Matter, all that can be made out of this, is, that the Paſſions and Infirmities of ſome of the *Church of England*, being unhappily ſtirred up by the *Diſſenters*, they were fatally conducted by the *Popiſh Party*, to be the Inſtruments of doing a great deal of Miſchief.

IX. It is not to be doubted, but though ſome weaker Men of the *Clergy* may perhaps ſtill retain their little peeviſh Animoſities againſt the *Diſſenters*, yet the wiſer and more ſerious Heads of that great and *worthy Body*, ſee now their Error: They ſee who drove them on in it. And as they have appeared againſt *Popery*, was as great a Strength of Learning and of firm Steadineſs, as perhaps can be met with in all Church-Hiſtory; ſo it cannot be doubted, but their Reflections on the Dangers into which our Diviſions have thrown us, have given them truer Notions with Relation to a rigorous Conformity: And that the juſt Deteſtation which they have expreſſed of the Corruptions of the Church of *Rome* had led them to conſider and abhor one of the worſt Things in it. I mean, their Severity towards Hereticks, and the ill Uſe that they ſee the Court has made of their Zeal for ſupporting the Crown, to juſtify the Subverſion of our Government that is now ſet on from ſome of their large and unwary Expreſſions, will certainly make them hereafter more cautious in medling with Politicks: The Biſhops have under their Hands both diſowned that wide Extent of the Prerogative, to the over-turning of the Law, and declare their Diſpoſition to come to a Temper in Matters of Conformity; and there ſeems to be no Doubt left of the Sincerity of their Intentions in that Matter. Their Piety and Virtue, and the Proſpect that they now have of ſuffering themſelves, put us beyond all Doubt as to their Sincerity, and if ever God in his Providence brings us again into a ſettled State, out of the Storm into which our Paſſions and Folly, as well as the Treachery of Others has brought us, it cannot be imgined, that the Biſhops will go off from thoſe moderate Reſolutions, which they have now declared, and they continuing firm to them, the weak and indiſcreet Paſſions of any of the inferior Clergy, muſt needs vaniſh, when they are under the Conduct of wiſe and worthy Leaders. And I will boldly ſay this, that if the Church of *England*, after ſhe has got out of this Storm, will return to hearken to the Peeviſhneſs of ſome ſore Men, ſhe will be abandoned both of God and Man, and will ſet both Heaven and Earth againſt her. The Nation ſees too viſibly, how

dear the Diſpute about Conformity has coſt us, to ſtand any more upon ſuch Punctilio's: and thoſe in whom our Deliverance is wrapt up, underſtand this Matter too well, and judge too right of it, to imagine that ever they will be Prieſt-riden in this Point. So that all Conſiderations concur to make us conclude, that there is no Danger of our ſplitting a ſecond Time upon the ſame Rock: And indeed, if any Argument were wanting to compleat the Certainty of this Point, the wiſe and generous Behaviour of the main Body of the *Diſſenters*, in this preſent Juncture, has given them ſo juſt a Title to our Friendſhip, that we muſt reſolve to ſet all the World againſt us, if we can ever forget it; and if we do not make them all the Returns of Eaſe and Favour, when it is in our Power to do it.

X. It is to be hoped, that when this is laid together, it will have that Effect on all ſober and true Proteſtants, as to make them forget the little angry Heats that have been among us, and even to forget the Injuries that have been done us: All that we do now one againſt another, is to ſhorten the Work of our Enemies, by deſtroying one another, which muſt in Concluſion turn to all our *Ruin*. It is a *Madman*'s *Revenge* to deſtroy our *Friends* that we may do a Pleaſure to our *Enemies*, upon their giving us ſome good *Words*; and if the *Diſſenters* can truſt to *Papiſts*, after the Uſage that the *Church of England* has met with at their Hands, all the Comfort that they promiſe themſelves, when *Popery* begins to act its *Natural Part amongſt us*, and to ſet *Smithfield* again in a *Fire*, is that which befel ſome *Quakers* at *Rome*, who were firſt put into the *Inquiſition*, but were afterwards removed to *Bedlam*; ſo that thoſe falſe Brethren among the *Diſſenters*, who deceive them at preſent, are certainly no Changlings, but know well what they are doing; yet thoſe who can be cheated by them, may well claim the Priviledge of a *Bedlam*, when their Folly has left them no other Retreat.

XI. I will not digreſs too far from my preſent Purpoſe; nor enter into a Diſcuſſion of the Diſpenſing Power, which was ſo effectually overthrown the other Day at the *King*'s-*Bench-Bar*, that I am ſure all the Authority of the *Bench* itſelf is no more able to ſupport it: Yet ſome late Papers in favour of it, give me Occaſion to add a little relating to that Point. It is true, the Aſſertor of diſpenſing Power, who has lately appeared with Allowance, pretends that it can only be applied to the Teſt for publick Employments; for he owns, that the Teſt for both Houſes of Parliament is left entire, as not within the Compaſs of this Extent of the Prerogative; but another Writer, whom by his Senſe we muſt conclude an *Iriſhman*, by his Brow a Jeſuit, and by the bare Deſignation in the Title Page, of *James Stewart*'s Letter, a *Quaker*, goes a Strain higher, and thinks the King is ſo abſolutely the Sovereign as to the legiſlative Part of our Government, that he may diſſolve even the Parliament Teſt: So humbly has he leapt from being a Secretary to a Rebellion, to be an Advocate for Tyranny. He fancies, that becauſe no Parliament can bind another, therefore they cannot limit the Preliminaries to a ſubſequent Parliament. But upon what is it then, that Counties have but two Knights and Burroughs as many? that Men below ſuch a Value have no Vote, that Sheriffs only receive Writs and return Elections; beſides many more neceſſary Requiſites to the making a legal Parliament? In ſhort, if Laws do not regulate the Election and Conſtitution,

ſtitution of a Parliament, all theſe Things may be overthrown, and the King may caſt the whole Government in a new Mould, as well as diſſolve the Obligation that is on the Members of Parliament for taking the Teſt.

It is true, that as ſoon as the Parliament is legally met and conſtituted, it is tied by no Laws, ſo far as not to repeal them; but the Preliminaries to a Parliament are ſtill ſacred, as long as the Law ſtands that ſettled them; for the Members are ſtill in the Quality of ordinary Subjects, and not entred upon their Share in the legiſlative Power, till they are conſtituted in Parliament legally choſen and lawfully aſſembled, that is, having obſerved all the Requiſites of the Law. But I leave that impudent Letter to return to the moſt rational Apology that has been yet writ for the diſpenſing Power. It yields that the King cannot abrogate Laws, and pretends only that he can diſpenſe with them; and the Diſtinction it puts between Abrogation and Diſpenſation, is, that the one is a total Repeal of the Law, and that the other is only a ſlackning of its obligatory Force with Relation to a particular Man, or to any Body of Men; ſo that according to him, a ſimple Abrogation or a total Repeal, is beyond the Compaſs of the Prerogative, I deſire then that this Doctrine may be applied to the following Words of the Declaration; from which the Reader may infer, whether theſe do import a ſimple Abrogation, or not, and by Conſequence, if the Declaration is not illegal, *We do hereby further declare, That it is our* Royal Will *and* Pleaſure, *that the Oaths commonly call'd the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, and alſo the ſeveral Teſts and Declarations——ſhall not* at any Time hereafter, *required to be taken, declared or ſubſcribed by* any Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, *who is or ſhall be imployed in any Office or Place of Truſt, either Civil or Military, under us or in our Government.* This is plain *Engliſh*, and needs no Commentary. This Paper offers likewiſe an Expedient for ſecuring Liberty of Conſcience, by which it will be ſet beyond even the diſpenſing Power; and that is, that by Act of Parliament all Perſecution may be declared to be a Thing evil in its ſelf, and then the Prerogative cannot reach it. But unleſs this Author fancies, that a Parliament is that which thoſe of the Church of *Rome* believe a General Council to be, I mean infallible, I do not ſee that ſuch an Act would ſignify any Thing at all. An Act of Parliament cannot change the Nature of Things which are ſullen, and will not alter, becauſe a hard Word is clapt on them in an Act of Parliament; nor can that make that which is not evil of itſelf, become evil of itſelf: For can any Act of Parliament make the Clipping of Money, or the not burying in Woollen evil of itſelf? Such an Act were indeed null of itſelf, and would ſink with its own Weight, even without the Burdens of the Prerogative to preſs it down: and yet upon ſuch a ſandy Foundation would theſe Men have us build all our Hopes and our Securities. Another Topick like this, is, that we ought to truſt to the Truth of our Religion, and the Providence and Protection of God, and not to lean ſo much to Laws and Teſts. All this were very pertinent, if God had not already given us humane Aſſurances againſt the Rage of our Enemies, which we are now deſired to abandon, that ſo we may fall an eaſy and cheap Sacrifice to thoſe who wait for the favourable Moment to deſtroy us: by the ſame Reaſon they may perſwade us to take off all our Doors, or at leaſt all our Locks and Bolts, and to ſleep in this expoſed Condition, truſting to God's Protection: The Similie may appear a little too high, tho' it is really

ſhort of the Matter; for we had better truſt ourſelves to all the Thieves and Robbers of the Town, who would be perhaps contented with a Part of our Goods than to thoſe Deſigns which are equally againſt both Soul and Body, and all that is dear to us.

XII. I will only add another Reflection upon the renewing of the Declaration, this Year, which has occaſioned the preſent Storm upon the Clergy. It is repeated to us that ſo we may ſee that the King continues firm to the Promiſes he made laſt Year. Yet when Men of Honour have once given their Word, they take it ill if any do not truſt to that, but muſt needs have it repeated to them: In the ordinary Commerce of the World, the repeating of Promiſes over and over again, is rather a Ground of Suſpicion than of Confidence, and if we judge of the Accompliſhment of all the other Parts of the Declaration, from that one, which relates to the Maintaining of the Church of *England, as by Law eſtabliſhed*, the Proceedings againſt the Fellows of *Magdalen College*, gives us no Reaſon to conclude, that this will be like *the Laws of the Medes and Perſians, which alter not*; all the Talk of the new *Magna Charta* cannot lay us aſleep, when we ſee ſo little Regard had to the old one. As for the Secutity which is offered us in this repeating of the King's Promiſes, we muſt crave Leave to remember, that the King of *France*, even after he had reſolved to break the Edict of *Nantz*, yet repeated in above an hundred Edicts, that were real and viſible Violations of that Edict, a Clauſe confirmatory of the Edict of *Nantz*, declaring that he would never violate it: and in that we may ſee what an Account is to be had of all Promiſes made to *Hereticks*, in Matters of Religion, by any Prince of the *Roman Communion*, but more particularly by a Prince who has put the Conduct of his Conſcience in the Hands of a *Jeſuit*.

A Letter wrote by *Mijn Heer Fagel*, Penſioner of *Holland*, to Mr. *James Stewart*, Advocate; giving an Account of the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*'s Thoughts concerning the Repeal of the Teſt, and the Penal Laws.

SIR,

I AM extreme ſorry, that my ill Health hath ſo long hindred me from anſwering thoſe Letters, in which you ſo earneſtly deſired to know of me, what their Higneſſes Thoughts are, concerning the Repeal of the Penal Laws, and more particularly of that concerning the Teſt: I beg you to aſſure yourſelf, that I will deal very plainly with you in this Matter, and without Reſerve; ſince you ſay that your Letters were writ by the King's Knowledge and Allowance. I muſt then, firſt of all, aſſure you very poſitively, that their Highneſſes have often declared, as they did it more particularly to the Marquiſs of *Albeville*, his Majeſty's Envoy Extraordinary to the States, that it is their Opinion, *that no Chriſtian ought to be perſecuted for his Conſcience, or be ill uſed becauſe he differs from the Publick and Eſtabliſhed Religion:* And therefore, they can conſent, that the *Papiſts* in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, be ſuffered to continue in their Religion, with as much Liberty as is allowed them by the States in theſe Provinces; in

in which it cannot be denied that they enjoy a full Liberty of Conſcience. And as for the Diſſenters, their Higneſſes do not only conſent, but do heartily approve of their having an entire Liberty, for the full Exerciſe of their Religion, without any Trouble or Hindrance; ſo that none may be able to give them the leaſt Diſturbance upon that Account.

And their Highneſſes are very ready, in caſe his Majeſty ſhall think fit to deſire it, to declare their Willingneſs to concur in the ſettling, and confirming this Liberty, and as far as it lies in them, they will protect and defend it, and according to the Language of Treaties, they will confirm it with their Guaranty, of which you made mention in yours.

And if his Majeſty ſhall think fit farther to deſire their Concurrence in the Repealing of the Penal Laws, they are ready to give it; *provided always that thoſe Laws remain ſtill in their full Vigour, by which the Roman Catholicks are ſhut out of both Houſes of Parliament, and out of all publick Employments, Eccleſiaſtical, Civil and Military*; as likewiſe all thoſe other Laws, which confirm the Proteſtant Religion, and which ſecure it againſt all the Attempts of the *Roman Catholicks*.

But their Highneſſes cannot agree to the Repeal of the Teſt, or of thoſe other Penal Laws laſt mentioned, that tend to the Security of the Proteſtant Religion; ſince the *Roman Catholicks* receive no other Prejudice from theſe, than the being excluded from Parliaments, or from publick Employments. And that by them the *Proteſtant Religion* is covered from all the Deſigns of the *Roman Catholicks* againſt it, or againſt the publick Safety; and neither the Teſt nor theſe other Laws can be ſaid to carry in them any Severity againſt the *Roman Catholicks* upon account of their Conſciences: They are only Proviſions qualifying Men to be Members of Parliament, or to be capable of bearing Office; by which they muſt declare before God and Man, that they are for the *Proteſtant Religion*. So that indeed, all this amounts to no more than a ſecuring the *Proteſtant Religion* from any Prejudices that it may receive from the *Roman Catholicks*.

Their Highneſſes have thought and do ſtill think, that more than this ought not to be aſk'd, or expected from them: ſince by this means, the *Roman Catholicks* and their Poſterity will be for ever ſecured from all Trouble in their Perſons or Eſtates, or in the Exerciſe of their Religion; and that the *Roman Catholicks* ought to be ſatisfied with this, and not to diſquiet the Kingdom becauſe they cannot be admitted to ſit in Parliament, or to be in Employments; or becauſe thoſe Laws, in which the Security of the *Proteſtant Religion* does chiefly conſiſt, are not repealed, by which they may be put in a Condition to overturn it.

Their Highneſſes do alſo believe, that the Diſſenters will be fully ſatisfied when they ſhall be for ever covered from all Danger of being diſturbed, or puniſhed for the free Exerciſe of their Religion, upon any ſort of Pretence whatſoever.

Their Highneſſes having declared themſelves ſo poſitively in theſe Matters, it ſeems very plain to me, that they are far from being any Hindrance to the freeing the Diſſenters from the Severity of the penal Laws; ſince they are ready to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours for the Eſtabliſhing of it; nor do they at all

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preſs the denying to the *Roman Catholicks* the Exerciſe of their Religion, provided it be managed modeſtly, and without Pomp or Oſtentation. As for my own Part, I ever was and ſtill am very much againſt all thoſe, who would perſecute any Chriſtian becauſe he differs from the publick and eſtabliſhed Religion: And I hope by the Grace of God to continue ſtill in the ſame Mind; for ſince that Light, with which Religion illuminates our Mind, is according to my Senſe of Things, purely an Effect of the Mercy of God to us, we ought then, as I think, to render to God all poſſible Thanks for his Goodneſs to us: and to have Pity for thoſe who are ſtill ſhut up in Error, even as God has pitied us, and to put up moſt earneſt Prayers to God, for bringing thoſe into the Way of Truth, who ſtray from it, and to uſe all gentle and friendly Methods for reducing them to it.

But I confeſs, I could never comprehend how any that profeſs themſelves Chriſtians, and that may enjoy their Religion freely and without any Diſturbance, can judge it lawful for them to go about to diſturb the Quiet of any Kingdom or State, or to overturn Conſtitutions, that ſo they themſelves may be admitted to Employments, and that thoſe Laws in which the Security and Quiet of the eſtabliſhed Religion conſiſts, ſhould be ſhaken.

It is plain, that the reformed Religion is by the Grace of God, and by the Laws of the Land, enacted by both King and Parliament, the publick and eſtabliſh'd Religion both in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and that it is provided by thoſe Laws, that none can be admitted either to a Place in Parliament, or to any publick Employment except thoſe that do openly declare, that they are of the *Proteſtant Religion*, and not the *Roman Catholicks*; and it is alſo provided by their Laws, that the *Proteſtant Religion* ſhall be in all Time coming, ſecured from the Deſigns of the *Roman Catholicks* againſt it; in all which I do not ſee, thrt theſe Laws contain any Severity, either againſt the Perſons or Eſtates of thoſe who cannot take thoſe Teſts, that are contrary to the *Roman Catholick Religion*; all the Inconveniencies that can redound to them from thence, is, that their Perſons, their Eſtates, and even the Exerciſe of their Religion being aſſured to them, only they can have no Share in the Government, nor in Offices of Truſt, as long as their Conſciences do not allow them to take theſe Teſts: and they are not ſuffered to do any thing that is to the Prejudice of the Reformed Religion.

Since, as I have already told you, their Highneſſes are ready to concur with his Majeſty for the Repeal of thoſe Penal Laws, by which Men are made liable to Fines or other Puniſhments.

So I ſee there remains no Difficulty concerning the repealing the Penal Laws, but only this, that ſome would have the *Roman Catholicks* render'd capable of all publick Truſts and Employments, and that by Conſequence, all thoſe ſhould be repealed that have ſecured the *Proteſtant Religion* againſt the Deſigns of the *Roman Catholicks*, where others at the ſame Time are not leſs earneſt to have thoſe Laws maintained in their full and due Vigour: and think, that the chief Security of the eſtabliſhed Religion conſiſts in the preſerving of them ſacred and unſhaken.

It is certain, that there is no Kingdom, Common-wealth, or any conſtituted Body or Aſſembly whatſoever, in which there are not Laws made for the Safe-

ty thereof ; and that provide againſt all Attempts whatſoever, that diſturb their Peace, and that preſcribe the Conditions and Qualities that they judge neceſſary for all that ſhall bear Employments in that Kingdom, State or Corporation: And no Man can pretend, that there is any Injury done him, that he is not admitted to Employments when he doth not ſatisfy the Conditions and Qualities required.

Nor can it be denied, that there is a great Difference to be obſerved in the Conduct of thoſe of the *Reformed Religion*, and of the *Roman Catholicks* towards one another: The *Roman Catholicks* not being ſatisfied to exclude the Reformed from all Places of Profit or of Truſt, they do abſolutely ſuppreſs the whole Exerciſe of that Religion, and ſeverely perſecute all that profeſs it ; and this they do in all thoſe Places where it is ſafe and without Danger, to carry on that Rigour. And I am ſorry that we have at this preſent ſo many deplorable Inſtances of this Severity before our Eyes, that is at the ſame Time put in Practice in ſo many different Places.

I would therefore gladly ſee one ſingle good Reaſon to move a Proteſtant that fears God, and that is concerned for his Religion, to conſent to the repealing of thoſe Laws that have been enacted by the Authority of King and Parliament, which have no other Tendency but the Securtiy of the reformed Religion, and to the reſtraining of the *Roman Catholicks* from a Capacity of overturning it ; theſe Laws inflict neither Fines nor Puniſhments, and do only exclude the *Roman Catholicks* from a Share in the Government, who by being in Employments muſt needs ſtudy to increaſe their Party, and to gain to it more Credit and Power, which by what we ſee every Day, we muſt conclude, will be extremely dangerous to the reformed Religion, and muſt turn to its great Prejudice: ſince in all Places, thoſe that are in publick Employments, do naturally favour that Religion of which they are, either more or leſs. And who would go about to perſwade me, or any Man elſe, to endeavour to move their Highneſſes, whom God hath honoured ſo far as to make them the Protectors of his Church, to approve of, or to conſent to Things ſo hurtful, both to the reformed Religion and to the publick Safety. Nor can I, Sir, with your good Leave, in any way grant what you apprehend, that no Prejudice will thereby redound to the reformed Religion.

I know it is commonly ſaid, that the Number of the *Roman Catholicks* in *England* and *Scotland* is very inconſiderable ; and that they are poſſeſſed only of a very ſmall Number of the Places of Truſt: tho' even as to this, the Caſe is quite different in *Ireland*; yet this you muſt of Neceſſity grant me, that if their Numbers are ſmall, then it is not reaſonable that the publick Peace ſhould be diſturbed on the account of ſo few Perſons, eſpecially when ſo great a Favour may be offered to them ; ſuch as the free Exerciſe of their Religion would be: and if their Numbers are greater, then there is ſo much the more Reaſon to be afraid of them ; I do indeed believe that the *Roman Catholicks*, as Things at preſent ſtand, will not be very deſirous to be in publick Offices and Employments, nor that they will make any Attempts upon the reformed Religion, both becauſe this is contrary to Law, and becauſe of the great Inconveniencies that this may bring at ſome other Time both on their Perſons, and their Eſtates ; yet if the Reſtraints of the Law were once taken off, you would

ſee

ſee them brought into the Government, and the chief Offices and Places of Truſt would be put in their Hands; nor will it be eaſy to his Majeſty to reſiſt them in this, how ſtedfaſt ſoever he may be; for they will certainly preſs him hard in it, and they will repreſent this to the King, as a Matter in which his Conſcience will be concerned; and when they are poſſeſſed of the publick Offices, what will be left for the *Proteſtants* to do, who will find no more the Support of the Law, and can expect little Encouragement from ſuch Magiſtrates? and on the other Hand, the Advantages that the *Roman Catholicks* would find in being thus let looſe from all Reſtraints, are ſo plain, that it were a Loſs of Time to go about the proving it. I neither can nor will doubt of the Sincerity of his Majeſty's Intentions, and that he has no other Deſign before him in this Matter, but that all his Subjects may enjoy in all things the ſame Rights and Freedoms.

But plain Reaſon, as well as the Experience of all Ages, the preſent as well as the paſt, ſhews, that it will be impoſſible for *Roman Catholicks* and *Proteſtants*, when they are mixed together in Places of Truſt and publick Employments, to live together peaceably, or to maintain a good Correſpondence together. They will be certainly always jealous of one another; for the Principles and Maxims of both Religions are ſo oppoſite to one another, that in my Opinion, I do not ſee how it will be in the Power of any Prince or King whatſoever, to keep down thoſe Suſpicions and Animoſities, which will be apt to ariſe upon all Occaſions.

As for that which you apprehend, that the Diſſenters ſhall not be delivered from the penal Laws, that are made againſt them, unleſs at the ſame Time the Teſt be likewiſe repealed, this will be indeed a great Unhappineſs to them, but the *Roman Catholicks* are only to blame for it, who will rather be content that they and their Poſterity ſhould lie ſtill under the Weight of the penal Laws, and expoſed to the Hatred of the whole Nation, than be ſtill reſtrained from a Capacity of attempting any Thing againſt the Peace and the Security of the *Proteſtant Religion*, and be deprived of that ſmall Advantage (if it is at all to be reckoned one) of having a Share in the Government and publick Employments; ſince in all Places of the World, this has been always the Priviledge of the Religion that is eſtabliſhed by Law; and indeed theſe Attempts of the *Roman Catholicks* ought to be ſo much the more ſuſpected and guarded againſt by Proteſtants, in that they ſee that *Roman Catholicks*, even when liable to the Severity of penal Laws, do yet endeavour to perſuade His Majeſty, to make the Proteſtants, whether they will or not, diſſolve that Security which they have for their Religion: And to clear a Way for bringing in the *Roman Catholicks* to the Government, and to publick Employments: In which Caſe there would remain no Relief for them but what were to be expected from a *Roman Catholick* Government.

Such then will be very unjuſt to their Highneſſes, who ſhall blame them for any Inconveniency that may ariſe from thence; ſince they have declared themſelves ſo freely on this Subject, and that ſo much to the Advantage even of the *Roman Catholicks*. And ſince the Settlement of Matters ſticks at this ſingle Point, that their Highneſſes cannot be brought to conſent to things that are ſo contrary to Laws already in Being, and that are ſo dangerous and hurtful to the *Proteſtant Religion*

Religion, as the admitting of *Roman Catholicks* to a Share in the Government, and to Places of Truſt, and the Repealing of thoſe Laws, than can have no other Effect but the Securing of the *Proteſtant Religion* from all the Attempts of the *Roman Catholicks* againſt it would be.

You write, *That the Roman Catholicks in theſe Provinces are not ſhut out from Employments and Places of Truſt*; but in this you are much miſtaken. For our Laws are expreſs, excluding them by Name from all Share in the Government, and from all Employments either of the Policy or Juſtice of our Country. It is true, I do not know of any expreſs Law, that ſhuts them out of Military Employments; that had indeed been hard, ſince in the firſt Formation of our State, they joined with us in defending our publick Liberty, and did us eminent Service during the Wars; therefore they were not ſhut out from thoſe Military Employments; for the publick Safety was no Way endangered by this, both becauſe their Numbers which ſerved in our Troops were not great, and becauſe the *States* could eaſily prevent any Inconveniencies that might ariſe out of that; which could not have been done ſo eaſily, if the *Roman Catholicks* had been admitted to a Share in the Government, and in the Policy or Juſtice of our State.

I am very certain of this, of which I could give very good Proofs, that there is nothing which their Highneſſes deſire ſo much, as that His Majeſty may reign happily, and in an intire Confidence with his Subjects; and that his Subjects being perſuaded of His Majeſty's fatherly Affection to them, may be ready to make him all the Returns of Duty that are in their Power: But their Highneſſes are convinced in their Conſciences, that both the *Proteſtant Religion*, and the Safety of the Nation, would be expoſed to the moſt certain Dangers, if either the Teſt, or thoſe other penal Laws, of which I have made frequent Mention, ſhould be repealed; " Therefore they cannot conſent to this, nor " concur with his Majeſty's Will; for they believe, they ſhould have much to " anſwer for to God, if the Conſideration of any preſent Advantages ſhould " carry them to conſent and concur in Things which they believe would be not " only dangerous, but miſchievous to the *Proteſtant Religion*."

Their Highneſſes have ever paid a moſt profound Duty to His Majeſty which they will always continue to do; for they conſider themſelves bound to it, both by the Laws of God and of Nature: But ſince the Matter that is now in Hand, relates not to the making of new Laws, but to the total Repealing of thoſe already made both by King and Parliament; they do not ſee how it can be expected of them, that they ſhould conſent to ſuch a Repeal, to which they have ſo juſt an Averſion, as being a Thing that is contrary to the Laws and Cuſtoms of all Chriſtian States, whether Proteſtants or Papiſts, who receive none to a Share in the Government, or to publick Employments, but thoſe who profeſs the Publick and Eſtabliſhed Religion, and that take Care to ſecure it againſt all Attempts whatſoever.

I do not think it neceſſary to demonſtrate to you how much their Highneſſes are devoted to His Majeſty, of which they gave ſuch real Evidences as are beyond all verbal ones; and they are reſolved ſtill to continue in the ſame Duty and Affection; or rather to encreaſe it, if that is poſſible.

Nov. 4. 1687. *I am, Sir, Yours*, &c.

Amſterdam: Printed in the Year 1688.

A Word to a Wavering Levite: Or, an Answer to Dr. *Sherlock*'s Reasons concerning the taking of the Oaths, with Reflections thereupon. *By a* London *Apprentice of the Church of* England.

Would any Man bring two pitiful Cases upon the Stage at once, his Case of Resistance, and his Case of Allegiance, the first being to authorise Tyranny in Exercise, and the other to exercise Tyranny in Title, which we call Usurpation, and having declared against Tyranny in Exercise in the mean Time; and having likewise stood out against Tyranny in Title for some Years, take the silly Method at last to reconcile all together?

Johnson's Notes on the Past. Letters. *Pag.* 55.

Anno 1690.

To the Reader.

WHat *Constructions have been put upon Dr.* S—k's *late Book concerning the Oaths, I need not multiply Words to acquaint you: But my Opinion is, that he has been more over-seen, or more seen-over within these few Years, than in all his Life before: I have only reflected upon the Preface of his Book, not thinking it worth my Labour to answer the Book it self, which would swell too big. I presuppose he will be displeased at what I have done, but it is all a Case to me, for I design no Ill in it, only to let him see that the World takes Notice of his Actions, and that my Bookseller may be set at Work as well as he.*

IN the first Page of his Preface he begins with these Words.

Doctor. *I need not acquaint the World with the Occasion of Publishing this Book, which indeed is extorted from me by the rude Clamours and unchristian Censures of some, and the earnest Importunities of others.*

Paraphrased. I am asham'd to let the World see my Folly in Print, but am compell'd to it, so many busy Tongues having buz'd it about the Town, to the utter Ruin of my Reputation: My W—fe and some near Friends have importun'd me to publish my Reasons, for Non and Conforming to the Oaths.

Doct. 2. *My taking the Oaths of Allegiance to King* Willian *and Queen* Mary, *after so long a Refusal, has occasioned a great deal of Talk, and a great many uncharitable Guesses about it, Faction and blind Zeal always wanting either the Wit, or the good Will to guess right.*

Paraph. My complying with the Oaths by my W—fe's Instigation, contrary to my Conscience, in hopes of a Mitre, has given good Matter for the Judicious

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to reflect upon my Proceedings; guessing exactly at the Reasons, Loyalty and Religion always wanting either the Modesty or Ingenuity to be led Blindfold.

Answ. Good Doctor, be not so angry at so small a Matter as a Report of uncharitable Guessers, as you are pleased to call them; indeed it is no Matter of Admiration, for what Man of Sense can be silent, and not reflect upon such strange Proceedings as these of yours? First, you will not take the Oaths, till after mature Deliberation, or some other Reason, you have at all, and swear Right or Wrong: If the Oaths were lawful, why did not you take them before, there being Time enough to consider of so weighty an Affair, and so learned a Man as Dr. *S*——, one would think, needed not a School-master nor a Counsellor in this Matter; and if the Oaths were not lawful, why did you take them now? Was your Conscience more tender then, or was the Perswasions of a W—fe, now the greater Perswasive, to one or the other? May not People with good Reason say, you act against the Dictates of your own Conscience, having formerly preached against what you now act, and act now for Interest-sake, against what you with so much Zeal formerly preached?

Doct. 3. *One would have thought it most probable Conjecture, that a Man who had forfeited all his Preferments by refusing the Oath, and had for ever lost them, had not the Government been more mild and gentle in delaying the Execution of the Law, acted very honestly and sincerely in it; and if so, that there is also good Reason to believe, that if the same Person takes the Oaths, he acts honestly in that too; for what Reason is there to suspect, that he who would not swear against the present Perswasion of his Conscience, to keep his Preferments, should swear against his Conscience to get them again?*

Paraph. I had fully perswaded myself, that the World would think, because I had like to have lost my Place for not taking the Oaths half a Year ago, I was a real and honest Man: That being presupposed, they might with good Reason likewise entertain that honest Credibility of me now I have taken the Oath, which I declare at first my Conscience would not suffer me to do; for who could think I would do any thing against my Conscience?

Answ. Under Correction, Doctor, give me leave to propose two Things, which I offer to your serious Consideration.

First, If you had a Servant in your House, to whom you had revealed a Secret concerning your Life, and he had faithfully sworn to conceal it from all Persons living; now suppose you was gone over to *F*——, and had left your Son in Possession of your Goods, and this aforesaid Servant with your Son; if after you were gone, your Son should go to this Servant, and tell him, if he would not reveal this Secret which he had sworn to keep, he would turn him out of his Service; and so threatens him from Time to Time, (tho' suffers him still to enjoy the Benefits of his Place) but he holds out against his Master's Threats and Promises, knowing in his Conscience if he did it he was perjur'd; yet at length by the Importunity of some Friends he reveals it, and took another contrary to the former, (being first promised Preferment) to your Son; who at your Return acquaints you with the whole Matter: Now how could such a Servant look you in the Face? or with what Indignation would you look upon him? Would you not turn him out of your Service? out of your Doors? Banish him from your

Sight? and brand him with the odious Epithet of *Perjurer?* Nay, your Son would not truſt him any farther than he could ſee him; becauſe he that will act againſt his Conſcience once, why may he not do it always when Occaſion offers.

Secondly, Suppoſe this Servant, to excuſe himſelf, ſhould alledge, that he expected you would never return; he waited long for your coming, and delay'd the Time in hopes of it; his Conſcience was too tender to reveal the Secret at firſt, but the Threats of his Maſter, and Importunity of Friends, he judged a Matter of Moment enough to excuſe his Infidelity to you, and his taking a new Oath in Oppoſition to the former. So that he revealed your Secret with as ſafe Conſcience as before he concealed it. Now, Doctor, if there be any ſuch thing as Conſcience in Man, ſpeak, or at leaſt think ſincerely, if this Servant was to be truſted? If he was not to be rejected of all Men? And if his Conſcience was not feared? Could you ever love that Man, or truſt him again? Sure no. Juſt even ſo, or not much different from it, is the Caſe of Dr. *S——k*, who takes it for a Maxim, that he who will not ſwear againſt the preſent Perſwaſion of his Conſcience to keep his Preferments, will not ſwear againſt his Conſcience to get them again: Now where the Senſe of this is no Man can tell; for you muſt either have a Pair of Conſciences, or elſe ſwear againſt the Light of one ſingle one. For firſt you would not take the Oath becauſe it was againſt your Conſcience; and then you would take it, becauſe you were ſatisfied in your Conſcience that you might lawfully do it. What a ſtrange Conſcience is here! Indeed, Doctor, I think in my Opinion that your Conſcience is ſtretch'd within this Twelve Month, or elſe you then ſeemed more nice than you need to have done.

Doct. 4. *I do not know that I have given the World any juſt Occaſion to mark me out for a diſhoneſt Man or a Fool; I may be miſtaken, and ſo may any Body elſe, tho' never ſo Wiſe and Honeſt; but this I am ſure of, that I never acted with more Sincerity in any Affair of my whole Life, than I have done in this Matter, from the Beginning to the End; and whether I have Reaſon for what I do, I refer to the Trial of this Diſcourſe.*

Paraph. I never before this gave the World any juſt Occaſion of Scandal; I may be wilfully miſtaken, and ſo may any Body elſe, if Self-intereſted; but this I am certain of, I never acted with more Subtilty in any Affair in my whole Life, from the firſt Hour of my Birth, to the Date hereof, and whether I had Reaſon for what I did, let the Self-intereſted judge.

Anſw. Indeed Doctor the World muſt own, that you never gave ſuch a manifeſt Proof of your Weakneſs as now, and I am truly ſorry for this; had you taken the Oath at firſt without Scruple of Conſcience as you did now, you had acted well and like a good Subject; but how can their Majeſties confide in a Man with a Pair of Conſciences, one to take the Oath, and the other to let it alone? Really, Doctor, you was (as I may ſo ſay) very much overſeen, will not the World ſay Intereſt was the main Ground of your taking the Oath? By which, you give Matter for your Enemies to triumph, your Profeſſion you lay open to Reproach and Scandal; and give a very bad Example to all Men.

Doct. 5. *The Truth is, tho' I refuſed to take the Oaths, I never engaged in any Faction againſt it: I never made it my Buſineſs to diſſwade Men from it; when my Opinion was aſked, I declared my own Thought, but I never ſought out Men to make Proſelytes.* *Paraph.*

Paraph. Tho' I declared, and every Body knew, that I would not take the Oaths, I never publickly preached againſt it, nor raiſed a Tumult to hinder it; tho' my Conſcience was then too tender to take it; but I, when my Sentiments were aſked, would declare my Thoughts, which were, that I could not in Conſcience, nor would take it.

Anſw. Now, Doctor, you ſay you never engaged in any Faction againſt it, nor made it your Buſineſs to diſſwade Men from it, yet gave your Opinion, but ſought not to make Proſelytes. If you gave your Opinion, your Opinion was then, that it could not with a ſafe Conſcience be taken; and if this was your Opinion, as you cannot deny but it was, then Men aſked your Opinion to no purpoſe, and did not regard what your Opinion was (which is altogether and really improbable) or elſe you muſt of Neceſſity make Proſelytes, and bring Men over to your Opinion, which you here deny; for if you was unwilling to make Proſelytes, why did you declare your Opinion affirmatively, and not dubiouſly, which you did not, I preſume, being in your Opinion poſitively right, tho' now it appears by your own Words you were poſitively wrong. And certainly any Man that was dubious, receiving your poſitive Opinion, muſt of Neceſſity be a Proſelyte, (contrary to your Word) for who would call in Queſtion what came from the Mouth (and Heart too) of Dr. *S——k?*

Doct. 6. *While I thought it an ill Thing, I was ſecretly concerned that ſome of my intimate Friends had taken the Oaths.*

Anſw. This Paragraph, Doctor, begins with theſe Words: Here you are concern'd that they took the Oaths, and then by and by you believe them to be honeſt Men, and that they acted honeſtly too. This is a ſtrange Paradox, that Dr. *S——k* ſhould be concerned at Mens Actions, when at the ſame Time he was ſatisfied they acted honeſtly, this looks not at all like a Miniſterial Zeal, neither do I believe there is any Man of your Function, but what will be apt to caſt a Smile when they read theſe Words of yours, and conſtrue them (in a Senſe contrary to what you would have the World believe.) Pray, Doctor, do but ſee how your Words agree; firſt concerned at your Friends that had taken the Oaths, tho' at the ſame Time you thought they acted honeſtly and with a good Conſcience too; yet tho' you were ſatisfied in this Point, your Conſcience was ſo tender as not to permit you to do as they had done, tho' you thought they acted honeſtly. Then you tell us you complied with the Government ſo far as you could with a good Conſcience, *O Monſtrum! Horrendum!*

Doct. 7. In the next Place you tell us, *You lived peaceably, and prayed for their Majeſties, according to the Apoſtles Direction, who gave Directions to pray for all in Authority, which they viſibly were.*

Anſw. As for your living peaceably, it was no more than what you ought to have done, neither durſt you do otherwiſe. And if you thought it lawful to pray for their Majeſties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, why not as lawful to take the Oaths at that Time as now? May not People with Reaſon gueſs that you looked (not to ſay that you hoped) for a Cataſtrophe of Affairs in *England*, and now you ſee no Hopes of keeping your Place unleſs you take the Oaths, and *Ireland* being reduced to their Majeſties, and the late K. *J.* fled, you ſee no Proſpect of his returning; your Conſcience of a ſudden alters the Property, and you

You that could not before ſwear, can now do it with a ſafe Conſcience: Oh Intereſt! Intereſt! how many Servants haſt thou!

Doct. 8. *I did not refuſe the Oaths out of any Fondneſs to King* James, *his Government, nor Zeal for his Return; which the preſent Proſpect of Affairs gives no Man who loves the Church of* England, *and the Liberty of his Country, any Reaſon to wiſh, nor yet out of any Averſion to the Government of King* William *and Queen* Mary: *But againſt my own Inclinations and Intereſt, out of pure Principles of Conſcience, to comply with the Obligations of my former Oaths; and that Duty which Subjects owe to their Prince, which I then apprehended irreconcileable with the new Oath.*

Paraphraſed—I did not then ſwear becauſe many of King *J*'s Friends had Hopes of his Return, and I was a little inclining that way too, and if he had come and I took the new Oaths, where had I been then? But their Majeſties King *William* and Queen *Mary* being ſo merciful as not to have me ſuſpended, till ſuch Time as I ſaw it improbable, or rather impoſſible for my old Mr's. Return; though till that Time I thought the old Oaths and the new ones irreconcileable, yet now they agree very well, and I reſolve *nemine contradicente* to take them, let the World cenſure as they pleaſe, Honeſty is not always the beſt Policy, for ſome times Policy is the beſt Honeſty.

Anſw. Why all this Stickling and Scruple of Conſcience, *Doctor?* Did ſo many learned, judicious and unbiaſſed Men, take the Oaths before you? and think you that they who underſtood what they did, and bore as good a Conſcience as you, would for Intereſt ſake act againſt their Conſciences? And if you was not ſatisfied in the Legality of the Oaths, they could have given you ample Satisfaction in that Point; who, I preſume, did what they did, not without Deliberation, and had as good Reaſon for taking the Oaths then, as you had now.

Doct. 9. *I find the general Cry and Expectation is, that I ſhould give my Reaſons, tho' why I ſhould be more obliged to give my Reaſons for Swearing than I was for not Swearing, I cannot tell.*

Paraph. Some Men have of late, and do ſtill, impatiently expect to ſee my Reaſons for not taking the Oaths, made publick, tho' I can give no more Reaſon for the taking of them now, than for the refuſing of them formerly; and why ſhould I expoſe my Failings to the Cenſures of reaſonable Men, who I fear will detect me?

Anſw. Now, *Doctor*, the Reaſon why you ſhould give your Reaſons, more for your Swearing than for your not Swearing, is plain; (tho' indeed you ought for the ſake of your Reputation to have done both) for the World did ſuppoſe, and were partly ſatisfied, why you did not take the Oaths; but after having ſo long ſtood Proof againſt the Reaſons and Perſuaſions of other Men, and yet at laſt to take them, and give no Reaſon for it, will give the World Reaſon to judge partially of you; and therefore for the ſake of your own Reputation, and (which is another main Point, and ought to be conſidered, if nothing elſe) others, who have not yet taken the Oaths, ſeeing Dr. *S——k* had found Reaſons for what he did, would by your Example take the Oaths likewiſe. If this is not Reaſon enough let the World judge. Though a little farther you ſay, if Reaſons were never ſo plentiful with you, yet you could hardly think it worth your while to

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write a Book to gratify a meer Curiosity, but if my Reasons to the contrary do not out-ballance yours, let me know in Print, for Reason is, or at least ought to be, our North Point by which we must steer our Course, but I fear your Reason was over-swayed by an unreasonable W—fe.

Doct. 10. *We live in an Age of great Prophaneness and Infidelity, which is ready to take all Occasions to reproach Religion, and expose it as a Cheat and Imposture, and to neglect no Opportunity to blacken the Clergy, as Men of no Faith nor Religion themselves, though they make a great Noise about it to serve their own Interest.*

Answ. It may be, *Doctor*, there may be some (as the World is never without them) who are Men of such Principles as you describe them to be; but if there were none, such Proceedings as these of yours, are enough to create some: Tho' God forbid all should be condemn'd for one, for I am verily persuaded there are not more pious, sincere, religious honest Men upon the Face of the Earth than our Clergy of *England* in general (but here is Matter enough for Censure) and as for Particulars let the World judge.

Doct. 11. *It is Time to give Check to such unchristian Censures, if we have any Regard to our common Christianity: And since some little Writers among them, (who are too head-strong to be governed by wiser Men) ingross the Church and Religion to themselves, and represent all who have taken the Oaths, especially the Clergy, as Apostates, at least from the Church of* England, *if not from the Christian Faith.*

Answ. This indeed is a Business of dangerous Consequence, and ought to be speedily remedied; but is it either better or worse than what you in effect formerly set forth, in your grand and dearly beloved Doctrine of *Non-resistance?* First preach up *Non-resistance*, then refuse the Oaths, when tendered to you; till after half a Year's Consideration, your W—fe's Persuasion, and Fear of being suspended, you take them, and then you give no good Reason why you did not take them, nor why you did take them neither; can you imagine that Peoples Tongues will be silent at such irregular unheard of Proceedings as these? had you took them at first all had been well.

Doct. 12. *It is necessary to convince all sober Christians, that Men may swear Allegiance to King* William *and Queen* Mary *without Perjury, and without renouncing any Principles of the Church of* England; *may, that the Doctrine of the Church of* England *requires us so to do: And I hope, if this appear, their Zeal for the Church of* England, *if no other Consideration can prevail with them, will oblige them also to do it.*

Answ. Ay, *Doctor*, now you say something to the Matter, this is positively true; and now you verify the Proverb. *A Man may live and learn,*— &c. for you have extremely improv'd yourself within a few Months, who then thought and declared the Oaths illegal, and now declare it may be done without Perjury (which I own) and farther, That the Doctrine of the Church of *England* commands us so to do, which I own likewise: But how comes this vast Difference, *Doctor*, in your Judgment, pray consider, if here is not sufficient Matter to set Tongues and Pens too on Work: Who can be silent to see so Reverend and Learned a Divine as Dr. *S——k* so much overseen? But to proceed to your next Paragraph.

Doct. 13. *But it seems it will not serve my Turn to offer such Reasons as will satisfy my Compliance now, unless I can give a good Reason why I did not take the*

Oaths before, that is, I muſt give ſuch Reaſons as will equally prove, that no Man ought to have taken the Oaths before; and that they ought to take them now.

Paraph. The World would extort a ſincere Confeſſion from me, how I expected a ſudden Change of the Times, therefore delay'd the Time till I ſee my old M——r beaten; Then how my W—fe perſuaded me to recant; but let them judge as they pleaſe, I am reſolved if I can to defend myſelf: For thus much I ſay I had Reaſon for not taking them then, and I had Reaſon for taking them now: But what my other Reaſons were I will not divulge, this may very well be the Conſtruction of your Words, no Man of Senſe I think will deny.

Doct. 14. *Theſe are very hard Taſk-Maſters, and no doubt have very kind Deſigns in it——What if I was not ſo well ſatisfied about this Matter before as I am now, is any Man forbidden to grow wiſer? and upon a thorough Examination of Things, to alter his Mind when he ſees good Reaſon for it?*

Paraph. What if I had not ſuch a Proſpect of Preferment before, as I have now; is any Man forbidden to wear a Mitre, or after having made a firm Promiſe or Vow, if he ſees it will be for his Intereſt, why ſhould he not break it? Half a Year's Conſideration, large Promiſes, and a W—fe's Perſuaſions, are ſtrong Inticements for a Man to break his Promiſe or Oaths either.

Doct. 15. *So that without producing the Reaſons of my Diſſatisfaction before, or being obliged to anſwer them, having never made them publick, I think it very fair to give a ſatisfactory Reaſon now, for my taking of this Oath, hoping that what hath ſatisfied me may have the ſame Effect upon ſome others, that will have the Patience impartially to conſider it.*

Anſw. Now, *Doctor*, you follow the Example of Holy Writ, when you are converted, *Strengthen your Brethren*; but it will be a very hard Thing, and almoſt impoſſible to perſuade thoſe Men (whom you have formerly perſuaded to the contrary) to be of your Opinion, for a Man that will ſay and unſay, who can believe? *Can the Briar bring forth Figs? Or can Honey come forth of a Lions Jaws?* It is an undoubted Maxim, he that is once falſe for his Intereſt will always be ſo if his Intereſt requires it.

The next Place, *Doctor*, you acquaint the Reader, that you had drawn up your Thoughts long ſince, and ſhewed to ſome of your Friends, if ſo, it had been a very diſcreet Part in you, in my Opinion, to have publiſhed them to ſatisfy the World; but you ſtuck (or rather ſomething ſtuck in your Stomach) and had ſtuck there till this Day, had you not been relieved by Biſhop *Overal*'s Convocation Book, (or a Proſpect of loſing your Place, if you do not ſwear, or getting a better if you did, together with the Perſuaſions of your W—fe) bleſſed Book! to bring a Man from Darkneſs to the *Right Way*.

Doct. 16. *Then you tell the Reader you have made him your Confeſſor.*

Anſw. I declare, I believe, if I was your Confeſſor, and you to be turned out of your Place if you did not confeſs your real Cogitations to me, as to this Matter, I ſhould have another Manner of Confeſſion from you. And to cloſe up all, you ſay you have renounced no Principle excepting in the Caſe of Reſiſtance, which you retract, and which is indeed the only material Thing next to the Oaths, that the World lays to your Charge. You ſay, that in a hereditary Monarchy, where the right Heir is living uſurped Powers are not of God, proved by

by the Example of *Joash*. And now you reject the Doctrine, and own it a Miſtake. Whoever had told me three Years ago, that Dr. *S——k* would have done as he hath done, I would not have credited his Words, but *there is no Belief in Man.*

Thus I have done with the *Preface* of your Book; and leave the Book itſelf to be anſwered by him that will take the Pains, for I aſſure you I will not go about ſo tedious a Work, though I believe ſome Body or other will. And what I have here wrote, I aſſure you, Dr. *S——k*, I have not done out of any Malice to your Perſon, but to your Proceedings, not for your taking the Oaths, but for taking them no ſooner. For I heartily wiſh, all *Engliſhmen* (who ought to be) were really true and loyal Subjects to their Majeſties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, as I declare I my ſelf I am: And what I have wrote here is nothing but Truth, as you are ſatisfied in your Conſcience it is; and if you have any Thing to alledge to the contrary, let the World know it. Now, *Doctor*, you may ſuppoſe I do not do this for Lucre ſake, I ſhall not have a hundred Pounds for this Paper, as you had for your late Book, but meeting with a Hawker who ſold yours, I bought it, and could not be ſatisfied till I let you know how I approved of it, which I have done in as little Paper as poſſible I could, and is the Work of two or three vacant Hours of a *London* Apprentice.

The true Character of a Church-man, ſhewing the falſe Pretences to that Name.

It is commonly obſerv'd, and we have too often felt, what the Power and Miſchief of *Party Names* is. Were it no more, than that they ſerve to form and diſtinguiſh Parties, that makes them as miſchievous to Government, as divided Parties. Nothing is ſo apt to deceive us into very falſe Opinions of Men, as when ſuch Names are either ignorantly or deſignedly applied to wrong Perſons; which not only diſturbs human Converſation, and many Times deprives us of the moſt uſeful and deſirable Friendſhips, but impoſes upon the Government too, in the Advancement of unfit Perſons to the publick Truſts, and excluding ſuch as are beſt qualified to ſerve God, their King, and their Country, both in Church and State. This is viſible in all publick Elections: Names give Characters, and form a Party; and Choices are made according as Names are given, at all Adventures.

I ſhall not take Notice now of ſuch Names as ſignify arbitrarily, and which the different Parties give each other as Terms of Reproach; but there is one very good Name, which is very much abus'd, and does the greater Miſchief, when miſapply'd, by being ſo very good; I mean the Church-man, or Church of *England* Man, which ſome appropriate to themſelves, who have little Right to it, and deny it thoſe who beſt anſwer, and moſt honour that Name. And that the World may not be impos'd on by ſuch Perſons, I ſhall briefly repreſent the true Character of a Church-man, that we may the better judge to whom this Name belongs, and who they are that unjuſtly uſurp it.

I. Now in the firſt Place, I take it for granted, that a Church-man ought to be a Chriſtian: for it is the Chriſtian Church we ſpeak of, and therefore ſuch

Men we must believe in God, and in *Jesus Christ*. Atheists and Infidels belong to no Church, but the *Synagogue of Satan*; and yet it is too evident, that many who would be thought great Church of *England* Men, are no great Believers: Men who are sufficiently known, in their private Conversation, and sometimes too publickly, to ridicule all Religion and the holy Scriptures, and little less than blaspheme God and our Saviour Christ, God deliver us from such Churchmen, and the Church from the Scandal of such Pretenders.

II. A Church of *England* Man is one, who lives in Communion with the Church of *England*, that is, who communicates in Religious Offices, in the Prayers and Sacraments of the Church. Some think it Title enough to the Name of Church-man, that they communicate with no Dissenters, as if to dissent from all Religion, were the Character of a Church-man. Certainly a Man of any Religion is nearer the Church of *England*, than he that hath none; for they agree in worshipping God, tho' they differ in Modes of Worship. And there is too great a Party of these Churchmen, who seldom see the Inside of a Church, and as seldom show any Signs of Devotion, when they are there. Their Neighbours must know them; and I hope, for the Honour of Religion, will never call them Churchmen.

III. A Church-man is one, who has a Right to Church Communion, who lives so regular a Life, that he is qualified to communicate in Prayers and Sacraments. This, no notorious wicked Livers are, whatever their Profession be; such as common Drunkards, and Swearers, Adulterers, Fornicators, *&c.* who by the Discipline of the primitive Church would not have been admitted so much as to the Communion of Prayers. Ecclesiastical Authority indeed is under such Restraints, that Church-censures cannot be always duly executed; but tho' such Men are not actually shut out of the Church, they have hardly any good Claim to it; and what kind of Churchmen are those, who have so far unqualify'd themselves even to enter the Church; and who would as much avoid the Name, as they do the Place; and both for the same Reason, *viz.* The Relation they bear to God's Religion, if they did not want a Cloak for their Impieties and Immoralities, and hope that a pretended Zeal for the Church, would atone for their real Enmity to Religion. But whatever Protection or Advantage the Name of the Church may, by the Unweariness or Design of others, gain these Men, I am sure, it receives nothing from them but Scandal and Reproach. Never let a sacred Name be thus prostituted, to countenance Wickedness, or to take off any Part of the Shame and Infamy that belongs to it.

IV. A Church of *England* Man is one, who is true to the Interest both of Church and State, as by Law establish'd. I say, both Church and State; for it has always been, and I hope always will be, the Glory of the Church of *England*, that all her true Sons are very loyal Subjects. This has been, and is at this Day, made an Accusation of the Church of *England*, that this Point of Obedience and Subjection has been press'd too far; even so far, if we believe some, as to set up Arbitrary Power and the Will of the Prince, above Law. But this is a Misrepresentation of the true Doctrine of Obedience taught in our Church; which was oppos'd to Faction and Sedition, not to a legal Government. For Obedience is a Duty owing to settled Governments, administred by legal Methods; though there may be, as in all Governments, in the imperfect

fect State of this World, there ever have and will be, ſeveral Faults and Miſcarriages in the Adminiſtration; but does not extend, nor was ever ſo intended, to the Subverſion of Laws, and our civil and religious Rights, at the Will of the Prince. But the Church of *England* is a profeſs'd Enemy to all the Arts of Sedition and Faction and embroiling Governments; and would not be a true Chriſtian Church, if it were not; and therefore Men muſt not paſs for Churchmen, who are ſeditious and factious and uneaſy to Government, without regard to the Perſon or Authority of the Prince, any longer than they are courted or bribed; and without allowing a common Reſpect, either in their Converſation or Writings, to ſuch of their ſpiritual Fathers as happen not, upon all Accounts, to fal in with their Humour and Fancy. The Church of *England* teaches her Sons, when they obſerve any Defects in their Governors Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, to conceal, lament, and excuſe them, and all out of a dutiful Regard to the Character they bear. But to expoſe Failings where they are, or to make them where they are not, God be thanked, was never any Part of the Spirit of our Church. It always inſtill'd more loyal and religious Leſſons: But our Superiors in Church and State have the leſs Reaſon to be ſurpriz'd at this Treatment; becauſe a boundleſs Liberty of Railing, both in publick and private, againſt all who were not perfectly of their own Mind, has been all along the great Characteriſtick of that ſort of Churchmen, and, in many Inſtances, all the Title they could pretend to the Name.

V. A Church of *England* Man is one, who takes the Meaſures of his Behaviour as a Son of the Church, from the Rule that our Church herſelf has laid down for his Direction, in her *Liturgy* and *Rubrick*, her *Articles*, *Homilies* and *Canons*. This, as grounded in Scripture our great Rule, is the Path that our Conſtitution has mark'd out; and as they who walk in it, (that is, who worſhip God, and obey their Superiors in ſuch a Manner as theſe preſcribe) are truly Churchmen; ſo the reſt who deviate from the Rule on either Side, have no Title to the Name. They that will not come up to it, are Diſſenters on the one Side; and if any go beyond it, they are Diſſenters on the other, *i. e.* both of them diſſent, and differ in their Principles and Practices, from the eſtabliſh'd Rules of the Church. Of the latter Sort are they who value themſelves at this Day upon the Name of High Churchmen; and as for others, who keep ſtrictly to the Rules of Church Communion and Worſhip, and think it a Breach of that Rule to go higher than the Church itſelf has directed, all theſe they deſpiſe, as Men of a lower Church, who yet are really the true and only Churchmen; while the other exalted Pretences are no leſs a Deviation from the true Church, than Superſtition is from the true Religion.

VI. A Church-man is one, who governs himſelf by Principle, and not by the uncertain Turns of Humour or Intereſt. He will not be zealous for Monarchy and Epiſcopacy at one Time, and at another fall in with Meaſures for diminiſhing the juſt Prerogative, and depreſſing his Eccleſiaſtical Superiors. Nor will he turn Advocate for the popular Election of Biſhops, when he finds his Aims not ſo likely to ſucceed at Court: A Scheme that has been mentioned with Approbation by a certain Party in this Reign, who in another would have called it a Republican Device to leſſen the Royal Prerogative, and a Fanatical Contrivance to maintain perpetual Factions and Parties among the Clergy of

every Dioceſe. In ſhort, a Church-man is uniform under all Governments and is not to be drawn by private Animoſities and Reſentments, from purſuing Methods that really are, and himſelf has all along declared to be, the Supports of our Conſtitution and the Foundations of Peace and Order in Church and State.

But yet ſuch Men, who have neither the Faith nor Worſhip, nor Morals, nor Loyalty, nor Steadineſs, which the Church of *England* teaches her Children, would be thought very good Churchmen, becauſe they profeſs a great Zeal to preſerve the preſent Conſtitution of the Church, as by Law eſtabliſh'd: And I muſt own this a very good Reaſon, (eſpecially, could we have any Security of them;) to prefer them before the profeſs'd Enemies of our Conſtitution. For it is very happy (and we ought to thank God for it,) when they do any thing this Way; but not to own them Churchmen, for Reaſons I ſhall ſoon give. For, I beſeech you, what Security can we have of thoſe Men, who have no Reverence for God, nor for their Prince? How ſhould they have any Value for the Church, who have no Value for Religion? We ought to be thankful to God, when he ſo wiſely orders Things by his Providence, as to make it the Intereſt of bad Men to favour and protect his Church; but we have no Reaſon to depend upon Men, of no Principles, and no Religion. While their Intereſt and the Church is on a Side, we may expect them our Friends; but Intereſt will not lye. If the Church and Intereſt part, farewel the Church.

But to paſs over this. A Church-man muſt ſignify one, who is for preſerveing the Eſſential Conſtitution of the Church. Now the Conſtitution of the Church of *England* is the ſame, that has been the Conſtitution of the *Catholick* Church, ever ſince the apoſtolick Age, or as long as we have any authentick Records of the Church; that is, the Government of the Church is in Biſhops with Preſbyters and Deacons under them. Ours is a National Church, and divided into two Provinces; each Province hath a Metropolitan, with a ſuperior Juriſdiction over all the Biſhops and Clergy of his Province; which ſome think an Apoſtolical, but it is certain, is a very ancient Conſtitution of the Catholick Church.

Now whatever Pretences may be made, I cannot think nor call theſe Churchmen, who endeavour to overthrow this ancient Conſtitution of the *Catholick* Church, to which the Church of *England* is ſo exactly conform'd; as we know has by ſome been lately attempted. For to deny the Metropolitan any ſort of Authority of convening and preſiding in Synods, (which neceſſarily carries with it the Authority of Continuations or Prorogations,) any otherwiſe than as the King's Miniſter (which is a Civil, not an Eccleſiaſtical and Metropolitical Authority,) and to make a Synod of Preſbyters an independent Houſe and co-ordinate Power with their Biſhops, when they themſelves do and muſt own, that there never was a diſtinct Synod of Preſbyters, much leſs a co-ordinate Houſe of mere Preſbyters, in any other Epiſcopal Church in the World, and can never ſhew, when the Church of *England* broke off from the *Catholick* Church, and renounced the Metropolitical and Epiſcopal Authority; this is to oppoſe the eſſential Conſtitution of an Epiſcopal Church, as the Church of *England* is. While ſome, who call themſelves great Churchmen, are declaiming againſt the Uſurpations of the Civil Power upon the Church, they have taken

taken great Pains, to expound the *Act of Submiſſion*, and the King's Supremacy, to ſuch a Senſe, as neither our Princes, nor Lawyers ever thought on; to make all Church Authority a perfect Creature of the State, that Preſbyters may challenge a co-ordinate Power with their Biſhops.

But this is too long a Diſpute to enter upon at preſent, and may deſerve a particular Conſideration; for it ſeems a mere Jeſt, for Men to pretend a mighty Zeal for the Rights and Liberties of the Church, and upbraid their Superiors with betraying the Rights of the Church; while they themſelves are overthrowing the ancient Conſtitution of the *Catholick* Church, and of the Church of *England* with it: And how fit ſuch Men are to lead them, I hope all honeſt Epiſcopal Clergy-men will conſider.

And now, all I have to add is, a Caution againſt being impoſed on by the Name Church-man. If any have a Mind, for other Reaſons, to chuſe Atheiſtical Men, or profligate Sinners, and ſeditious, factious, violent Spirits, to repreſent them; let them not do it under the Character of Churchmen: For this is a mighty Scandal upon the Church of *England*, to own thoſe for Churchmen, who are known to have no Religion: This hath, and does to this Day, give great Scandal to Diſſenters, that many Atheiſtical, lewd, profligate People, who manifeſtly have no Religion, pretend to be of the Church of *England*. This cannot be avoided indeed, unleſs the Diſcipline of the Church could be effectually reviv'd. For Men of no Religion, if they muſt profeſs any, will pretend to the legally eſtabliſh'd Church and Religion; but if we cannot always fling them out of the Church, yet I think we ought not to own them; for that would be to fix a very ill Character upon our Church, and our Religion, ourſelves.

And beſides this, had we to deal with any Prince of leſs Prudence, and Temper, and Inſight into Men, than his preſent gracious Majeſty, whom God long preſerve; what an Opinion would this give him of the Church of *England*, when he ſhould find many (inconſiderately own'd to be Patrons of it) to have no Religion, no Morals; and to be troubleſome, and factious, and great Diſturbers of his Government, and of all that he deſigns well for the Publick Good.

A New Teſt of the Church of *England*'s Loyalty: or, Whiggiſh Loyalty and Church Loyalty compar'd.

Anno 1700.

IN all the unhappy Contentions among Parties and Factions in this brangling Nation, the Champions of the Church of *England*, *as they wou'd have themſelves call'd*, have laid it down as the diſtinguiſhing Mark of their Hierarchy, that it is her Practice, and has been deriv'd from her very Conſtitution, as well as Doctrine, to fix in all her Members Principles of unſhaken Loyalty to her Prince, entire and undiſputed Obedience to all her Commands, and an Abhorrence of the very Thoughts of thoſe helliſh Principles, *That it*

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can be lawful on any Account whatsoever to resist the establish'd Power of their Kings.

'Twou'd be endless to quote the Reverend Dr. *B——ge*, who from the Text in the *Resist not the Powers*, &c. *for whatsoever Powers are, be ordained of God; whosoever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of of God*; tells us, 'That if the King should by his Royal Command execute 'the greatest Violence upon either our Person or Estate, our Duty was to sub-'mit by Prayers and Tears first to God Almighty, to return the Wrath of his 'Vicegerent from his Servant, and by humble Entreaty to beg his Majesty's 'Grace and Pardon; but *to lift up the Hand against the Lord's Anointed, or re-'sist the Evil of Punishment he thought fit to inflict*, this were a Crime unpardon-'able either before God or Man, and a Crime, (says the Reverend Dr.) which 'we bless God the very Principles of our *Ever Loyal Mother*, the Church of '*England*, abhors and detests.

'Let Incendiaries, Phanaticks, and Bloody Peace-breaking Whigs (says ano-'ther Learned Divine) nourish the Viporous Principles of Treason and Rebel-'lion, and let them meet the due Reward of their Factious Doings in the Resent-'ments of a Righteous, but Provok'd, Nation: But God be praised, our Mo-'ther the Church of *England* has always brought up her Sons in an unspotted 'Loyalty and Obedience; none have been found lifting up their Hands against 'their Sovereign, or possessing the Rights of the Anointed of God, *&c.*

'The very Being and Life, the Original and Principles of the Church of '*England*, (says another 30th of *January* Sermon) is Loyalty and Fidelity to 'God as the Immediate Supream, and to the King as the lively Image of Di-'vine Authority, whose Power is immediately deriv'd from, holds of, and is 'accountable to none but to God himself.'

To avoid Prolixity of Quotation, the Reader is desir'd to accept of these as sufficient Proofs of what I lay down *upon this Condition*; *nevertheless*, that besides the general Appeal which I might make to the Memory of most Men, I oblige myself upon Demand to produce Ten Thousand fair Quotations out of the Writings of our late Modern Authors since the Restoration; wherein the Doctrines of Non-resistance of Princes, Passive Obedience, and the Divine Authority of the Kingly Power, is own'd and declar'd to be an Essential Part of the Profession and Practice of the Church of *England*; and upon this Foot, which I hold to be sufficient, I think I cannot be censured, if I take it for granted.

Now, as this too much divided Nation has always been compos'd of two contending Parties, those Parties, have been distinguish'd *as in like Cases*, by Names of Contempt; and tho' they have often chang'd them on either side, as Cavalier and Round-head, Royalists and Rebels, Malignants and Phanaticks, Tories and Whigs, yet the Division has always been barely *the Church and the Dissenter*, and there it continues to this Day.

As the Church of *England* Party have boasted of their own Loyalty, so they have branded the *Dissenter* with Rebellion and Faction, not only in their Nature, but in their very Principles; they have laid it down in their Writings and Sermons, and Multitudes of their ignorant Hearers believe it, that *the very Doctrine of the Dissenter is made up of Principles in their own Nature, tending to Confusion*

Confuſion and Rebellion; they wont be content that we ſhould own there may be Men among all Parties of bad Deſigns, and who wou'd on all Occaſions embroil their Native Country, but it muſt be woven with the very Articles of Faith, and that 'tis the Religion of a *Diſſenter* to diſturb Government, kill Kings and oppoſe Laws.

'The Phanatical Enemies of our King and Chureh (ſays the Learned Dr. '*P—n)* drink in Rebellion as Water; 'tis the very Subſtance of their Schiſma-'tical Doctrine to over-whelm and deſtroy; and Commonwealths and Confu-'ſions are the Doctrines they preach.'

He that lays out one Groat with a *Diſſenter* (ſays the worthy Sir *Roger* in one of his famous *Obſervators*) contributes juſt ſo much as the Profits of that Groat amounts to in Trade towards the Subverſion of the Monarchy, and erecting a Commonwealth; for the very Nature and Tendency of their Profeſſion is deſtructive of Kingly Power, and the Government of the Nation.

This has been the Opinion of the Church of *England*, both of themſelves on one Hand, and of the *Diſſenters* on the other Hand. I ſhou'd be glad if I cou'd only ſay, *It has been*, for we find 'tis ſtill too much their Opinion.

Let no Man ſay, that the Author of theſe Sheets is either widening or keeping unheal'd the Breaches of this Nation; for if I can make it appear that there is really no Occaſion of ſuch unnatural Diviſions; and that neither the extraordinary Opinion of themſelves, nor the Contempt of their Neighbours, as to the Matter of Loyalty, is a becoming Principle; no, nor a rational one neither: For that as to Loyalty, Paſſive Obedience, Non-reſiſtance, *&c.* there is really no great Difference between one Side or other. I go as far towards healing the Breach as any Man; for there can be no better Way to end the Strife on both Sides, than to prove that neither Side has any juſt Cauſe to contend.

To examine the Matter on both Sides ſeems very uſeful at this Time, in order to reconcile Parties, and ſettle the Univerſal Character of the Nation.

The Government of *England* is a limitted Monarchy, compoſed of Kings, Lords and Commons. Each have their ſeveral, their ſeparate, and their conjunctive Powers; which acting in Concert, makes the Harmony of the Conſtitution. I ſhall not invade the Province of thoſe learned Gentlemen, who have undertaken to ſet forth the Branches of the Conſtitution in all their Powers, Limitations and Prerogatives: 'Tis enough to ſay the Conſtitution is known, the Government is confin'd by Laws, the Crown limited by Statutes, and the People's Right confirm'd by the Conceſſion of Ages.

To this Government, all Diſtinction of Names ſet apart, I am of the Opinion all Parties have in their Turns been equally Loyal: I was going to ſay, equally Diſloyal: And if I were to uſe the Language of late Times, it wou'd be a very proper Way of ſpeaking.

Affirming without demonſtrating is an abſurd Way of arguing, and therefore it will be needful to come to Particulars, and to examine the ſeveral Acts and Deeds of both Parties when the Kingly Prerogative has ſhock'd or claſh'd with the People.

In order to this, 'tis needful to examine the Date of the Difference, and ſo to enter a little into Hiſtory.

Our firſt Reformation from *Popery* was in the Days of King *Edward* the VI.

I call it the firſt, becauſe 'twas under him that the whole Nation and the Government embrac'd the Proteſtant Religion; this Proteſtant Religion was eſtabliſh'd by *that Zealous King*, and by his Parliament, back'd with the Force of Laws, and confirm'd by all the Sanction of Authority it was capable of, and here it began to be call'd the Church of *England*.

Some enquiring Chriſtians were for making farther Steps, and carrying on the Reformation to a higher Degree; and if that good reforming King had liv'd, his Zeal and Integrity was ſuch, that there was no doubt he wou'd have gone on to perfect every thing he had begun, as new Light or more Knowledge had encreaſed; but the Return of Popery under Queen *Mary* put a Stop to the Work in general, and went very far towards overturning the whole Structure of the Reformation.

Queen *Elizabeth* reſtor'd it again; but as ſhe was a Zealous Proteſtant Queen, yet ſhe was not for ſubjecting the Reformation to any Amendment. Not that ſhe believ'd it perfect; but ſhe was a Politick Princeſs, ſurrounded with Enemies that were not to be dally'd with, and ſhe was loth to ſuppoſe ſuch Defects in the Reformation as were alledg'd, becauſe 'twas to leſſen the Reputation of it, and conſequently her Intereſt in the World.

Thoſe who inſiſted upon the further Reformation were then call'd *Puritans*, becauſe they ſet up for a greater Purity of Worſhip, and they ſeparated themſelves from the eſtabliſh'd Church, becauſe, as they ſaid, their Conſciences inform'd them they cou'd ſerve God more agreeable to his Will.

I ſhall not meddle with the Arguments made uſe of on both Sides, either to defend or expoſe this Principle; 'tis ſufficient to acquaint my Reader that this is the true Original of the *Diſſenters*: We are now to examine a little further back Before this Reformation there was no ſuch Thing as Church of *England*; it was then the Church of *Rome* that was the eſtabliſh'd National Church.

The Proteſtants under the Titles of *Lollards*, *Wickliffians*, *Huſſites*, &c. what did they do? Did they, *as our Modern People ſay every Body ſhou'd*, conform to what the Government commanded? No, the preſent Church of *England* Party were the Diſſenters, the Schiſmaticks and Phanaticks, in the Days of King *Henry* VIII. who were perſecuted for not coming to Church; many of them put to Death, and always treated with Scorn and Contempt, as Enemies to the Government, Broachers of new Opinions, and Contemners of Authority; as in the Caſe of that famous Proto-Martyr of Chriſt's Church, *John Lambert*, and others.

In the next Ages theſe come to have the Power in their Hands, and forgetting that they had found it *righteous in the Sight of God to obey God rather than Man*, they treat thoſe whoſe Conſciences oblige them to diſſent from them, with the ſame Contempt which themſelves had received from the *Roman* Government.

Thus far they are upon even Terms, as to Obedience to their Superiors.

The Diſſenters have the firſt Occaſion after this to ſhow their Submiſſion under extraordinury Preſſures. Queen *Elizabeth* diſcountenanced them continually; and as good a Queen as ſhe was, put ſome of them to Death. King *James* I.

James I. hunted them quite out of the Kingdom, made thousands of them fly into *Holland* and *Germany*, and at last to *New-England*.

During the long Reign of these two Princes we find no Charge of Treason or Rebellion upon them; they bore the Displeasure of their Princes with Patience and Passive Obedience; *if I may be allow'd that ridiculous Phrase*; being persecuted in one City, they fled to another; they bore illegal Prosecutions, and things contrary to their Right, as *Englishmen*, but never took up Arms against their Prince.

Under the Reign of King *Charles* I. the Case altered, the King and Parliament fell out about Matters of Civil Right, and an Invasion of the Liberty and Properties of the People, the *Puritans* or Dissenters, call them what we please, fell in unanimously with the Parliament.

And here 'tis worthy Remark, that the first Difference between the King and the *English* Parliament did not respect Religion, but Civil Property; nor were the Majority of the House *Puritans*, but true Church Protestants, and *English* Men; who stood upon the Rights of the People, as *English* Men; and none were more zealous in the first Disputes than the Lord *Digby*, Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, and such as were afterwards deep Sufferers for the King.

But the Parliament finding the *Puritan* Party stuck close to their Cause, they also came over to them when things came to a Rupture, and so the War begun on the score of Right, Invasion of Liberty, Breach of the Laws, private Leagues, and male Administration; a Game we have seen play'd over again by the very same Church of *England* that have exclaim'd so much against it; so damn'd it, and so damn'd themselves, by Oaths, Declarations, Tests, and God knows what, against it.

'Tis allowed here the *Puritan* broke thro' his Loyalty, and his former Obedience, and fought his Way to the Liberty he demanded. Well, the War ended to his Advantage, he subdued his Sovereign, and brought him to the Block, to the Astonishment of the whole World.

I won't dispute here which or which Party did or did not do it, but to give the Enemy all just Advantage, I am willing to grant it in the largest Sense that the Dissenters, or *Phanaticks*, or Whigs, call them as you please, did embrue their Hands in the Blood of the Lord's Anointed, put to Death that blessed Martyr, King *Charles* the I. whom a learned Divine, in a Sermon on the 30th of *January*, before the Parliament, compares both in the Manner of his Sufferings, and the People by whom, to our Saviour and the *Jews*, and boldly runs on in the Blasphemous Parallel, to shew that the Indignities and Sufferings of King *Charles* exceed those of Jesus Christ.

I think I have granted as largely as a fair Adversary can desire; for I have yielded for Peace-sake to several Things which I could fairly disprove.

Nor shall I return to a Repetition of the ill Usage the Dissenters have received from the contrary Party on this Account for above 30 Years; the constant Reproaches they and their Children after them have met with from those Gentlemen, who on all Occasions have (as I hinted before) particularly taken care to extol their own unshaken Fidelity to their Prince, till at last an Occasion presents to touch them in the same most sensible Part, *their Right and Property*; and *alas!* their Loyalty, what became of it? Truly the *Faithful, passively Obe-*

dient, unſhaken Loyal Church, returned to the Original Nature of their Neighbours, and did the ſame Thing exactly which the Whigs, *the factious Rebellious Whigs*, had done before.

'No, that's falſe, (ſays a Diſciple of Dr. *Sherlock*'s) we did not kill our 'King, we did not dip our Hands in Royal Blood, nor hurt the Lord's A-'nointed.'

No, that's true, but the Lord's Anointed may thank himſelf for that; for my Part I think the Difference only lies here; the Whigs in 41. to 48. took up Arms againſt their King; and having conquer'd him, and taken him Priſoner, cut off his Head, *becauſe they had him:* The Church of *England* took Arms againſt their King in 88. and did not cut off his Head, *becauſe they had him not.* King *Charles* loſt his Life, *becauſe he did not run away*; and his Son, King *James*, ſaved his Life, *becauſe he did run away.*

'Tis ſuch a Jeſt, ſuch a Banter, to ſay, we did take up Arms, but we did not kill him: *Bleſs us, kill our King, we wou'd not have hurt a Hair of his Head!* Why, every Bullet ſhot at the Battle of the *Boyne* was a killing the King; for if you did not, 'twas becauſe you could not hit him.

If a Highway-man fires at you upon the Road, when he is taken and brought upon his Trial, our learned Recorder, before he pronounces Sentence of Death, harangues him in this Manner: *And beſides all this, Sir, you are plainly guilty of Murder; for you not only aſſaulted this honeſt Man in order to take away his Money, but you endeavour'd to murder him; for you ſhot at him, in order to kill him; and the Intention of Murder is equally criminal in the Eyes of God with the Act itſelf.*

Now who did we ſhoot at the *Boyne? 'Tis true, King* James *generally ſtood out of the Way*; but who did we ſhoot at? What! was our Orders to *fight againſt both ſmall and great, and not againſt the King of* Iſrael? Had your Bullets Commiſſion to ſhew their Loyalty, and not to touch the Lord's Anointed? If he had charg'd in the firſt Squadrons of his Horſe, had you not kill'd him if you could? I think this needs no further Proof.

Nay, if Arguments may be allow'd to have equal Weight on both Sides, the Whigs have been the honeſter of the two; for they never profeſs'd any ſuch blind, abſolute and undiſputed Obedience to Princes as the others have done.

It has always been their Opinion, that Government was originally contrived by the Conſent, and for the mutual Benefit of the Parties governed, that the People have an original native Right to their Property, the Liberty of their Perſons and Poſſeſſions, *unleſs forefaulted to the Laws*, that they cannot be diveſted of this Right but by their own Conſent, and that all Invaſion of this Right is deſtructive of the Conſtitution, and diſſolves the Compact of Government and Obedience.

They have always declar'd, that they underſtand their Allegiance to their Governors to be, *ſuppoſing they govern them according to the Laws of the Land*; and that if Princes break this Bond of Government, the Nature of it is inverted, and the Conſtitution ceaſes of Courſe.

Buchanan

Buchanan in *Scotland*, and *Algernoon Sidney* in *England*, have ſet their Names, *and the latter his Blood*, to this Doctrine, and the Author of the *True-born Engliſhman* is worth quoting in the Caſe.

The Government's ungirt when Juſtice dies,
And Conſtitutions are Non-entities:
The Nation's all a Mob, there's no ſuch Thing
As Lords or Commons, Parliament or King:
A great promiſcuous Crowd the Hydra lies,
Till Laws revive, and mutual Contract ties:
A Chaos free to chuſe for their own Share,
What Caſe of Government they pleaſe to wear.
If to a King they do the Reins commit,
All Men are bound in Conſcience to ſubmit;
But then that King muſt by his Oath aſſent
To Poſtulata's of the Government.
Which if he breaks, he cuts off the Entail,
And Power retreats to its Original.

True-born Engliſhman, p. 74.

This has been the avow'd Doctrine of the Diſſenters, and is indeed the true Senſe of the Conſtitution itſelf; purſuant to this Doctrine they thought they had a Right to oppoſe Violence with Force; believing that when Kings break Coronation Oaths, the ſolemn Compact with their People, and encroach upon their Civil Rights, contrary to the Laws of the Land, by which they are ſworn to rule, they ceaſe to be the Lord's Anointed any longer, the Sanction of their Office is vaniſh'd, and they become Tyrants and Enemies of Mankind, and may be treated accordingly.

Now 'tis no Wonder to find People of theſe Principles vigorouſly withſtanding their Governors, when they tread upon the tender ſore Places of the Conſtitution; 'tis nothing but what they all along pretended to, and declared to be their Opinion.

But to find the Church of *England* Men, whoſe Loyalty has been the Subject of a thouſand learned Authors, and numberleſs Sermons, whoſe Character and Mark of Diſtinction has been choſen more for her ſteady Adherence and Fidelity to her Prince than to God Almighty; whoſe Obedience to her Monarch has been declar'd to be inviolate and immoveable; and who pretends to be famous thro' the whole World for her Faithfulneſs to Kings; *for her*, as ſoon as ever the King did but as it were, ſeem to aim at cruſhing her Authority, as ſoon as he did but begin to call her Clergy to an Account, and clap up her *golden Candleſticks* for Diſobedience; *for her* to winch and kick, fly to foreign Princes for Protection, and riſe in Arms againſt her Prince, O *Pelin!* O *Brady!* O *Sherlock!* O *Hominem!* O *Mores!*

Where's the worthy Dr. *B——ge*'s Loyalty now? His Immovable Loyalty, that after all his Abſolute Submiſſion is ſo far from being a Martyr to his own Doctrine, that he cou'd not loſe a ſmall Benefice for it?

Where is the Famous Dr. *S——k?* Who having ſtood out long in his old antiquated Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience, and confirm'd the Faith of his Suffering Brethren, by ſtrong and wonderful Arguments, at laſt, at the powerful Inſtigation of a Wife, and a good Sallary, *has ſold all his Loyalty for a Meſs of Pottage*, loſing his Honeſty with the wretched Diſtinction of a Power *De Facto*, and a Power *De Jure*, as if the Church of *England*'s Credit cou'd be ſav'd by ſuch an important Shift, or as if he cou'd make Amends to the Prebendary for his helping him to ſacrifice his Brethren to father his Converſion upon reading honeſt Dr. *Overall*, whoſe Doctrine, 'tis well known, the Doctor knew before? but that he was loth Dr. *South* ſhou'd have the Honour of bringing him over to ſuch old Phanatick Principles?

Behold the Loyalty of the Church of *England*; now let's examine their Conſcience, as to taking Oaths; and if I do not bring them to be all Whigs, and *Forty-One-Men*, or elſe prove them all perjur'd, then I do nothing.

The Clergy, all the Magiſtrates and Officers of the Houſhold, of the Civil or Military Government, were Members of the Church of *England*, otherwiſe they cou'd not be employ'd; the Sacramental Teſt has done the *Diſſenters* this Kindneſs, that 'tis plain all the managing Hands in the Kingdom were Diſciples of the Church; and as an additional Circumſtance, the Oath of Allegiance which they took, and which was (God be praiſed) of their own making, bound them to that ſame abſolute blind Obedience which they profeſt, and confin'd it to the King, his Heirs and Succeſſors.

If this Oath be conſider'd literally, I am content to be ſilenc'd, when one fair Argument can be brought to evade it; the Declaration follow'd it, wherein they deteſt and abhor that deviliſh Doctrine, that 'tis lawful *on any Pretence whatſoever, (Mark the Emphaſis)* to take up Arms againſt the King; this *(equal to an Oath)* is declared in the Preſence of God; and the Particulars being material to our Purpoſe, are as follows:

I A. B. *do declare and believe, that it is not lawful on any Pretence whatſoever to take up Arms againſt the King; and that I do abhor that Traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by his Authority againſt thoſe that are commiſſioned by him.*

So help me God.

Notwithſtanding this, you have taken up Arms againſt, depoſed, and as far as you were able, put to Death your lawful King, the very King you ſwore Allegiance to.

Now *pray Gentlemen give Commiſſion to ſome worthy Champion of your Church's Loyalty to bring you fairly off of your Oath and Declaration if you can*; and till you do, be not angry with us for making one of theſe Concluſions from the Premiſes, and you ſhall chuſe for yourſelves.

Firſt, That this Doctrine of Abſolute, Paſſive and Non-reſiſtant Obedience, is an Abſurdity of itſelf, contradictory to the Nature of Government and Allegiance, and politically introduc'd by State Engines into the Church of *England*, to abuſe her, and betray her Members into unforeſeen Miſchiefs and Inconveniencies.

Or,

Or, *Secondly*, That the Members of the Church of *England* are all Apoſtate from the very Fundamental Doctrine of their Church, Perjur'd in the very Sight of God and Man, notorious Hypocrites, and Deceivers; who having ſworn Obedience without Reſerve to their Prince, are become Traitors, Rebels, and Murtherers of the Lord's Anointed, and their Lawful Sovereign; and not having the Fear of God before their Eyes, have depos'd and traiterously dethron'd their rightful King, God Almighty's Vicegerent, accountable to no Earthly Power, Supream under God, abſolute, and from divine Inſtitution, undoubted Sole Lord of them and their Country.

Or, *Laſtly*, That they only are the true Church of *England*, who according to their avow'd Profeſſion, having firmly adher'd to their King in all his Sufferings and Solitude, have never blacken'd their Conſciences, nor gone from their Obedience, forgotten their Oaths, nor ſullied their Reputation, with the horrid Crimes of Treaſon and Rebellion, as they think it to be.

Now, as a fair Diſputant, I am willing the Reſpondent ſhall chuſe which of theſe three Conſequences he will ſtand by in Behalf of the Church of *England*'s Loyalty; but if they wou'd take the Advice of *a Friend to the Honeſt Part of them*, I wou'd recommend the firſt Concluſion to be fitteſt for them for the following Reaſons.

1. Becauſe ſince Humane Infallibility is *(and with good Reaſon)* diſown'd by the Church of *England*, both for herſelf and every Body elſe, it can be no Diminution to her Reputation, when ſhe has found herſelf miſtaken, and impos'd upon, to acknowledge her Error; *a wiſe Man will always own, rather than defend a Miſtake.*

2. Becauſe 'tis my Opinion that their Way is hedg'd up againſt other Pretences, Evaſions, or Reſervation, and therefore 'tis with me the only Thing that Charity can ſay for them, and muſt remain ſo, till I find ſomething elſe ſaid that is more to the Purpoſe.

But the Miſchief of all is, that if this be honeſtly acknowledg'd *(as is doubtleſs moſt true)* that the Church of *England* was miſtaken, and impos'd upon, to eſpouſe a ſenſleſs abſurd Principle, contrary to the Nature of Government and Allegiance, *&c.* why then they come over to this Conſequence.

That Government and Allegiance are both conditional, and Oaths of Subjects are always to be conſider'd in a conſtructive Senſe, with Conditions of Protection, and the like; a Thing which is without Queſtion the real Meaning of all Oaths of Allegiance; otherwiſe Subjects may be put under an abſolute Neceſſity of Perjury, or State Martyrdom, by often ſwearing what may be impoſſible for them to perform.

The Town of *Aeth* in *Flanders* hath been about ſix Times, and the Town of *Rhinebergh* in *Gueldre* about twelve Times, taken and retaken; and as often as new Maſters had Poſſeſſion of the Place, ſo often the poor Inhabitants have ſworn to their new Lords: What can the Meaning of ſuch an Oath be, but that they will be faithful to them ſo long as they keep Poſſeſſion of the Place? 'Twou'd be ridiculous to imagine the Impoſers of the Oath requir'd any more.

If our zealous Churchmen worded an Oath contrary to the Nature of ſwearing Allegiance, let them anſwer for it who firſt made it, then took it, then broke

broke it: But the Nature of the Thing can leave Room for no other Suggeſtion that I know of.

'Till then ſome further Argument is produc'd, it muſt reſt here, that the Church of *England* was miſtaken, impoſed upon, *&c.* that ſhe finds when the Laws are broken, the Right of the People invaded, the Root of the Government ſtruck at, Church and State undermin'd, and deſpotick Tyranny at the Door, the native Right of the People is ſuperior, and they may aſſume a Power to right themſelves.

And ſo we are brought back to Whiggiſm, and 41; *and, Gentlemen, there is no Remedy for it, help it if ye can.*

Where now is the Difference between Church Loyalty, and Whiggiſh Loyalty, Roundhead or Cavalier, Churchman or Diſſenter, Whig or Tory? All are alike; they are pleas'd, when legally govern'd; quarrelſome and unruly, if oppreſs'd, and will defend themſelves, if aſſaulted; tho' it be by their Kings, or any Body elſe.

Why then is the Difference kept up? Methinks they might all be Friends together, for they are all alike; the Diſſenters have been in their Times as loyal, and the Church of *England* in their Time as Diſloyal, as one another. *Vice verſa*; the Diſſenters have been as diſloyal, and the Churchmen as loyal as one another upon the ſame Occaſion; they have been both Sufferers, and have ſubmitted to the Government; ay, to the Oppreſſions and Perſecutions of their Superiors and Sovereigns; and again, upon the like Occaſions, they have both of them been Rebels, *if their own Language may ſo far be us'd*; they have both of them in their Turn, taken Arms againſt, and depos'd their rightful and lawful Kings.

So that in my Opinion, *with a Latitude to all that think otherwiſe to think as they pleaſe*, the Church of *England*, and their Neighbours the Diſſenters, have nothing to quarrel with one another about, as to Loyalty; as to other Matters I have nothing to ſay to them, nor ſhall not mingle it with this Diſcourſe.

Nor do I think I am writing a Satire againſt the Church of *England*, nor is it at all intended to be ſo; and to ſtop all Pretences that way, I take the Freedom to ſay here has been no Crime, the Church of *England* has been in the Right of it; not in taking Arms, but the Error was in eſpouſing, crying up, and pretending to a blind Abſolute Obedience to Princes, be their Commands never ſo Abſolute, Tyrannical or Illegal; this neither the Doctrine nor Practice of the Church of *England*, nor of any Church or People in the Chriſtian World, ever pretended to; and therefore the Fault lay in thoſe People, who being themſelves of the Church of *England*, ſuffer'd themſelves to be deluded by State Miniſters, to foſter a Tenet upon the Church which her Original Conſtitution never pretended to, and then call it the Doctrine of the Church of *England*.

The firſt Beginning of their pretended Doctrine was found in *Manwaring*'s and *Sibthorp*'s Libels, in the Days of King *Charles* I. cajoling the King, and then to pleaſe him, endeavouring to wheedle the People into a Belief of the Divine Right of Kingly Government; and affirming, that the King was not oblig'd by the Laws in the Adminiſtration of the Government.

Upon

Upon this prepoſterous Foundation they built the Illegitimate Structure of Abſolute Undiſputed Obedience; for if Kingly Power were once prov'd to be immediately deriv'd from Divine Authority, Abſolute Obedience wou'd be a Conſequence no Body cou'd diſpute, ſince the ſame Obedience without Reſerve wou'd be due to the delegated Power, as to the Power delegating.

And tho' this is a Point eaſily enough confuted, yet being willing to keep the preſent Diſpute within as ſmall a Compaſs as we can, I think our Argument has nothing at all to do with it.

Whether Government be of Divine Original or not, ſeems not the Queſtion here; for if it be not ſo, then, as before, the Church of *England* have been miſtaken, and impoſed upon; and if it be ſo, then the Church of *England* has trampled under Foot their own Doctrine, turn'd Rebels to God, and Apoſtates from the Faith they have profeſt, have ſacrilegiouſly and traiterouſly taken up Arms againſt their Prince, aſſaulted the Lord's Anointed, *reſiſted the Powers which are the Ordinance of God*, depoſed their Lawful Sovereign, broken their Allegiance, and conſequently *are a Parcel of Perjur'd Rebels*; every Jot as bad as the worſt Roundhead Regicide, and Rebel of the Year Forty One.

What more or leſs can be ſaid I profeſs I know not, and am in great Expectation of ſomething new in the Matter; for I cannot find in all the Writings I have met with any thing to contradict it.

The bringing Government and Obedience to the proper Circumſtances of mutual Compact between King and People, ſeems to me to be the only Method to unravel this Skein of entangled Principles; the Nature of Government has made it the neceſſary Conſequence of all Arguments relating to Power; and I cou'd give Inſtances of all the Nations in the World, that ſome Time or other; even the Right of Succeſſion to Government, *which muſt be as ſacred as the Power*, has been interrupted and limited by the People, in caſe of Tyranny and illegal Government; and every Nation, *and this among the reſt*, has oftentimes depos'd their Princes for the Preſervation of the State, when either Incapacity for Government, Tyrannical Uſurpation, or other Male Adminiſtration has been the Caſe.

But this I think alſo needleſs here, every one that is verſed in Hiſtory can read the numerous Examples in the *Roman*, *Grecian* and *Perſian* Hiſtories, even ſacred Hiſtories, where Kings were more particularly of divine Right than any where, are full of them; the Hiſtories of *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Lombardy*, the Empires of *Germany* and *Muſcovy*, even the Papal Chair, have ſuffered Convulſions and Revolutions, their depoſing and diſplacing their Sovereigns, when the People's Good which is, and ever was, the Soul, the Center, the End, and the Cauſe of all Government, came to be in Diſpute.

But to return to the Principles of the two Parties we are now diſcourſing of; the Whigs, as before, have always aſſerted this to be their Notion of Government and Governors; and the Church of *England*, however ſome among them have topt an empty Notion upon them, have all along, and now at laſt once for all, own'd it by their Practice,

That Kings when they deſcend to Tyranny,
Diſſolve the Bond, and leave the Subject free.

True-born Eng. Man, *P.* 47.

The

The Act for the further Limitation of the Crown past in the last Parliament, and the Right of the People therein declared and recogniz'd, I would ask my Opponent whose Act and Deed it was? Will they say it was a Whiggish Act, made by a phanatical House of Commons; I dare say there was not ten Dissenters in the House; let them descend with us into Particulars, let them draw out a black List of Members, who in that Loyal, Honest, *English* Parliament gave their Hands to the last Settlement and Declaration of Right, and let us tell Noses, and put a Brand upon the Phanaticks among them.

Will they tell us it was a phanatical Parliament that set the Crown upon the Queen's Head? I hope they will own Her Majesty and their Lordships the Bishops are Part of the Church of *England*; for if the Head and the principal Members are not, we know not who are.

Will they tell us that Sir *E. S.* Sir *B. S.* Sir *J. B.* Mr. *H——y*, Sir *C——r M——ve*, and a Hundred more of that Side, were Whigs and Commonwealthmen?

How comes it to pass in *England* that no Papist can inherit? Divine Right ought to supercede all Precautions, and the young Prince of *Savoy*, not the House of *Hanover*, ought to reign with a *Non Obstante* to all humane Limitation, if all was from Heaven: Where are our Right-Line-Men now! Why, truly the Reason is plain, the Church of *England*, People of *England*, a Church of *England* Parliament of *England*, have thought fit to declare, that for the Good of the People, to which all Right of Power must give way, because from them all Power itself does derive, and by the Voice of that People (in which Authority sufficient is legally grounded) it is unanimously agreed, that we will not have a Papist to reign over us.

All this is too plain to admit of a Dispute; and now to me it seems preposterous why any Man should keep up the Distinction between Parties as to Loyalty, when indeed there is no Manner of Difference in the Case.

I have talked several Times of bearing, suffering, being persecuted and oppressed, as the Dissenters in their Time have been more than enough, and again in their Turn, the Church of *England* have been persecuted too; for as I noted before, they were once the *Schismaticks*, the *Whigs*, and the *Dissenters*. Now I think 'tis not very foreign to my Argument, to examine whether of the Two behaved themselves under their Sufferings with the greatest Submission, who show'd most absolute Obedience to their Superiors, and who first, or oftenest rebelled against their lawful Sovereign.

The Protestants under *Henry* VIII. were the first Dissenters; they were kept under, persecuted, and put to Death as Rebels and Schismaticks. Now upon due Search it will be found, that under the Protection of two Protestant Queens, Wives of King *Henry* VIII. they had more than once formed such Interest at Court, and in the Kingdom, as to begin to be formidable to the Popish Powers then reigning; and the Fall of the Lord *Cromwell* was thought a necessary Policy in King *Henry*, to prevent the Plots of the phanatical Church of *England* Hereticks; a long Account of which may be read in the Life of that Prince.

King *Edward* the VI. a zealous and pious Prince, made no Scruple for the Propagation of the Protestant Church of *England*, of which he was the glorious Founder, to set aside the lawful and undisputed Succession of his own Sisters to establish

the Crown in the Lady *Jane Grey*, who he knew would carry on the Work of Reformation.

There's an Inſtance of the Zeal for Succeſſion in the right Line, in the firſt Proteſtant Head that ever the Church of England *had.*

After this, the Goſpellers, *that is, the Church of* England *Proteſtants of* Suffolk, having ſome Senſe of the Injury done to the Princeſs *Mary*, and willing to have the Succeſſion go on in the right Line, provided they could both preſerve their Religion and Loyalty too, capitulate with her, and promiſe to ſtand by her, provided ſhe would promiſe to preſerve and make no Alteration in their Eſtabliſhed Church of *England*.

Here the Church of *England* Men own'd the Liberty of their Religion to be ſuperior to their Loyalty to her; and that they had a Right to ſubmit, or not to ſubmit, as their Liberty was, or was not ſecure; and accordingly conditioned with her, before they would acknowledge her to be their Queen.

And we ſee how Heaven puniſh'd them for venturing on the Word of a Prince when their Religion and Liberty were at Stake.

In this Queen's Time the Church having been again ſuppreſs'd, and Popery erected, Sir *Thomas Wyat*, an honeſt Church of *England* Proteſtant, with a very good Body of Men, took up Arms againſt their lawful Prince, for breaking he Word in Defence of *their dear Religion, Eſtabliſhed by bleſſed King Edward*, which were the very Words of the Manifeſto they publiſhed: The *Londoners*, with 800 Men, ſent by the Queen againſt them, thought it no Treachery to deſert their Lawful Popiſh Queen, and go over to their Proteſtant Church of *England* Brethren.

We have nothing to do with the Juſtification of this Fact; 'tis ſufficient that ſo it was, and that theſe were Proteſtants of the Church of *England*, in the firſt and pureſt Part of their Principles, and let them juſtify the Fact if they pleaſe.

Queen *Elizabeth* ſucceeds, and then the Church of *England* ſhone in its Meridian Glory, and then grew up ſome, who aiming, *as I ſaid before*, at a further Reformation; and the Church refuſing to hearken to it, formed a new Party of Diſſenters, and theſe were called *Puritans*, and ſince that *Phanaticks*.

Now I challenge the Defender of this Cauſe to tell me one diſloyal Act, one Plot againſt the Government, one Diſturbance of the Civil Peace, among theſe Diſſenters, from the Beginning of this Queen, which was their own Beginning, to the Reigt of King *Charles* I. which was a continued Term of 80 Years, and yet, during this Time, they ſuffered all Manner of Indignities, Reproaches, Finings, Impriſonings, Baniſhment, Confiſcations, and Corporal Puniſhments.

So that hitherto the paſſive Obedience of the Diſſenters hath far exeeeded that of the Church of *England*. Theſe had but five Years Oppreſſion under Queen *Mary*, and in that five Years they once capitulated with their Sovereign to make her Queen upon Conditions, and once took Arms againſt her after ſhe was Queen; and *by that* I muſt always underſtand, that if they did not depoſe and deſtroy her, it was becauſe they could not; *and if they had done it, no doubt they had Cauſe ſufficient to juſtify them before God and Man.* The *Puritans* after this ſuffered all that their *too cruel Brethren* of the Church of *England* laid upon them during three tedious Reigns, before they ſo much as made the leaſt Offer

at doing themſelves Juſtice; and for 80 Years together exercis'd that Paſſive Obedience which they never prtended too.

At laſt they took Arms; and when they did, they did it to Purpoſe, carried all before them, ſubdued Monarchy, cut off their King's Head, and *all that.*

After the Reſtoration Things began to return to their old Channel, and 30 Years more the Diſſenters endur'd another *Egyptian* Servitude; were perſecuted, plundered, indicted, impriſoned, plagued with Impoſitions, ſtigmatized with a thouſand Reproaches; their Meeting-houſes demoliſh'd, their Eſtates confiſcated, their Perſons excommunicated and anathematized, ſworn into Plots they never heard of, and into Crimes they never committed, dragg'd to Goals, Gibbets, and Scaffolds, and the like. *All this while paſſive Obedience, if there were any ſuch Thing*, was found among them more than any where elſe; for here were no Rebellions, no Inſurrections, nor breaking of the Peace by the Diſſenters notwithſtanding all theſe Opinions.

After this comes King *James* the Second to the Crown, and he turned the Scale, and, together with Invaſion of Liberty, falls upon the Church, begins to riſle her of her Trophies, *for no Eſſentials had been touched*, and how long did ſhe bear it? Not 80 Years, not 30 Years, no, not ſo many Months.

What did ſhe do? Truly nothing but what ſhe ought to have done; defend her Liberty and Religion by Force, againſt unjuſt Invaſion and Tyranny; nothing but what all the Nations in the World have done, and would do again if they could.

The only Error we charge upon the Church of *England*, was ſetting up Pretences of what they really would not practice; crying up themſelves for Fools, when we knew they were wiſer Men; calling themſelves humble Slaves, but when the Trial came, proving Stubborn, Refractory, *Liberty-mongers*, even as bad as the worſt Whig or *Phanatick* of them all.

For the future then, if a humble Moderator might be permitted, to give Advice to the Gentlemen of the Church of *England*, it ſhould be in theſe ſhort and friendly Terms.

Pray Gentlemen never be impoſed upon, to pretend to more Loyalty and more ſlaviſh Principles than you intend to practice.

Never pretend to more Obedience than your Sovereign requires. Our late King, who I am not aſhamed to ſhow as a Patern for future Ages, required; and her preſent Majeſty, *without Affront to her Majeſty's Authority it may be ſaid*, requires no further Obedience from the People of *England* than the Laws of *England* require.

To govern according to Law, is a full Satisfaction to the People, and to obey according to Law, is a full Satisfaction to the Sovereign. The Laws are the Teſt both of the Royal Authority, and of the Subjects Obedience; and to pretend to more Obedience than the Law requires, is abuſing your Prince, and abuſing yourſelves.

Never be aſhamed to own with *your Brethren the Whigs*, that you are willing to ſubmit to Authority, but that you expect to be govern'd according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.

Let the Scotch Motto be ſet upon your Liberties, and according to your conſtant

conſtant Practice, *as well as ours:* Let all Men know you deſign to make it Good. *Nemo me impune laceſſit.*

And as it really never was the Principle of the Church of *England, nor were a hundredth Part of the Members of the Church tainted with it*; ſo for the future, 'tis hoped you will not ſuffer ſuch to mingle themſelves among you, or to act in the Name of the Church of *England*, who pretend to a blind abſolute Obedience to Princes.

And *Laſtly*, Gentlemen, a little more Modeſty to your humble Servants your Proteſtant Brethren, the Diſſenters, or Whigs; I mean as to Matter of Loyalty For in Truth, Gentlemen, we do not ſee any Reaſon you have to reproach us in that Matter, you being in every Particular as faulty that Way as your Neighbours.

The Divinity of our Bleſſed Saviour proved out of the *Old and New Teſtament*, &c.

March, 1719.

The Divinity *of our Bleſſed Saviour proved out of the* Old Teſtament, *and the exact Time of his Death.*

BEhold a Virgin ſhall conceive and bring forth a Son, and ſhall call his Name *Emanuel*; and before the Child ſhall know to refuſe the Evil, and chooſe the Good, the Land ſhall be forſaken of both her Kings. Iſa. 7. 14. 16.

Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given, and the Government ſhall be upon his Shoulders; his Name ſhall be called *Wonderful, Counſellor, the Mighty God, Everlaſting Father, the Prince of Peace*; of the Increaſe of his Government and Peace there ſhall be no End. The Zeal of the Lord of Hoſts will perform it. Ch. 9. 6.

Behold mine Elect in whom my Soul delighteth, he ſhall bring forth Judgment for the Gentiles. Ch. 42. 1.

There ſhall come forth a Rod out of the Stem of *Jeſſe*, and a Branch out of his Root. The Spirit of the Lord ſhall be upon him: The Spirit of Wiſdom and Underſtanding, of Counſel and Might, of Knowledge and of the Fear of the Lord. He ſhall ſmite the Earth with the Rod of his Mouth, and with the Breath of his Lips, ſhall he ſlay the Wicked. Ch. 11. 1, 2, 3, 4.

And in that Day there ſhall be a Root of *Jeſſe*, which ſhall ſtand for an Enſign of the People; to it ſhall the Gentiles ſeek, and his Reſt ſhall be glorious. *Compare with* Rom. 15. 10, 11, 12. Ver. 10.

Thou *Bethlehem Ephrata*, out of thee ſhall come forth to me, he who is to rule the Nations, whoſe Goings forth have been from Everlaſting. Mich. 5. 2.

Mal. 3. 1. The Lord whom ye ſeek ſhall ſuddenly come to his Temple.

Ch. 4. 2. But unto you who fear his Name, ſhall the Son of Righteouſneſs ariſe with Healing in his Wings.

Pſ. 110. The Lord ſaid unto my Lord, Sit thou on my Right-hand till I make thine Enemies thy Foot-ſtool.

Pſ. 45 6, 7. Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever, a Septre of Righteouſneſs is thy Sceptre; thou haſt loved Righteouſneſs and hated Iniquity; therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the Oyl of Gladneſs.

Iſa. 22. 22. The Key of the Houſe of *David*, will I lay upon his Shoulders; ſo He ſhall open, and none ſhall ſhut, and he ſhall ſhut, and none ſhall open.

Pſ. 102. 25. Thou Lord in the Beginning hath laid the Foundations of the Earth, and the Heavens are the Work of thy Hands.

Pſ. 110. 4. The Lord hath ſworn and will not repent, thou art a Prieſt for ever after the Order of *Melchiſedeck*. *Compare it with* Heb. 5. 6.

The Divinity *of our Bleſſed Saviour and Great Redeemer, proved out of the* New Teſtament.

Luke 1. 30. FEar not *Mary*, for thou haſt found Favour with God. Behold thou ſhalt conceive in thy Womb, and bring forth a Son, and ſhall call his Name *Jeſus*.

V. 32, 33. He ſhall be great, and ſhall be called the Son of the Higheſt. Of his Kingdom there ſhall be no End. The Holy Ghoſt ſhall come upon thee, and the Power of the Higheſt ſhall over-ſhaddow thee. Therefore that holy Thing which ſhall be born of thee ſhall be called the Son of God.

Luke 2. 10. The Angels of the Lord came unto them, and the Glory of the Lord ſhone round about them, and they were ſore afraid; and the Angels ſaid unto them, Fear not: I bring you good Tidings of great Joy, which ſhall be to all People; for unto us is born this Ver. 13. Day in the City of *David* a Saviour, which is Chriſt the Lord. And ſuddenly there was with the Angel a Multitude of the heavenly Hoſt, praiſing God, and ſaying, Glory be to God in the Higheſt, on Earth, Peace, Good-will towards Men.

Mar. 1. 16. *At his Baptiſm, the Heavens were opened, and the Spirit like a Dove deſcended upon him, and, there came a Voice from Heaven, ſaying,* Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleaſed.

Mat. 17. 5. This is my well beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed, hear ye him! *ſaid at his Transfiguration by a Voice out of the Cloud upon the holy Mount.*

John 12. 28. *Jeſus* ſaid, Father, Glorify thy Name; then came there a Voice from Heaven, ſaying, I have both glorified it, and I will glorify it again. His Birth was atteſted by Angels. His Baptiſm, his Tranſfiguration and Paſſion, favoured with particular and audible Voices from Heaven, to manifeſt to the unbelieving World that he was the Lu. 21. 33. Mar. 13. 31. Son of God, who ſaid *Heaven and Earth ſhall paſs away, but my Words ſhall not paſs away.*

Thoſe

Thoſe who will not be perſwaded to believe in our *Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt*, would do well to conſider what he hath left upon Record, *Thoſe who deny me before Men, them will I deny before my Father which is in Heaven.* Mat. 10. 33. Mar. 8. 38.

At his yielding up the Ghoſt, the Vail of the Temple was rent, to ſhew that Gentiles, as well as Jews, had free Acceſs to the Holy of Holies.——Rocks did rent, the Earth quaked, Graves were opened, many Saints aroſe, went into the Holy City, and appeared viſible, which made the Centurion, tho' an Infidel, ſay, *Truly, this was the Son of God.* Mat. 27. 51, 52.

In the Beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. He was in the World, and the World was made by him, and the World knew him not. John 1. 10.

And the *Logos*, or *Word*, was made Fleſh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his Glory, the Glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of Grace and Truth; and of his Fulneſs have we all received Grace. Ver. 14.

The Lamb of God who taketh away the Sins of the World. Ver. 29. 32.

John bare record, and ſaid, I ſaw the Spirit deſcending from Heaven like a Dove; and it abode upon him, and I knew him not, but he who ſent me to baptize with Water, ſaid unto me, Upon whom thou ſhalt ſee the Spirit deſcending and reſting, the ſame is he, who baptizeth with the Holy Ghoſt.

And I ſaw, and bare record, that the ſame is the Son of God. Ver. 34.

God hath in theſe laſt Days ſpoken to us by his Son, by whom alſo he made the World. Heb. 1. 2, 3.

The Brightneſs of his Father's Glory, and the expreſs Image of his Perſon; upholding all things by the Word of his Power, when he had by himſelf purged our Sins, ſat down at the Right-Hand of the Majeſty on high.

Jeſus ſaith, I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life, no Man cometh unto the Father, but by me. John 14. 6.

Believe me, I am in the Father, and my Father in me, or elſe believe me for the very Works ſake. Ver. 11.

The Blind receive their Sight, the Lame walk, the Lepers are cleanſed, the Deaf hear, the Dead are raiſed, and the Poor have the Goſpel preached to them. Mat. 11. 5.

Bleſſed is he, who ſhall not be offended in me. Ver. 6.

All things that the Father hath are mine. John 16.

I came forth from the Father into the World, again I leave the World, and go to the Father. 15, 28.

I and my Father are one. John 10. 36.

The Father is in me, and I in him. 38.

I came forth from God, neither came I of my ſelf, but he ſent me. Ch. 8. 42.

Father, glorify me with thine own ſelf, with the Glory which I had with thee before the World. John 17. 5.

All

Ver. 10. All mine are thine, and thine are mine, and I am glorified in them.

Ver. 3. Thou haſt given him Power over all Fleſh, that he ſhould give eternal Life, and this is Life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt whom thou haſt ſent.

THere are Three who bare record in Heaven, the Father the Word, and the Holy Ghoſt, and theſe three are one.

Phil. 2. 6. He thought it no Robbery to be equal with God.

Rom. 5. 9. Being juſtified by his Blood, we ſhall be ſaved from Wrath through him.

Eph. 21. 14, 18. For he is our Peace; For through him we have Acceſs to the Father, who hath tranſlated us into the Kingdom of his dear Son.

Col. 1. 13, 14, 17. By whom we have Redemption through his Blood, the Forgiveneſs of our Sins, who is the Image of the inviſible God; by him were all things created, and for him, he is before all things, and by him do all things conſiſt; for it pleaſed the Father that in him ſhould all Fulneſs dwell.

2 Theſ. 1. 7, 8. 9. The Lord Jeſus ſhall be revealed from Heaven with his mighty Angels in flaming Fire, to take Vengeance on them who know not God, and do not obey the Goſpel of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; who ſhall be puniſhed with everlaſting Deſtruction from the Glory of the Lord, and the Preſence of his Power.

Eph. 1. 20. Whom he raiſed from the Dead, and ſet him at his own right-hand far above every Name that is named, not only in this World, but in that which is to come, and hath put all things under his Feet.

Rev. 3. 7. Fear not, I am *Alpha* and *Omega*, and Behold I live for evermore, *Amen*. I am the Firſt and the Laſt, who was dead and am alive; I have the Key of Death and Hell. I open and no Man ſhutteth, I ſhut, and none openeth.

Heb. 13. 8. Jeſus Chriſt the ſame Yeſterday, to Day, and for ever.

He ſeveral Times foretold his own Death, and who ſhould betray him, and the Deſtruction of Jeruſalem.

Mar. 10. 33. Behold we go to *Jeruſalem*, and the Son of Man ſhall be betrayed unto the chief Prieſts and Scribes; and they ſhall condemn him to Death, and deliver him to the Gentiles; and they ſhall mock him, and ſcourge him, ſpit on him, and kill him, and the third Day he ſhall riſe again.

Mat. 12. 40. As *Jonas* was three Days and three Nights in the Whales Belly, ſo ſhall the Son of Man be three Days and three Nights in the Heart of the Earth.

John 12. 23. Jeſus ſaith, the Hour is come, when the Son of Man ſhall be glorified.

Ch. 13. 31. Now is the Son of Man glorified, and God is glorified in him, and God ſhall alſo glorify him.

He told the utter Diſtruction of the City and Temple of the Jews. *Ver.* 2, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18. Mark 13.

Behold the Hand of him that betrayeth me, is with me on the Table; but woe unto that Man by whom I am betray'd; It had been good for that Man, if he had not been born. Luke 22. 21, &c.

This Man purchaſed a Field with the Reward of Iniquity, and falling down head-long, burſt a ſunder, and his Bowels guſhed out. *Acts* 1. 18. Mark 14. 21

OUR bleſſed Saviour is called *Jehovah* Eloim, the Lord God of the Holy Prophets, in the Old Teſtament, which are the incommunicable Properties and Titles of the Great God.

Thou Lord [addreſſing to *Jehovah*] of old haſt laid the Foundations of the Earth. Pſalm 102. 25.

And the Lord *Jehovah* ſaid unto me, *Caſt it unto the Potter, a goodly Price was I valued at of the Children of* Iſrael. Zech. 11. 13.

They ſhall look on me, [*Jehovah*] whom they have pierced. Zech. 12. 10.

Behold the Voice of one crying in the Wilderneſs, Prepare ye the Way of the Lord *Jehovah*. Iſ. 40. 3.

I will have Mercy on the Houſe of *Iſrael*, and will ſave them by the Name of the Lord *Jehovah*. Hoſ. 1. 7.

And all thy Children ſhall be taught of the Lord *Jehovah*. Iſ. 54. 13.

Is there a God, *Jehovah*, beſides me, yea, there is no God, I know not any. *Chap.* 43. 11. I, even I am the Lord, and beſides me there is no God. Ch. 44. 8.

Texts proving an Unity of Divine Attributes, in Communion with the Father and the Son, equally applied to both.

Thou, even thou only, knoweſt the Hearts of all Men. 1 Kings 8. 39.

I, the Lord, ſearch the Heart and try the Reins. Jer. 17. 10.

I am the Firſt and the Laſt, and beſides me there is no God. Iſa. 44. 6.

The Wonderful, Counſellor, Almighty God, everlaſting Father, and the Prince of Peace. Ch. 9. 6.

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, becauſe the Lord hath anointed me to preach good Tidings to the Meek. Ch. 61. 1.

He hath ſent me to heal the broken hearted, to proclaim Liberty to the Captives, and Sight to the Blind.

And God ſaid, *Let us make Man in our own Image, after our own ik eneſs.* Gen. 1. 20.

OUR bleſſed Saviour is called by the Name *Jehovah*.

And the Lord God of the holy Prophets. Compare *Luke* 1. 16, 17. *Rev.* 22. with the Old Teſtament or *Jehovah Elohim*.

Thou Lord in the Beginning haſt laid the Foundations of the Earth, and the Heavens are the Work of thy Hands. Heb. 1. 10.

Then

Matth. 17. 9. Then was fulfilled that which was ſpoken by the Prophet, They took the thirty Pieces of Silver, the Price of him who was valued, and gave them to the Potter's Field, as the Lord had appointed.

John 19. 37. They ſhall look on him [*Jeſus Chriſt*] whom they have pierced.

Matth. 3. 3. The Voice of one crying in the Wilderneſs, *Prepare ye the Way of the Lord* [*Chriſt*]

Luke 2. 11. Unto you is born in the City of *David*, a Saviour, which is *Chriſt* the *Lord*.

John 6. 45. It is written in the Prophets, *They ſhall be taught of God.* Every Man that hath heard and learned of the Father, cometh unto me.

Rom. 8. 1. There is no Condemnation to them who are in Chriſt Jeſus.

Ch. 9. 5. Chriſt came, who is over all, God bleſſed for evermore.

Texts proving an Unity of divine Attributes, applied equally to the Father and the Son.

John 2. 24. He knew all Men, and needed not than any ſhould teſtify of Man, for he knew what was in Man.

Rev. 2. 3. I am he who ſearch the Reins and Heart.

Ch. 1. 8, 17. I am the Alpha and the Omega, the Beginning and the Ending, ſaith the Lord, which is, and was the Almighty Lord.

I am the Firſt, and I am the Laſt.

Rom. 10. 12. For the ſame *Lord* over all, is Rich unto all, who call upon him; *King* of *Kings* and *Lord* of *Lords*.

1 Tim. 6. 16. Who only hath Immortality dwelling in Light, that no Man can approach to.

Rev. 22. 6. *Lord God* of the hold Prophets.

Compare it with *Luke* 4. 18, 19, 20. to preach the acceptable Year of the Lord, this Day is this Scripture fulfilled in your Ears.

John 1. 2. He was in the Beginning with God, all Things were made by him, and without him, was not any Thing made, that was made.

He laid the whole Streſs of his Doctrine upon his riſing from the Dead, which was accompliſhed the very Time he foretold.

John 20. 12. MARY *Magdalen* came weeping to the Sepulchre, ſtooped down, and ſaw two Angels ſitting in white, the one at the Head, the other at the Feet where the Body of Jeſus had lain.

14. She turned herſelf, ſaw Jeſus, and knew him, after a while to be her Lord, whom at firſt ſhe took for the Gardiner. Jeſus ſaith unto

17. her, *Touch me not, for I am not yet aſcended to my Father.* He ſendeth her to his Diſciples, and appeareth to them the firſt Day of the Week himſelf, when the Doors were ſhut for fear of the *Jews*, ſtood in the Midſt, and ſaid unto them, *Peace be unto you.* Then were the Diſciples glad when they ſaw the Lord; but *Thomas* not being with them, he appeared again to them when *Thomas* was there,

there, and shewed him his Side, his Hands and his Feet, who being convinced, cried out, *My Lord, and my God.*

He shewed himself to them at the Sea of *Tiberias.* Chap. 21.

Jesus met two Disciples going to *Emmaus*, and in a long Discourse convinced them of their Unbelief, was afterwards seen of three hundred Brethren at once, when he had conversed forty Days with his Disciples by many infallible Proofs, and speaking to them of Things pertaining to the Kingdom of God, and did promise them the Holy Ghost, saying, *Do not depart from* Jerusalem, *but wait for the Promise which you have heard from the Father*; *Ye shall receive Power after the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and ye shall be my Witnesses both in* Judea, Jerusalem, *and* Samaria, *and unto the utmost Parts of the World.* Luke 24. Acts 1.

And when he had spoken these Things unto them, whilst they beheld, he was taken up, and a Cloud received him out of their Sight.

And whilst they looked stedfastly towards Heaven, as he went up, behold two Men stood by them in white Apparel, which also said, *Why stand ye gazing up into Heaven? This same* Jesus *who is taken from you into Heaven, shall come in like Manner as you have seen him go into Heaven.*

Obedience due to the present KING, notwithstanding our Oaths to the former. Written by a Divine of the Church of *England.*

Anno 1689.

1. THE Oath of Allegiance is the Expression of our natural Duty to the King (as the Coronation Oath is of the Regal; which in Nature is antecedent to it) 'tis especially signified in these Words. (*a*) "I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to his Majesty, his Heirs and Succes- "sors, and him and them will defend against all Attempts, which shall be made "against his or their Persons, their Crown and Dignity."

2. If the King do manifestly separate his Person from, and engage it against his Crown and Dignity; so that we cannot defend them both: I mean, if his personal Actions, contrary to Law, do directly and openly tend to the Prejudice and Spoiling of his Crown and Dignity, by his voluntary subjecting them to a Foreign Power, contrary to the plain and primary Intention and Letter of the Oath; subverting the legal Constitution, and enervating the very Laws by which his Crown is supported, his Prerogative is measured, and the Dignity of

(*a*) *He must be King before we can be bound to him as such.*

the King, as such, hath its very Being, as well as the Safety of his People is maintained; certainly in such a Case, none can be bound by this, or any other Oath, to defend the King's Person, in Attempts so contrary to the very Reason and End of all Government, with the Neglect of the other Part of our Duty, which is to defend his Crown and Dignity.

The Oath of Supremacy seems to direct us more clearly in this Difficulty; the Words are, "I shall bear Faith and true Allegiance to the King's Highness:" but how? it follows, "and to my Power shall assist and defend all "Jurisdictions, Privileges, Preheminences and Authorities, granted or belonging to the King, or annexed and united to the Imperial Crown of this Realm:" that is, thus we are to bear Faith and Allegiance to the King."

4. For if we should be bound to assist and defend his Person, when it is, and as it is engaged against his Crown and Dignity, we seem bound, *toto posse & totis viribus* (so far Defence is expounded) to assist and contribute to the Ruin both of our King and Country, and perhaps to the cutting of our own Throats.

5. If any should imagine, that the Oath will not suffer us to consider the Person and Crown of the King thus divided; but that it binds us to assist and defend them together: 'tis true, while they are kept together. But if the King himself divide them, and 'tis become impossible for us to assist his Person but we must betray his Crown; nor defend his Crown without forbearing to assist his Person; to say, now we are bound to assist and defend both, makes a plain Repugnancy in the Oath, and in our Duty (to do and not to do the same thing) and consequently the Obligation ceaseth.

6. That we are bound by our Allegiance to assist the Person of the King, to the Prejudice of his Crown and People, seems not only to be against the Light of Nature, the primary End of it being the Safety of his Kingdom, and the Safety of the King, but the secondary End of it; but most agreeable to the Sense of our antient and learned Lawyers, and also, of the plain Acknowledgement and Profession of antient Kings and Parliaments.

King *Henry* I. five hundred Years ago, told the Pope, whilst I live the *Authorities and Usages of the Kingdom shall never be diminished*: But if *I would* so *debase myself* (which *God forbid*) *Magnates mei & totus Angliæ populus nullo modo paterentur*: The Lords and People of *England* would by no means suffer it. And *Edward* I. wrote himself to the same Purpose. Besides, with his Consent, the *Lords* and *Commons* in Parliament, in their Letter to the *Pope*, have these Words, *We do not permit, or in the least will permit* (*sicut nec possumus nec debemus*) though our Sovereign Lord the King do, or in the least wise attempt to do any of the Premises (by owning the *Pope*'s Authority, touching his Right to *Scotland*) so strange a Thing, so unlawful, prejudicial, and otherwise unheard of, though the King himself would. Once more, on Record in the Fourth of *Henry* III. the *Commons* declare, *Si Dominus Rex & Regni majores hoc vellent* (*Adomer*'s Revocation upon the *Pope*'s Order) *Communitas tamen ipsius ingressum in Angliam, nulla tenus sustineret.*

Now what's the Meaning of all this? but that the King's Personal Will, contrary to Law, however expressed (for it must be signified by his Words or Actions)

(*b*) Bract. Fleta. *Ei frænum ponere.*

Actions) if the Performance of it would prejudice his Crown and Dignity, may be reſiſted. Much leſs are we bound by our Allegiance to aſſiſt or defend him in ſo doing, in Reaſon, Law, or the Senſe of our antient Kings or Parliaments.

Objection. *But we ſwear to defend, not only the* King, *but* his Heirs *and* lawful Succeſſors.

Anſwer 1. True, but *Hæres non eſt viventis*, and the Succeſſor, in Law and common Senſe, is the Perſon that doth actually ſucceed, or is in Poſſeſſion. Now if the actual Succeſſor be the lawful Succeſſor, we are bound by our Oaths to defend him; but if he be not the lawful Succeſſor, none elſe is ſo, becauſe none elſe is the Succeſſor, and conſequently, ſo far the Object and Reaſon of our Oaths ceaſing, our Obligation by them ceaſeth, and we are bound to none beſides the Perſon in Poſſeſſion.

2. 'Tis farther remarkable, That though the Word *Lawful* be once in the Oath of *Supremacy*, 'tis only there, where we ſwear Faith and Allegiance in general; but, as if it were intended, that the Subject ſhould not trouble himſelf about the Title of the King in Being, where that Allegiance is explain'd with reſpect to Practice, the Word *Lawful* is left out in that Oath. It follows there in theſe Words, — *Shall aſſiſt and defend all Juriſdictions*, — granted or belonging to the King's Highneſs, his Heirs and Succeſſors, without the Word *Lawful*. And agreeable hereunto, we find the Word wholly left out in the Oath of Allegiance, both in the ſame Place, where we ſwear Allegiance in general, as well as in the other Place of our more particular Duty; and it looks as if this was done *de Induſtria*, for the ſame Reaſon, namely, that ſuch as take the Oaths might not think themſelves bound thereby to be ſollicitous about the Title to the Crown.

3. The Holy Scriptures ſeem not to involve the Conſciences of private Chriſtians about Princes Titles; but expreſly require their Subjection to the Powers that are, as a great and neceſſary Inſtance of that Humility and peaceable Behaviour which their Religion teacheth them.

4. In the ſame Holy Books, we are further moſt plainly admoniſh'd, that (by what means ſoever obtained) 'tis (*c*) *God that putteth down one, and ſetteth up another*; and upon that Ground too, we are ſtrictly charg'd to ſubmit to the Powers that are, becauſe they are ordain'd of God, and tho' the Apoſtle uſe the Word ἐξουσία, I think, none can imagine he intended by it, to determine the Lawfulneſs of *Auguſtus*'s Title, who was admitted by the Senate; but rather, to enforce that Obedience that he preſſeth the Chriſtians to yield, by this Conſideration, That all Authority is from God; and in its true Nature, and by God's (*d*) Ordinance, intended for our Good.

5. The known Statute of 11 *H.* 7. 1. is of the ſame Import, and grounded we find, upon the like Reaſon and Holy Scripture, it gives us Way to this plain Inference, that the ſame Duty which we owe to a lawful King, is to be performed to the King in Being; that is, to the King in Poſſeſſion; and that no other King or future Parliament can in Reaſon, Law, or good Conſcience, upon any Pretence of Uſurpation in the Poſſeſſor of the Crown, or any Diſloyaly in the Subject, charge us with Guilt, for ſerving or defending the King in Poſſeſſion.

(*c*) Rom. 13.
(*d*) *Imperatores Rom. fatendum eſt, non optimo Jure Imperium adeptos.* Sanderſon.

The Subjects therefore, might lawfully fight for him, and consequently take the Military Oath; in Reason (by the Law of Nature) in Law, by the Law of the Land; in all good Conscience, that is, by the Law of God, in the Holy Scriptures.

6. Hereupon, my Lord *Coke*'s Words are notable: This Act, saith he, (meaning 25 *Ed.* 3. about Treason) is to be understood of a King in Possession of the Crown and Kingdom; for if there be a King regnant in Possession, altho' he be *Rex de facto* and *non de jure*, yet is he *Seignior le Roy*, within the Purview of this Statute; and the other, that hath Right and is out of Possession, is not within this Act.

Nay, saith he, if Treason be committed against a King *de facto*, and *non de jure*, and after the King *de jure* come to the Crown, he shall punish the Treason done to the King *de facto*; and a Pardon granted by a King *de jure*, that is not also *de facto*, is void, *Inst.* 3. *l. p.* 7.

Now, if by the Law of the Land, which I think is our only Guide in such Cases, Treason may be committed against a King that is so only by Possession, without Right; and cannot be committed against him that hath Right, and not Possession: Seeing he is not within the Purview of the Statute, sure, we cannot reasonably be thought to be intangled in such a Strait, as to be bound by our Allegiance to commit Treason, which we cannot presume the King in Possession will pardon, and the Law tells us, the King that hath Right only, cannot. Who therefore would question our Liberty to be true and faithful to the King in Possession, so far at least, as not to resist him, or to be Traitors to him, or to give him Assurance thereof by our Oath. The renown'd Casuist Bishop *Sanderson* would not declare (*e*) the very *Engagement* to be unlawful, taken in that lower Sense, to the pretended Commonwealth without any King or House of Lords.

7. Since we have mentioned that excellent Casuist, whose Loyalty, Judgment, Fidelity, and Authority, is unquestionable, 'tis fit for us to observe what he hath frequently and without the least Hesitancy delivered as his premeditated Thoughts about the present Case.

Having suppos'd a King in Possession only, by Power, if the Query be what is to be done by the Subject that hath sworn Allegiance to the rightful King; he answers, 'tis not only lawful to obey the King in such Possession; but it often happens that not doing so, [*defuisse Officio*] we are wanting to our Duty. Yea, that we owe Subjection to a King in Possession, upon the Grounds of Justice, Equity, Charity, and Gratitude, while we enjoy our Liberties and are protected by him.

Exigit hoc a nobis (*Optima æqui boni lex*) *vetus illa Commutationum formula,* Δός τι, καὶ λάβε τι. *& profecto, perversissimæ mentis, sub illius dominationis patrocinio, velle vivere cui parere nolis: & cujus protectione gaudeas, ejus imperium detractare.*

8. His third Argument for the Necessity of Obedience to the present Power, however obtained, is taken from the Charity we owe to the Publick, whether Church or State, of which we are Members, and for the Good of which we are born

(*e*) *Case of Engag.* p. 111.

born ; in *quantum igitur illius Societatis, cujus ipse Membrum & pars est, Salus & tranquillitas exigit, eatenus Civis unusquisq ; imperiis ejus qui de facto——præest, obtemperare tenetur.* Words worthy the most serious Reflection of the present Church of *England.* Read at large his 5th Prælect.

But as to the Argument from *Gratitude*, when we seriously reflect upon our late forlorn and ruinous Condition both in Church and State; when we call to mind that all our Foundations were put out of Course, and our Pillars even broken by the late King's own ill-guided Hands; and that the Heroick Prince hath been at so great Expence, and exposed himself to so many Hazards, in his own Country, at Sea, and here in *England*, in Compassion both to our Miseries and Infirmities; when our Land was weak, and all the Inhabitants thereof in an utter Disability to rescue or save themselves; and none under Heaven, within the reach of humane Apprehension, besides that one Prince, could possibly effect it; that glorious Instrument under God, put his Hand to support and strengthen, and bear up our Pillars, to redeem and secure our Religion, Laws, and Liberties; and when our late King, either for fear of his Person, or rather of the Issue of Affairs in our Re-establishment, had deserted or abdicated his Kingdom, and left us in Confusion to shift for ourselves; whose Return now cannot be thought of without Horror: And the present King and Queen, being therefore first petitioned, to take the Government, have graciously accepted it, upon Terms answering all Mens Desires or Interests: I say, when all this is well pondered, the Ground and Argument for our quiet and chearful Submission, taken from Gratitude, is indeed too big to be contained in a Sheet or two of Paper, or the Mind of Man; and prodigious, beyond the Credit of Posterity.

Lastly, One would think there was no Place left for any further Scruple. The late Change was urged by extream Necessity, and carried on with a wonderful Providence, and perfected with universal Consent; it was eminently the Lord's doing, and our own too; the Government was unhinged by the late King himself. The present King, *&c.* was put into Possession by ourselves in our Representatives; who were as freely chosen by us as ever any Parliament was: The Convention had nothing wanting but the previous Formality of the Royal Writs, which could not be then had; that Punctilio of Order, cannot reasonably be supposed to go into the Being of the representative Body; the Want of it, cannot well be thought to prejudice our Election, or Consent to what they have done, whom we chose and intrusted with our politick Reason and Interest, and in whose Acts, we ought to acquiesce as our own Doings, in every Thing or Matter of Expediency for the public Good, not evidently contrary to our Duty to God.

In short, The Possession of the Throne, by the Act of the People of *England* is now unquestionable; we have no Liberty left us, either to dispute the King's Title, or deny him our Duty. Give unto *Cæsar* the Things that are *Cæsar's*, &c.

The

The State of the Case between *DENMARK* and *SWEDEN.*

IN the Year of our Lord, 1654, on the 15th of *September*, a League of Amity and Friendſhip was concluded, and afterwards on both Sides ratified, between the King and Kingdom of *Denmark* on the one Part, and the Lord Protector and Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, &c. on the other Part, whereof this is the firſt Article.

ARTICLE I.

Quod ab hoc die erit firma, integra & ſincera Amicitia, Pax & Confœderatio, tam Mari quam Terrâ, & aquis dulcibus, inter Regem Regnumq; Daniæ & Norvegiæ, *& Protectorem & Rempublicam* Angliæ, Scotiæ & Hiberniæ, *nec non Dominia, Regiones ac Civitates ſub utriuſque ditione poſitas, Populumque, Incolas & Subditos alterutrius, cujuſcunq; gradus & dignitatis; ita ut neutra pars, Populuſve aut ſubditi alterutrius, neque per alios, directè vel indirectè quicquam agat, vel quantum in ſe eſt, agi permittat in damnum aut præjudicium alterius, verùm altera alteram bonis officiis adjuvabit atque alterius rem & commodum pro virili promovebit.* That is to ſay,

That from this Day ſhall be a firm, entire and ſincere Amity, Peace and Confederacy, as well by Sea as Land, and freſh Waters, between the King and Kingdom of *Denmark* and *Norway*, and the Protector and Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, together with the Dominions, Countries and Cities in the Juriſdiction of either; as alſo between the People, Inhabitants and Subjects of both, of what Degree or Dignity ſoever; ſo as neither Part, People, or Subjects of either, neither by themſelves, nor others, directly or indirectly may do any Thing, nor as much as in them lies, may ſuffer to be done, to the Damage or Prejudice of the other; but that the one ſhall aid the other by all good Offices, and ſhall advance the Welfare and Profit of the other to his utmoſt Power.

Three Years after this League thus made, that is to ſay, in the Year 1657, after the *Danes* had received many great and notorious Wrongs and Injuries from the King and Kingdom of *Sweden*, and being further threatned by them to be worſe dealt with, as may be ſeen more at large in the *Daniſh* Manifeſto, called *Jus feciale Armatæ Daniæ:* They betook themſelves to their Arms. But this War being ended through the Mediation of *England* and *France*, and the Peace concluded at *Roſkild* in *February* laſt, was ſign'd by the Publick Miniſters of the Moſt Chriſtian King, and his late Highneſs the Lord Protector, who thereby became Sureties for the ſame, as is more fully ſet forth in a Relation of the Affairs

fairs between the two Northern Kings, printed in this City about a Month ſince.

This Peace the King of *Sweden* kept, till he had got into his Hands four or five Provinces, wherein were many Strongholds, and had received other Advantages granted to him by the ſaid Treaty of Peace; but being bound by the ſame to quit all the Territories of the King of *Denmark*, in which at that Time his Army lay quartered, inſtead of marching away, he marched back again into the Iſle of *Zealand*, beſieged the Caſtle of *Cronenburg* and took it, laid alſo Siege to *Copenhagen*, which although it ſucceeded not, yet he threateneth to beſiege again; and he ſhould have no better Succeſs than he had before, he endeavoureth to engage us in his Quarrel, and by the Help of our Navy to make himſelf Maſter of the three Northern Kingdoms, as he is already of the *Baltick*-Sea, and the Ports thereof.

In the Beginning of this ſecond Invaſion, the King of *Denmark*, made full Account, that the moſt Chriſtian King of *France*, and his late Highneſs the Lord Protector, were bound in Honour, to ſee the Contents of that Treaty of Peace, whereof they were Mediators and Sureties, as well performed on the *Swediſh* Side, as he had done on his, and implored their Aid to that Purpoſe: but finding no Relief from *England*, (whether the Indiſpoſition of his Highneſs, or ſomething elſe was the Cauſe) he ſought for Aid from ſuch of his Neighbours, as had Tenderneſs enough, not to ſee a King and all his Royal Progeny unjuſtly oppreſſed: amongſt thoſe Friends and Neighbours were the States General of the United Provinces, who were bound to defend him by a defenſive League, concluded between them and that King in the Year 1649. But before they came to put in Execution what they were oblig'd to do, they endeavoured to ſatisfy his Highneſs, concerning the Juſtice and Neceſſity thereof, and to demonſtrate to him the Inconveniencies, that would ariſe to the Commonwealth of *England* itſelf, if the King of *Sweden* ſhould be pleaſed to co-operate with them, for the compoſing of thoſe Differences, which were grown to that Height, between the two Northern Kings: and his ſaid Highneſs being deceaſed, they continued to uſe the ſame Inſtance with this preſent Lord Protector, declaring, that they intended nothing, but what might be equally to the Good and Profit of this Nation, as well as of their own, in any Liberty or Privilege of Trade and Navigation, not deſiring the leaſt Advantage to their own Subjects more than to us, although their Endeavours to preſerve thoſe Liberties had already been expenſive to them, both in Blood and Treaſure.

From theſe precedent Conſiderations, we may propoſe theſe following Queries.

I. Whether the Commonwealth of *England*, &c. can in Conſcience break their publick Faith and Treaty with *Denmark*, without any Cauſe given?

II. Whether the ſaid Commonwealth be not bound in Honour, to ſee the Treaty of Peace between the two Northern Kings, whereof his late Highneſs was Mediator

Mediator and Surety, performed on both Sides; obliging him, who hath violated the Treaty, to give due Reparation, for the Damage received by the Party injured?

III. Whether it be for the Intereſt of the *Engliſh*, in their Trade and Navigation to the *Baltick* Sea, that all the Eaſtland Commodities, be in the Power of one Prince, who either may withhold them, or raiſe thereupon any arbitrary Tolls and Cuſtoms, though never ſo exceſſive?

IV. Whether it be very ſafe for this Commonwealth, that one Prince ſhould be the ſole Dominator of all the North; and whether *England* hath not Reaſon to fear the ſame Inconveniencies from thence, which it has felt heretofore, when thoſe three Kingdoms had but one King, and he ſtill to conteſt with thoſe *Vandalick* Cities, which now are in the King of *Sweden*'s Power.

V. Whether the Offers and Deſires of the States General, that we would join with them to the compoſing of thoſe Differences between the two Northern Kings, by Way of Mediation, be not rather to be accepted, than that we ſhould involve ourſelves in an unjuſt and dangerous War, wherein a Victory may prove of worſe Conſequence to our own Country, than any Overthrow?

VI. Or whether Conſcience, Honour, our Trade and Navigation, and our Fleet, yea the Safety of the State, ought to be ſet at Stake, to gratify the *French*, our Friends at preſent; who doubtleſs for one of theſe two Reaſons, endeavour to engage us in this over-haſty War, againſt both our Intereſts and our Allies; either that they may thereby advance and enlarge their Conqueſt upon the *German* Empire, and make themſelves Maſters of all *Flanders*, this Campaign; or rather that they may ſet all Proteſtant Princes and States at Variance, then make Peace with *Spain*, and ſo at laſt extirpate the *Proteſtant Religion*, having firſt weakned the Defenders thereof by their own Arms?

A ſhort Account of the BANK *of* ENGLAND.

Heretofore publiſhed by *Michael Godfrey*, Eſq; deceaſed.

CONſidering the Variety of Opinions concerning the Bank, it may be thought *a Service to the Publick* to give the following Account of it; whereby 'twill appear, That the Bank, notwithſtanding *all the Cavils*, which the Wit, and Malice *of its Opponents* have raiſed, is one of the beſt Eſtabliſhments that ever was made for the *Good of the Kingdom:* For how plauſible ſoever their Objections may ſeem, 'tis manifeſt they proceed in ſome *from Averſion to the Government*, in others *from Prejudice*, *falſe Inſinuations*, or *miſtaken Notions*, but in moſt *from Self-Intereſt*.

The Bank is a Society conſiſting of about 1300 Perſons, who having ſubſcribed 1200000 *l.* purſuant to an Act of Parliament, are incorporated by the Name of *The Governor and Company of the Bank of* England, and have a Fund of 100000 *l. per Ann.* granted them, *redeemable after eleven Years*, upon *One Year's Notice*; which 1200000 *l.* they have *paid into the Exchequer*, by ſuch Payments as *the Publick* Occaſions required, and *moſt of it* long before the Money could have been demanded.

The Subſcriptions to the Bank were made by Virtue of a Commiſſion under *the Great Seal of* England, grounded upon the ſaid Act of Parliament, of which publick Notice was given, and *the Commiſſioners* were appointed to take *all ſuch voluntary Subſcriptions* as ſhould be made on or before *the firſt Day of Auguſt laſt*, by any Perſon or Perſons, *Natives* or *Foreigners*, *Bodies Politick or Corporate*, towards the raiſing the ſaid 1200000 *l.* and there was *a Proviſo in the ſaid Act*, that if 600000 *l.* or more of the ſaid 1200000 *l.* ſhould not be ſubſcribed on or before the firſt Day of *Auguſt* then next coming, that the Power of making *a Corporation* ſhould ceaſe, and the Money *be paid into the Exchequer* by the reſpective Subſcribers and Contributors. And notwithſtanding *all the Endeavours of its Adverſaries*, the whole 1200000 *l.* was ſubſcribed *in ten Days time*, though if the Subſcriptions had not amounted to 600000 *l.* the Subſcribers would have had but *a bad Bargain*, and ſuch as no-body would have taken off their Hands for 20 *per Cent.* Loſs of their *Principal*, and yet they would have received 8 *l. per Cent. per Annum for their Money*; nor would the 1200000 *l.* have been any thing near ſubſcribed, *but upon the Proſpect* of their being incorporated to be the Bank of *England*.

It's obſervable, That the Promoters of the Bank have propoſed no Advantage thereby to themſelves above any of the other Subſcribers, all the Profit being only *pro Rata*, according to their Stock; and though it cannot be imagined but that they intended to be largely concerned, yet it is ſo ſettled, that thoſe who have but 500 *l.* have *one Vote*, and thoſe who have *never ſo much* can have *no more*; and the Directors have no Salary fixt, for their Pains and Attendance, but ſubmit themſelves wholly to what *a General Court* will think fit to allow them;

them ; and any nine Members having each 500 *l.* Stock, may call *a General Court*, and turn out *the Governor*, *Deputy-Governor*, and all or any of *the Directors*, and chooſe others in their Places. Which are Proviſions ſo wiſe, and effectual to prevent Fraud in ſome, to the Prejudice of the reſt, that it hardly leaves room for any Doubt of that Nature.

I ſhall not attempt to enumerate all the Advantages which *the Nation* will receive by the Bank, however I will mention *ſome few*, which alone are ſufficient to recommend it, *viz.*

The Bank, beſides the raiſing 1200000 *l.* towards *the Charge of the War*, cheaper than it could otherwiſe have been done, (and like the other Publick Funds, *tying the People faſter to the Government)* will infallibly *lower the Intereſt of Money*, as well on *Publick as Private* Securities, which all other Funds have advanced, and which hath been raiſed to *an exorbitant Rate*, as to the Publick, *by thoſe who have made Uſe of its Neceſſities*, and are now angry at the Bank, becauſe that will reduce it. And *the lowering of Intereſt*, beſides the Encouragement it will be *to Induſtry and Improvements*, will by *a natural Conſequence* raiſe the Value of Land, and encreaſe Trade, *both which depend upon it* ; but it cannot be expected that *Land ſhall riſe much* whilſt ſuch high Taxes continue upon it, and whilſt there are ſo great Advantages to be made *by lending Money to the Publick.*

The Bank gives Money for *Tallies on Funds*, having a Credit of Loan by Act of Parliament, and which are payable in two Years time, for the growing Intereſt only, *without any other Allowance*, on which there was uſed to be paid for the Change, as much or more than the Publick Intereſt : For even *on the Land Tax*, which is counted the beſt of all Funds, there has been frequently given on *Tallies* payable in three or four Months time, 1 *l.* $1\frac{1}{2}$, $1\frac{3}{4}$, and two *per Cent.* premio, *over and above the Publick Intereſt*, and *Tallies* on ſome Funds, on which *but* 12 or 18 *Months paſt* there was 25 *l.* and 30 *per Cent.* given *over and above the publick Intereſt*, are now taken by the Bank for nothing, and inſtead of allowing Money *to change them*, there is now Money given *to procure them* ; ſo that *Tallies* are become better than Money, becauſe there is 7 or 8 *per Cent. per Annum* Benefit whilſt they are kept ; and they are paid by the Bank *upon Demand*, to all thoſe who deſire to have Money for them, which is *in Effect* ſo much Quick Stock which the Bank has already increaſed to *the Nation*, beſides what it will farther add by its own Credit.

Thus by a regular Courſe, and without any Violence, the Bank has made *Tallies* current in Payment, which is what has been ſo long wiſh'd for, but could not have been effected without the Bank (although there had been a Law to compel it) and this has given *ſuch a Reputation to all Tallies*, even thoſe which are the *moſt remote*, that they are now currently taken by private Perſons at 6, 8, 10, 15, and 20 *l. per Cent. leſs Allowance* than what was given but ſome few Months before the Bank was eſtabliſh'd, *all which Loſſes on Tallies was paid by the Publick* ; for it cannot be ſuppoſed, but that thoſe who are to allow 15 or 20 *per Cent.* for Diſcount of their Tallies, *make Proviſion accordingly* in the Price they are to have for their Commodities.

The

The Bank *will likewiſe facilitate the future Supplies*, by making the Funds which are to be given, *more uſeful and ready* to anſwer *the Publick Occaſions*, and upon eaſier Terms than what has been done *during the War:* For it's ſaid, they will lend Money *on the Land Tax* at 6 *per Cent. per Annum*, nay ſome ſay at 5 *per Cent. per Annum*; which will *ſave the Nation* a great Sum of Money in Intereſt, as well as what was uſually paid for Gratuities and other Charges to procure Loans, a Method that ſome of the Oppoſers of the Bank have been well acquainted with.

But now the Bank is eſtabliſh'd, and that all who want Money, and have Securities, know where to be ſupplied, and the Terms, *there cannot be ſuch Advantages made on the Publick or Private Mens Neceſſities* for the future.

The more Credit the Bank has, and the more Money is lodged in it, the more it will *leſſen Intereſt*, for want of Occaſions to improve it; and thoſe who lodge their Money in the Bank, have it as much at their Diſpoſal, as if it were in the Hands of *the Goldſmiths*, or in their own *Caſh-cheſt*; and there is a greater Value than the Money which is depoſited in the Bank that circulates *by their Credit*, as much as if it were ſtirring *in Specie:* And the Bank-Bills ſerve already *for Returns and Exchange* to and from the remoteſt Parts of *the Kingdom*, and will in a little time do the like in *foreign Parts*, which will *leſſen* the *exporting of Bullion* for the paying and maintaining our Armies abroad *during this War*; and if the Bulk of the Money of the Nation which has been lodged with the Goldſmiths, had been depoſited in the Bank four or five Years paſt, it had prevented its being ſo *ſcandalouſly clipt*, which one day or other muſt coſt the Nation *a Million and half, or two Millions* to repair.

Thoſe who are concerned in the Bank cannot fail to *leſſen the Intereſt of Money*, for it's their own Intereſt to do it, elſe they cannot employ it; and their Fund being ſettled at 8 *l. per Cent. per Annum*, the lower they bring all other *Intereſt*, they make the Stock of the Bank the more valuable; and it muſt be allowed, that it is the *only Fund* that ever was ſettled in *England* which has *leſſened the Intereſt of Money*. And 'tis very obſervable, that any Reſolution that the Concerned in the Bank have taken to be more ſerviceable in accommodating the *Publick* or *private Mens Occaſions*, has always given it a *farther Reputation*, and increaſed its *Value*; and the more they ſerve *the Intereſt of the Nation*, ſo much more they ſerve their own, they being under this happy Circumſtance, *That they cannot do Good to themſelves but by doing Good to others*.

The Nation pays for the Million on Annuities 14 *l. per Cent. per Annum* for Ninety-nine Years, and for the Million Lottery 14 *l. per Cent. per Annum*, for ſixteen Years, beſides about one tenth Part which was expended in Charges, and reckoning Intereſt upon Intereſt at 5 *per Cent. per Annum*, as ſome have computed it, the *Lottery* amounts to above three Millions, and the Annuities amount to above 260 Millions.

The Funds of *Wine*, *Vinegar* and *Tobacco*, *Eaſt-India Goods*, *Joint-Stocks*, *Paper and Parchment*, and *new Impoſitions*, are all at 8 *l. per Cent. per Annum*, as well as the Bank; and yet there has been from 20 to 30 *l. per Cent.* Loſs on

Tallies upon ſeveral of theſe Funds, beſides the *Publick Intereſt*; the like has been on the remote Parts of the $\frac{3}{5}$ *Exciſe* and $\frac{3}{4}$ *Cuſtoms* before the Bank was eſtabliſh'd, and thereby the Nation has paid 12, 14, 16, 18 and 20 *per Cent. per Annum*, *Intereſt for Money*, which, if it had continued, muſt have *ruined the Kingdom:* But now, that they who have made theſe *Advantages* by the Publick are prevented of the like for the future, they will be more ready to *lend Money* on *private Securities*, or to *purchaſe Lands*, for want of *Occaſions* to improve their *Money* to ſo much better *Advantage*.

It's a Matter which is *very ſurprizing and without any Example*, that after *the Nation* has been ſix Years engaged in ſuch *a chargeable War*, and has been at near *thirty Millions Expence*, and ſuch Quantities of *Bullion have been exported*, beſides the Loſs of *ſeveral Millions* which *the Enemy has taken*; that after all this, inſtead of *the Intereſt* of Money *riſing*, (as has been uſual in all Wars) there ſhould now be ſuch *a Fall of Intereſt*, which muſt be acknowledged to be wholly owing to the Bank, and that it could not have been effected without it; for till the Bank exerted itſelf, *the Intereſt of Money was riſing apace*, and would have continued ſo, and have come to a ſtrange Exorbitancy ere this, if the Bank had not been eſtabliſh'd.

The Bank being thus uſeful to *the Publick*, extends itſelf likewiſe to accommodate *all private Mens Occaſions*; for they lend Money *on Mortgages*, and *real Securities* at 5 *l. per Cent. per Annum*, and their very publiſhing they would do it, has given a Check to the *raiſing the Intereſt* on them, from 5 to 6 *l. per Cent. per Annum*, as was attempted: And if the *Titles of Land were made more ſecure*, Money would be lent thereon at 4 *l. per Cent. per Annum*, and in Time of Peace at 3 *l. per Cent. per Annum*. *Foreign Bills of Exchange* are diſcounted at $4\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent. per Annum*, and *Inland Bills* and *Notes* for Debts at 6 *l. per Cent. per Annum*, and thoſe who keep their Caſh in the Bank, have the one diſcounted at 3 *l. per Cent. per Annum*, and the other at $4\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent. per Annum*, for which moſt *Goldſmiths* uſed to take 9 or 10 *per Cent. per Annum*. And Money is lent *on Pawns of Commodities* which are not periſhable, at 5 *l. per Cent. per Annum*, for which ſome *in their Neceſſities* have paid more than double as much, to the Ruin of many great Traders.

Money is likewiſe lent on the Fund of the Orphans of the City of *London*, at 5 *l. per Cent. per Annum*, which will hinder ſeveral, who are neceſſitous, from being forced to ſell their Intereſt at Under-rates.

And 'tis ſaid they have agreed to ſet up a *Lumbard* to lend Money on ſmall Pawns, *for the Relief of the Poor*, at *One Penny per Month* for 20 Shillings, for which they now pay *Six Pence* or *Twelve Pence* every Week: And 'tis probable, if the Bank was not reſtrained by Act of Parliament, they might take into Conſideration the Exchanging *Seamens Tickets* for Money, for a very ſmall Allowance, for which they have oftentimes paid 7 or 8 Shillings in the Pound.

The Bank will reduce the Intereſt of Money in *England* to 3 *per Cent. per Ann.* in a few Years, *without any Law* to enforce it, in like Manner as it is in all *other Countries* where Banks are eſtabliſh'd, whereby the Trade of the *Nation* may be driven

driven upon more *equal Terms* with the reſt of *Our Neighbours*, where Money is to be had at ſo much lower Rates than what we in *England* have hitherto paid: And as *the leſſening the Intereſt of Money will infallibly raiſe the Value of Land*, it had been worth while for the Nobility and Gentry who are the Proprietors of the Real Eſtates in *England*, to have given *a Land-tax* for the Bank, of double the Sum which was raiſed by it, if they could not otherwiſe have obtained it; for the *falling the Intereſt* of Money to 3 *l. per Cent per Annum*, to which Rates the Bank will reduce it, will unavoidably *advance the Price of Land to above* 30 *Years Purchaſe*, which will *raiſe the Value* of the Lands of *England* at leaſt 100 Millions, and thereby abundantly reimburſe *the Nation* all the Charges of *the War*, and will not only enable the *Gentry* to make better Proviſion for *their Younger Children*, but thoſe who now owe Money on their *Lands*, to pay off *their Debts*, by the Increaſe of the Value of *their Eſtates*.

The *Eaſe and Security* of the great Receipts and Payments of Money which are made by the Bank, (where Peoples Caſh is kept as it is at the *Goldſmiths*) together with the ſafe depoſiting of it, *are ſuch Advantages to recommend it*, that *they ought not to be paſt over* without ſome Obſervation; *eſpecially* conſidering how much Money has been loſt in *England* by the *Goldſmiths* and *Scriveners* Breaking, which in about 30 *Years* paſt, cannot amount to ſo little as betwixt *two and three Millions*, all which might have been prevented, had a Bank been ſooner eſtabliſh'd. For none can loſe by *the Bank*, they having a Fund of 100,000 *l. per Ann.* and Money, or good Securities beſides, for as much as they owe, wherewith to pay all that truſt them.

Theſe are *ſuch Services to the Nation* in general, which have been (and will be) done by the Bank, as could not have been done without it; *and ſuch Arguments as theſe* ariſing from fact, are better Demonſtrations and more Convincing of the Uſefulneſs of it, than meer *ſpeculative Notions* urged by its Oppoſers, can be to prejudice others againſt it; *and therefore* it would be *an unaccountable ſort of Policy*, to endeavour to deprive *the Nation* of thoſe vaſt Advantages, which it now does and will receive by it.

Having given this *ſhort Account of* the Bank, I ſhall conſider *the Objections* that have been made againſt it, and *who they are* that make them; in which I ſhall chiefly take notice of thoſe who would cloak *the Oppoſition they make out of private Intereſt*, under ſome other ſpecious Pretences; *among which* there are ſome who would be thought the *moſt zealous for the Government*, who at firſt pretended to diſlike the Bank, only for fear it ſhould diſappoint *their Majeſties* of the Supplies which were propoſed to be raiſed by it. *But ſince* the whole 1,200,000 *l.* has been ſo readily ſubſcribed, *their Oppoſition has increaſed*, and their being now ſo zealous againſt it, can only proceed from their fear that they ſhall not have the like Opportunities as they have had, *to impoſe on the Publick*, by whoſe *Neceſſities* they have made *ſo great Advantages*; and they now threaten what they will do to deſtroy the Bank this Seſſion of Parliament; as if what paſt in the laſt, were to be undone in this.

There are others, who are for forcing a Currency of *Bills*, or *Tallies*, and think they may paſs as well as *Bank-bills*; *but they do not conſider*, That 'tis nothing

thing makes *Bank-bills* current, but only *becauſe that all thoſe who deſire it, can go when they will, and fetch their Money for them*; and to force any thing to paſs in Payment *but Money*, would ſoon end *in Confuſion:* For it cannot ſerve *the Nation's Occaſions* at home, much leſs *our foreign Negotiations* with other Countries abroad; ſeeing that all thoſe who take *Bills of Exchange* on *England*, are too wiſe to accept any ſuch ſort of Payment; but will be ſure to have them made payable *in Sterling-money* in Specie, in like manner as the Bills which are now drawn *on Spain*, are made payable *in old Money*, as before the *Pragmatica:* which, together with the late Eſſay of *Copper-money in* Ireland, might be ſufficient to ſhew, that all ſuch Attempts will be ineffectual.

And beſides the Confuſion it would make, the danger of their *being counterfeited*, is an Objection that cannot well be anſwered; and all that it would coſt to exchange them for Money, would be certainly paid by the *Government:* For it would be conſidered by thoſe who ſell their Goods, *in the Prices of them*; and though but a ſmall Sum were paid for *the Loſs* of exchanging them for Money, by every one through whoſe Hands they ſhould paſs, yet there might be *more than the whole Value loſt thereby* in leſs than one Year's time: and the very propoſing ſuch an Innovation, is of dangerous Conſequence, and tends to deſtroy *the publick Credit.* For if it ſhould be attempted to make any thing current in Payment but *ſpecie*, Money, *no Body would truſt the Government* on any Loans for *the future*; and it would put a ſtop to *the diſcounting Tallies, or Bills of Exchange, lending Money on Pawns or Mortgages, or indeed to the giving any Credit*, but upon the undoubted Aſſurance of receiving the Payment *in Specie:* For on all other ſorts of Payment there will be *a Loſs* to exchange them for Money; and it would *diſcourage* our Friends, and *encourage* our Enemies; by proclaiming to the World, that we are not able to continue *the War*, and this would put an end to it: For we ſhould be forced to ſubmit to ſuch Terms, as *the* French *King* would think fit to grant us.

It's very obſervable, that all the ſeveral Companies of *Oppreſſors* are ſtrangely alarm'd, and exclaim at the Bank; and ſeem to have joined themſelves in a Confederacy againſt it, out of pure Zeal (as they pretend) *for the good of the Public*; whereas 'tis nothing but *their private Intereſt*, that has ſo nettled them to ſee their *Craft and Trade of Oppreſſion* endangered; for Extortion, Uſury, and Oppreſſion were never ſo attacked, as they are like to be by the Bank: and 'tis that which has engaged them, to uſe *all the Arts and Tricks they could invent*, to blemiſh it; and amongſt the reſt, to make *thoſe that owe Money* uneaſy at it, great Sums have been called in; eſpecially if any have happened to be due from thoſe, *whoſe publick Stations might make their Anger the more ſignificant*; pretending, that the Bank has made *ſuch a Scarcity of Money*, that none is left, to be lent *on Land or other Securities*; though if it really did what they pretend, they would be far from being angry at it; Scarcity of Money naturally producing a *high Intereſt*, and a *Difficulty* for thoſe that want to be ſupplied with it; which are the beſt Arguments that can be uſed, to extort *double the Price* for *Procuration and Continuation*, Crimes that would eaſily be forgiven by thoſe Men. But the Bank, on the contrary, makes *a plenty of Money, and* renders

renders it *eaſy*, for thoſe that want to be ſupplied with it, *at a moderate Intereſt*, as well on *publick* as *private Securities*; without paying any thing, either *to procure or continue it.*

There are others, who pretend to be againſt the Bank, leſt it ſhould hereafter join with *the Prince*; to make him *abſolute*, and ſo render Parliaments uſeleſs. But tho' that may at firſt ſeem *frightful*, yet when it's conſidered, there will not appear any Cauſe for ſuch Fear as is pretended; and it's morally impoſſible to be attempted, the Concerned in the Bank being reſtrained by Act of Parliament, from advancing any Money to *the Crown*, but upon ſuch Funds only on which there is a Credit of Loan by Parliament, *under the Penalty* of each Perſon's forfeiting *treble the Value of all the Money lent*; the $\frac{1}{3}$ to the Informer, and the other $\frac{2}{3}$ cannot be pardoned by the King, but are to be diſpoſed of by Parliament; nor can it be the Intereſt of the Bank, to make *any King abſolute*; ſeeing they have *no Security* for their Fund, nor for the Money that is lodged in the Bank, *but the Protection of* the Laws: For if they ſhould contribute to make *any King abſolute*, they can have nó aſſurance that he would not, (nay they may be confident that he would) *ſeize on their Fund and their Money by violence*; leſt that they who contributed to make him abſolute, ſhould afterwards endeavour to reduce him to a Conformity with the Laws of the Land. And certainly there is *more danger of ſuch a Deſign* from twelve or fourteen *Goldſmiths*, who were uſed to have *moſt of the running Caſh of the Kingdom*; or from *other Corporations*, who depend wholly *on Prerogative*, and are under no Manner of Reſtraint. Nor could ſuch a Deſign ever be attempted by the Bank; for *the whole Court of Directors*, which conſiſts of twenty-ſix Perſons, muſt be made privy to it; and ſome of them to be ſure *would be againſt it*; and it could not be kept *ſecret*, but would ſoon be *divulged*; and any nine Members of the Corporation may call a *general Court*, who would infallibly turn out thoſe that ſhould incline to favour ſuch a Deſign: For 'tis not to be ſuppoſed, that ſuch a Body of Men ſhould agree *to ruin themſelves and their Poſterity*, by loſing their Eſtates and their Liberties, when 'tis in their power to preſerve them. And ſeeing the *Triennial Bill* is paſt, a new Parliament muſt be choſen, and ſit once in three Years; and during the War, there is no danger but they will meet oftner.

There are others who are againſt the Bank, pretending, *the Fund from which its Revenue ariſes is prejudicial to the Nation:* but if that were an Objection, it might as well be urged againſt *the Annuity for Lives, payable out of the ſame Fund, and ſettled by the ſame* Act of Parliament: But as this is not made an Objection againſt the one, no more ought it to be againſt the other; for the Bank would be the ſame, out of whatſoever Fund the 100,000*l. per Ann.* were payable; and if it were *ill for the Kingdom*, the *Goodneſs of the Fund* would not make it *the better*; nor if the Fund were *a bad one*, would that make the Bank *the worſe.*

There are others, who are againſt the Bank, becauſe they pretend the Concerned have *too good a Bargain*; though if it were really ſo, the Nation pays but 100,000*l. per Ann.* for 1,200,000, which is no more than their Agreement;

and

and 'tis *much leſs than muſt have been paid for that Money*, if it had been to be raiſed in any other Manner: But if there were any weight *in this Objection*, it might be proper to be conſidered eleven *Years hence*, when their Term expires, in caſe they ſhould endeavour a longer Continuance. It never was thought to be *an Objection* againſt thoſe who have *the Fee-Farm Rents*, that they have had *too good a Pennyworth*, though they now ſell at 21, 22 and 23 Years Purchaſe: And though great part of them were paid for *by Debentures, and old Debts due from the Crown*, which were bought for little or nothing: Nor is it objected, that it was a thin Houſe when the Bill paſt, though upon the Diviſion there were but 42 Members preſent.

Some find fault with the Bank, becauſe they have *not taken in the whole* 1200000 *l.* which was ſubſcribed; for they have called in but for 720000 *l.* which is more than they have now Occaſion for: But however, they have paid into the Exchequer *the whole* 1200000 *l. before the Time appointed* by the Act of Parliament; and the *leſs Money* they have taken in to do it with, ſo much *the more* they have ſerved *the Publick:* For the reſt is left to circulate in Trade, to be lent on Land, or otherwiſe to be diſpoſed of for the Nation's Service; and it's better for the Bank, as well as *the Publick*, to have 480000 *l. in the Subſcribers hands, ready to be called for* as they want it, *than to have had it lie uſeleſs by them:* And it's very obſervable, that few of thoſe who make this Objection, either do or would truſt the Bank, though the whole 1200000 *l.* were actually paid in by Subſcribers, as they would pretend to have it. And though they are ſo *careful*, leſt the Bank ſhould not have *Credit*; yet at the ſame time they pretend to fear its *Credit* will ſo far prevail, that it will *engroſs* all the *Money* in the *Nation. So that*, it ſeems, *as if they who would have* 480,000 *l. called in, wanted a pretence to find fault with* the Bank, for having made Money ſcarce, *by calling in the Remainder of the whole Subſcriptions, when they did not want it*; unleſs they would ſhew by ſome new-diſcovered Rules in *Arithmetick*, that the *calling in* 480,000 *l.* more, would make the Bank have the leſs *Money* lodged in it.

'Tis pretended by others, that the Bank *is prejudicial to Trade*, becauſe there are ſome under ſuch unhappy Circumſtances, that the Bank cannot relieve them in their broken Fortunes, and who have been ſinking before the Bank was thought of. Indeed they who have not Credit *to borrow Money at Intereſt*, nor *to draw by Exchange*, and who have neither *Tallies*, *Bills of Exchange*, nor *good Bills for Debt to diſcount*, *Goods to Pawn*, or *Land*, or *Houſes to Mortgage*, muſt be allowed to be in no very good Condition, and muſt continue to pay as exorbitant Allowances for Money to ſupply *their Neceſſities*, as they uſed to do before the Bank was eſtabliſhed. What has been obſerved of *Diſcounting Foreign Bills of Exchange* at 3 *per Cent. per Annum*, *In-land Bills*, *and Notes for Debts* at $4\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent. per Ann. lending Money on Pawns* at 5 *per Cent. per Ann. Exchanging Tallies*, and *lowering Intereſt* of Money, it's ſuppoſed is ſufficient to anſwer *this Objection.*

'Tis

'Tis alledged by ſome, that the Bank will ingroſs all Manner of Trades.—But this is an Objection like many others which are made againſt it by thoſe who *do not underſtand its Conſtitution*; for, if any Perſon trades on Account of the Bank in any other thing than *taking Pawns*, or in *Bills of Exchange*, or *Bullion*, or conſents that any other ſhould trade, every ſuch Perſon *ſo trading or conſenting* to ſuch Trade, incurs by the Act of Parliament a Forfeiture of treble the Value of all that is traded for.

The *Goldſmiths* have been guilty of *Engroſſing moſt Commodities* themſelves, and they have alſo been great *Merchants and Traders*. And ſince the Nation has ſuffered ſo much by their monopolizing Goods, and trading with other Men's Stocks, it may ſeem highly reaſonable, that the Bank is reſtrained from Trade, for Fear of thoſe Miſchiefs which the *Goldſmiths* have practiſed; ſo the *Goldſmiths* in like Manner ſhould be limitted to the ſelling Plate and Jewels, which was their antient and proper Trade. And if there be an Advantage to be made by the *running Caſh* of the Kingdom, it's fitter for the Bank to have it; which conſiſts of 1300 Perſons, and who employ it to ſerve the Nation in general, by lowering the Intereſt of Money; than that it ſhould be given to a few private Men, who have already made uſe of it, ſo much to the Nation's Prejudice.

And whereas they pretend, that the Bank has bought up all the Silver, upon Enquiry it appears, that there hath not been 1200 *l.* worth bought by the Bank, and the greateſt Part of that was Pieces of Eight, and the reſt *Bars* and *Piny Silver*, which came from *Spain*; though ſome particular *Refiners* and *Goldſmiths* have ſince that ſhipped off more than double that Value in Bars of *Engliſh Melting*, and have likewiſe ſold much greater Parcels to others which have been exported—And it may be a Matter well worth Enquiry, where thoſe Mines are which have produc'd that Silver?

And though it be made ſuch a Crime for the Bank to be concerned in *the Publick Remittances*, it is no more than was done by a *Goldſmith* before the Bank undertook it: nor is it look'd on as a Fault in *Goldſmiths* to deal by Exchange, ſeeing ſome of them do now draw or remit Money almoſt every Poſt.

As to the Pretence of the Bank ſetting a Price upon *Guineas*, and having engroſſed the greateſt Part of all that are in the Nation: 'tis anſwered the Bank has always received and paid *Guineas*, at 2 pence or 3 pence a Piece at leaſt, under the Price which the *Goldſmiths* have put upon them; and has been ſo far from buying up any, that they have only receiv'd ſuch as have been brought them in Payment; and have conſtantly paid them away every Week, at the ſame Price they have received them: So that if they make any Benefit by the Advance of the Price of *Guineas*, 'tis chiefly on thoſe which were received at the taking the Subſcriptions; which cannot come to any ſuch Quantity as is pretended: And 'tis a Matter wholly owing to ſome, or all of theſe Cauſes:

To the *Goldſmiths* and *Refiners*, who have raiſed the Price of them: or, to the Trade which is driven by the *Clippers*, who ſell their Clippings for *Guineas*, and with them procure heavy Money: or to the Badneſs of our Silver Coin, which is diminiſhed every Day.

There are others, who make a mighty Complaint againſt the Bank, becauſe two Pence *per* Day is allowed on *Bank-Bills*, and the Money which was uſed to be lodged in their Hands for nothing, and made uſe of by themſelves, is now

paid into the Bank by the Owner,, but they, it's ſuppoſed, will not find Fault with receiving two Pence *per* Day, for that Money, for which before they had nothing ; and ſo one may be ſet againſt t'other.

'Tis pretended, the allowing two Pence *per* Day, hinders ſome from purchaſing, or lending Money on Mortgages ; and makes others, who are Traders, and owe Money, bad Paymaſters.

But it may well be ſuppoſed, there are none who intend to purchaſe, or lend Money on Mortgages, who will leave their Money in the Bank at 3 *per Cent. per Ann.* and when they can have a Purchaſe to their Minds, or a good Security at 5 *per Cent. per Ann.* and there are few who could not leave their Money lying dead, rather than lay it out on the Purchaſe of an Eſtate they do not like, or lend it on a bad Security.

And as for its making Men bad Pay-maſters ; they muſt conſider their Credit or Intereſt but little, who will delay paying their Debts, for the getting the 2 *d. per* Day, *per* 100 *l.* which is allowed on *Bank Bills* ; for in their future Dealings they would pay a much dearer Intereſt.——The Money which is lodged in the Bank, is only the Money which can be ſpared, and was won't to be left with the *Goldſmiths* ; and it's ſtrange, that 3 *per Cent. per Ann.* which is allowed on *Bank Bills*, ſhould do all this Miſchief ; and that the great Advantages which have been made by the publick Funds, ſhould never be made an Objection.

But the plain Truth of the Matter is, that the *Goldſmiths* are angry at the Bank's allowing 2 *d. per* Day *per Cent.* becauſe that by this means the Money is drawn out of their Hands the faſter, and paid into the Bank for *Bank Bills.*

And if allowing 2*d. per* Day on *Bank Bills*, be look'd on to be ſuch a Crime, it is very probable thoſe concerned in the Bank will be willing in Time to remove the Objection; ſeeing it will eaſe them of the Charge of 36000 *l. per Ann.* which the Intereſt amounts to, and which they have given the Nation out of their Fund, for that Money, for which the Owners uſed to have nothing.

Notwithſtanding all theſe Objections, which are made againſt the Bank, and that the allowing 2*d.* a Day *per* 100 *l.* on *Bank Bills* is pretended to be ſo prejudicial, yet there are ſome now, who in Oppoſition to it, talk of nothing leſs than ſetting a new one, with 4*d.* a Day *per Cent.* Intereſt, which is double as much as is now paid by the Bank : nay, others are for ſetting up a Bank in every City, or in every Market Town : Which ſhews after all the Cavils againſt the Bank, that a Bank is good for the Nation in general, and that the greateſt Objection againſt the Bank of *England*, is, that they who find fault with it, are not concerned in it ; for many of thoſe who clamour againſt it, do it only in Hopes of coming in the cheaper.

But the Honour and Juſtice of the whole Nation (on whoſe Credit and Authority the Subſcribers are eſtabliſh'd to be the Bank of *England* for 11 Years) is too much concerned, to admit a Suppoſal, that any ſuch Deſigns ſhould receive Countenance or Encouragement : For what paſt in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, and their refuſing to admit any other Lives to be added to their *Annuities*, leſt it ſhould be thought to leſſen the Security on which the Money was contributed ; (though they were not intended to take Place till after the Lives in Being were extinct) ſhews the great Care of the Honourable Houſe of *Commons*, to preſerve the publick Credit, and to avoid any the leaſt Occaſion which might make it

ſuſpected ;

ſuſpected ; and gives the whole Nation a ſufficient Aſſurance, that they who are the Preſervers of the Peoples Rights and Properties, will never ſuffer any Thing to be attempted in that Auguſt Aſſembly, that may ſeem but to weaken the Security, or leſſen the Encouragement which they have given the Subſcribers to the Bank, and which they themſelves have eſtabliſhed by ſo ſolemn and inviolable a Sanction : And all Inſinuations to the contrary (though under never ſuch ſpecious Pretences) are of dangerous Conſequence to the Government, tending to raiſe Doubts and Scruples in the Minds of the People, and to leſſen the publick Credit : For if the Parliamentary Securities, on which all Men, both Natives and Foreigners, firmly relying, have hitherto ſo freely contributed their Fortunes, for carrying on the War, were now made precarious and uncertain, no Body could truſt them for the future ; and during the War, the Government cannot poſſibly ſubſiſt without Credit.

And beſides, the ſeeming Injuſtice which it would be to thoſe who have ſubſcribed, and contributed their Money upon the Encouragement given by the Act, of there being the Bank of *England* for eleven Years, to have another eſtabliſh'd before thoſe eleven Years are expired, for which this Bank is ſettled ; it would be ſo far from being like the having of ſeveral Shops to go to, to be better uſed ; (as is by ſome pretended) that it would be a Means to hinder either from being ſerviceable in the ſupplying the publick or privite Mens Occaſions : And the Nation muſt pay the dearer for Money ; for one being in Oppoſition to the other, there would be a ſort of Civil War between them ; and the Bank being a Bank of Credit, neither of them, by their Jealouſy of each other, would venture to extend its Credit ; but would bury the Money of the Nation, inſtead of increaſing and quickening its Circulation, as the Bank of *England* does, and will do.

To conclude, the Inſtances which have been given, (in the foregoing Account) of the Uſefulneſs of the Bank, may, it's ſuppoſed, ſuffice, to convince ſuch as were prejudiced againſt it ; upon the Miſrepreſentations which have been ſo induſtriouſly made, by thoſe who appeared the moſt bare-faced and violent in oppoſing it. But it may perhaps be objected, that the Bank is ſo far from being an Advantage to all Trades, that 'tis prejudicial to ſome : for it ſeems to be admitted, that the Bank will be injurious to 12 or 14 *Banking Goldſmiths*, and to ſome Scriveners, Uſurers, and Pawn-brokers ; becauſe it will hinder them from exacting ſuch oppreſſive Extortion, as ſome of them have done formerly ; and it will quite ruin the whole Trade of *Tally Jobbers*.

Now if the Clamour of a few (whoſe Trade hath been to make Merchandize of the Nation, and to enrich themſelves by the Neceſſities of others) ſhall not only prevail againſt the Benefit of a Community legally eſtabliſh'd, but even of the Kingdom in general, and the Credit of a Parliament, then the Enemies of the Bank may hope to ſubvert it : But until the publick Good be poſtpon'd to private Intereſt, and a ſmall Number of Oppreſſors be too hard for the Nobility, Gentry, and Traders of *England* in general ; it will and muſt be preſerved and maintained, becauſe of its great Uſe to the whole Realm ; and the Benefits which already accrue by it in its Infancy, are a good Earneſt of thoſe greater Advantages, which the Nation muſt receive from its future Progreſs.

THIS Writing Indented Witneſſeth, that whereas in and by one Act of Parliament lately made and paſſed, Entituled, *An Act for making good the Deficiency of ſeveral Funds herein mentioned, and for enlarging the Capital Stock of the* Bank of England, *and for raiſing the Publick Credit:* It is amongſt other Things enacted, that it ſhall and might be lawful to and for the Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Treaſury, or any three or more of them, to covenant and agree in ſuch manner as they ſhall think fit, with any Perſon or Perſons, Natives or Foreigners, Bodies Politick or Corporate, with whoſe Abilities they ſhould be well ſatisfied, for the immediate advancing or lending of Moneys from time to time, as there ſhould be Occaſion, for the Exchange of ſuch Bills (being Part of the Sum not exceeding fifteen hundred thouſand Pounds in the ſaid Act mentioned) as ſhall be refuſed, or not accepted of or taken in Repayment of ſuch Tallies or Orders as are therein expreſſed; and that ſuch Perſon and Perſons as ſhould contract and agree to advance and furniſh in Money for the Exchanging and Circulating of the ſaid Bills, in ſuch manner as the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, or High Treaſurer, ſhould appoint, immediately upon their paying or advancing any Monies purſuant to their Contracts or Agreements, ſhould have for their Security and Satisfaction the ſaid Bills, or ſuch Security as ſhould be agreed upon between the ſaid Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, or High Treaſurer, and ſuch Contractors, and an Intereſt or Reward not exceeding ten Pounds *per Cent. per Annum*, as by the ſaid Act, Relation being thereunto had, may more fully appear.

And whereas in and by one other Act of Parliament lately made and paſſed, Entitled, *An Act for Granting to his Majeſty a further Subſidy of Tunnage and Poundage, upon Merchandiſe imported for the Term of two Years and three Quarters; and an additional Land-Tax for one Year, for carrying on the War againſt* France; It is (amongſt other things) Enacted and Declared, that it ſhould and might be lawful to and for the Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Treaſury, or any three of them now being, or for the High Treaſurer, or any three or more of the Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Treaſury for the Time being, to cauſe Bills to be made forth at the Receipt of Exchequer, for any Sum or Sums of Money not exceeding twelve hundred thouſand Pounds, by the firſt mentioned Act authorized to be iſſued; in ſuch Proportions nevertheleſs as that there ſhould not at any one Time be more Bills ſtanding out than to the Value or Amount of two Millions of Principal Money; and that the ſaid Bills ſhould have the like Currency, and carry the like Intereſt after the Rate of Five Pence *per Cent. per diem*, as the Bills for the ſaid fifteen hundred thouſand Pounds; alſo that the ſaid Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Treaſury, or the High Treaſurer for the Time being, ſhould and might contract and agree, in ſuch manner as they ſhould think fit, with the ſame or any other Perſon or Perſons (with whoſe Abilities they ſhould be well ſatisfied) for the advancing or lending ſuch further Sums, as they ſhould think neceſſary, for the exchanging ſuch Bills of the ſaid Twelve hundred thouſand Pounds, thereby authoriſed to be iſſued, as ſhould or might be refuſed or not accepted in Satisfaction of Talleys and Orders of Loan in Courſe of Repayment as aforeſaid; which Perſons ſo contracting, ſhould likewiſe have and receive an Intereſt or Reward not exceeding ten Pounds *per Cent. per Annum*, for the

the Money they ſhould advance for the Purpoſe aforeſaid, as in and by the firſt-recited Act is allowed to ſuch as ſhould contract for the fifteen hundred thouſand Pounds, as by the ſaid Act, Relation being thereunto had, may more fully appear.

Now to the End, that all and every Perſon or Perſons, Bodies-Politick or Corporate, who have or may have, or be intituled to, any Talleys and Orders, on any Branch of the Revenue, or on any Aid, Tax, or Supply, that is, or ſhall be appropriated for Repayment and Satisfaction thereof, may not be under any Neceſſity when ſuch Talleys and Orders come in Courſe of Payment, to accept or take againſt their own voluntary Conſent or good Liking, the Satisfaction thereof in ſuch Bills as aforeſaid, which are iſſued by Virtue of the ſaid Acts or either of them, and that ready Money may be provided for exchanging the ſame, and in Purſuance of the Acts of Parliament aforeſaid, the ſeveral and reſpective Perſons, who have ſubſcribed and written their Names and Sirnames to theſe Preſents, for and in Conſideration of the Intereſt and Reward hereafter in theſe Preſents agreed to be paid and allowed, and for the publick Benefit and Advantage of Commerce; and for other good Cauſes and Conſiderations them ſeverally in this Behalf moving, do ſeverally and reſpectively, and not one for the other, promiſe, contract, and agree to and with the Right Honourable *Charles Montague*, Eſq; Sir *Stephen Fox*, Knight, *John Smith*, Eſq; Sir *Thomas Littleton*, Baronet, and *Thomas Pelham*, Eſq; his Majeſty's Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, and to and with every of them by theſe Preſents, that each and every of the Subſcribers hereunto, ſhall and will pay or cauſe to be paid, to ſuch Truſtees as are herein after-mentioned, the Sum or Sums ſo by him, her, or them reſpectively ſubſcribed, at ſuch Times, and in ſuch Proportions, as the ſaid Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Treaſury, or the High Treaſurer, or Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, for the Time being ſhall require the ſame, by publick Notice to be, from time to time, giving by Writing to be affixed in the Receipt of the Exchequer, to wit, in the Office of the Chamberlain there, and by a Signification thereof to be given from time to time in the *Gazettes*; which Notice and Signification ſo to be given, ſhall, from time to time, allow fourteen Days Time, at leaſt, after the giving thereof for making of each Payment.

Provided alſo, that it is hereby promiſed, contracted, and agreed unto, That the ſaid reſpective Perſons whoſe Names are hereunto put as aforeſaid, ſhall and will advance, and pay in Mill'd-Money or Guineas, unto *Francis Eyles*, Eſq; Sir *Theodore Janſſen*, *Mordecai Abbot*, *Gilbert Heathcoat*, *William Sedgwick*, *George Doddington*, Eſquires, Sir *James Bateman*, Sir *Henry Furneſe*, and Sir *Joſeph Herne*, Knights; Truſtees in this Behalf, or any ſeven or more of them, one full fourth Part of the ſeveral and reſpective Sums of Money, which all and every ſuch Perſon and Perſons reſpectively have written againſt his, her, or their Names upon this preſent Indenture, within fourteen Days after Notice ſhall be given by the ſaid Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, or High Treaſurer, for the Time being; ſo as ſuch Notice for Payment of the firſt fourth Part, upon this new Subſcription, be not given before the eight and twentieth Day of *April*, one thouſand ſix hundred and ninety nine, being the Time of the Determination of a former Subſcription, purſuant to a Contract made between the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury and ſeveral Perſons, bearing Date the twenty eighth

Day

Day of *April*, one thouſand ſix hundred ninety eight; as by the ſaid Contract, Relation being thereunto had, may more fully appear; which fourth Part ſhall be kept at the Office appointed for that Purpoſe near the Exchequer, in the Cuſtody and under the Management of the ſaid Truſtees, who are likewiſe nominated on the Behalf of his Majeſty and the ſaid Contractors, and ſhall be applicable to the Exchanging the ſaid Exchequer Bills, as well thoſe for twelve hundred thouſand Pounds, as thoſe for fifteen hundred thouſand Pounds, in manner as is hereafter expreſſed.

And it is hereby further declared, conſented to, and agreed upon by the ſaid Contractors, and every of them for himſelf only, and not the one for the other, that all and every the Perſon and Perſons who have hereunto ſubſcribed, ſhall and will from time to time, after Payment of the firſt Part, advance and pay into the Hands of the ſaid Truſtees, ſuch further Sums in Mill'd Money or Guineas, as the ſaid Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, or High-Treaſurer for the Time being, ſhall require to be advanced, on ſuch Notice to be given as aforeſaid, either in further Part, or in full of their reſpective Subſcription.

Provided, that as any Part of the Money ſubſcribed ſhall be required and paid for Exchanging the ſaid Bills, the Bills that ſhall be Exchanged therewithal, as well in reſpect to the firſt Payment as aforeſaid, as in reſpect to the after Payments, ſhall and may immediately be delivered out to ſuch Subſcriber, or Contractor, from time to time, according to the Sum or Sums ſo by them reſpectively paid, in part or in full of their ſaid Subſcriptions reſpectively, immediately and at the ſame Time, as ſuch Payments, in part or in full, ſhall be by each of the ſaid Contractors made.

And it is hereby further declared, conſented and agreed unto by the ſaid Contractors, and every of them, for himſelf only, and not the one for the other, that in Caſe any ſuch Contractor ſhall fail in paying to the ſaid Truſtees, for the Purpoſes aforeſaid, any Sum or Sums of Money, which he, or they, do reſpectively hereby undertake to advance by theſe Preſents, contrary to the true Intent and Meaning hereof, that then the Reward or Allowance herein after mentioned ſhall be forfeited, and go to the Uſe of the reſt of the Contractors, they paying the Part which ſuch Contractor ſhould, or ought to have paid in Purſuance of this Agreement; and in Default of ſuch Payment by the reſt of the Contractors, then to the Uſe of the Perſon or Perſons who ſhall be injured or aggrievated by ſuch Non-payment, any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithſtanding: To which Intent and Purpoſe, it is hereby covenanted and agreed, by and between the Parties to theſe Preſents, that the ſaid Intereſt or Allowance, as is herein after mentioned, ſhall be and remain in the Cuſtody of the Truſtees, to be delivered to the ſaid Subſcribers reſpectively, upon the laſt Payment of the Sums by them reſpectively ſubſcribed, and not before.

And the ſaid Truſtees ſo appointed, ſhall from time to time duly apply, iſſue, and pay, or cauſe to be applied, iſſued, and paid the Money which ſhall be ſo advanced or paid into their Hands, to and for the Satisfaction of ſuch Talleys and Orders as aforeſaid, which ſhall from time to time be in Courſe of Payment; which ſuch Truſtees ſhall faithfully do and perform, in all Caſes where any of the ſaid Bills ſhall be actually brought into the Exchequer, inſtead of Money, for Payment of ſuch Talleys and Orders, and that the Owners thereof ſhall be

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the Money ſo advanced by the ſaid Contractors, ſhall be by the ſaid Truſtees applied, iſſued or paid, to or for Satisfaction of Talleys or Orders as aforeſaid, they the ſaid Truſtees will receive, and take into their Cuſtody, the ſaid Bills of Credit, which would have been applicable to the Repayment of ſuch Talleys and Orders, in Caſe the Owners thereof would have accepted the ſame; ſo that the ſaid Truſtees ſhall not depart with any of the ſaid Money paid in by the ſaid Contractors, without receiving at the ſame time Bills of Credit, Part of thoſe for any Sum not exceeding fifteen hundred thouſand Pounds, or Part of thoſe for any Sum not exceeding twelve hundred thouſand Pounds, authorized to be made forth as aforeſaid, to the Value of all and every the Sum and Sums of Money, paid in by the ſaid Contractors, which the ſaid Truſtees ſhall ſo apply, iſſue or pay, or cauſe to be iſſued, applied and paid, to and for the Satisfaction of the ſaid Talleys or Orders.

And that the ſaid Truſtees ſhall from time to time keep, or cauſe to be kept, fair and juſt Accompts in writing, of all their Receipts, Payments and Doings, in Execution of the Truſt ſo repoſed in them, which ſhall be liable to the View and Inſpection of the ſaid Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, or High Treaſurer, for the Time being, and of all and every the ſaid Contractor or Contractors, and of any Perſon or Perſons having Talleys or Orders of Loan on any Funds or Revenue whatſoever; And in Caſe of the Death or Failure of any of the ſaid Truſtees, the ſaid Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, or High Treaſurer, for the Time being, ſhall forthwith name and appoint ſome other Perſon or Perſons, to be a Truſtee or Truſtees, inſtead of the Perſon or Perſons dying or failing as aforeſaid.

And the ſaid *Charles Montague*, Sir *Stephen Fox*, *John Smith*, Sir *Thomas Littleton*, and *Thomas Pelham*, do on his Majeſty's Behalf, promiſe and agree to and with the ſaid Contractors, and every of them by theſe Preſents, that they, the ſaid Contractors, and every of them duly complying with their Payments, and performing their Covenants in theſe Preſents contained reſpectively, ſhall have and receive a Reward and Allowance, after the Rate of three Pounds *per Cent. per Annum*, for the whole Sum ſo by every Contractor written upon theſe Preſents, from the twenty eighth Day of *April*, one thouſand ſix hundred ninety nine, for ſo long Time as he, ſhe, or they ſhall be liable to anſwer any Part of the Sum or Sums, ſubſcribed by him, her, or them reſpectively, in manner as is before expreſſed: And if all the Money ſubſcribed ſhall be required from the ſaid Contractors in leſs than a Year's Time; or that there ſhall not be Occaſion for uſing or imploying the Money by them ſubſcribed, or ſome Part thereof for ſo long Time, the ſaid Contractors ſhall nevertheleſs be intitled to, and ſhall have and receive one whole Year's Intereſt, after the Rate of three Pounds *per Cent. per Annum*, for the Sums by them reſpectively ſubſcribed; any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And the ſaid Commiſſioners of the Treaſury do further promiſe and agree, to and with the ſaid Contractors, that ſo ſoon as the firſt fourth Part ſhall be advanced by the ſaid Subſcribers, they the ſaid Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, ſhall deliver, or cauſe to be delivered into the Hands of the ſaid Truſtees, the deſirous inſtead of ſuch Bills, to receive their Payment and Satisfaction of or for ſuch Talleys or Orders, in mill'd Money or Guineas: And in all Caſes where

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Premium or Allowance of three Pounds *per Cent.* of the full Value of ſuch Subſcriptions, which ſaid Allowance or Premium of three Pounds *per Cent.* ſhall be paid over to the ſaid Contractors reſpectively, upon Payment of the laſt Part of the Money by them reſpectively ſubſcribed, or other Determination of theſe Preſents, as aforeſaid.

And it is hereby further declared, conſented, and agreed unto, by and between the ſaid Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Treaſury, and the reſpective Contractors undernamed, that the whole Charge as well of executing the ſaid Truſt, as of executing the Powers of ſuch Truſtees as aforeſaid, ſhall be borne and defrayed by his Majeſty.

Dated at the Treaſury-Chamber, the firſt Day of *February*, in the tenth Year of the Reign of his Majeſty *William* the Third, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c. Annoq*; *Dom.* One thouſand ſix hundred ninety eight.

The Proceedings upon the Debates, relating to the late *Charter* of the City of *London*, as alſo the Entering up of Judgment againſt it, Giving an Account of the moſt remarkable Tranſactions relating to that Affair.

THE Liberties, Franchiſes, *&c.* of the City of *London*, being adjuſted, forfeited and liable to be ſeized into the King's Hands the laſt Term, by the Judges of his Majeſty's Court of *King's Bench*; his Majeſty Ordered his *Attorney General* to ſtay the entering up of Judgment till further Orders; and upon receiving the *Humble Petition* of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, in Common Council aſſembled, was pleaſed, by the Lord Keeper, to require their Submiſſion to divers Regulations of their Charter, relating to his approving of the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Chamberlain, Town-Clerk, Aldermen, *&c.* upon their Elections, to conſider of which a Common Council was called; and after divers Debates it was reſolved by the Majority of Votes, that it was altogether neceſſary and expedient for the preventing the fatal Conſequences, that might inſue upon Judgment being entered up, (if they refuſed) to comply with his Majeſty's Demands, that ſo the old *Charter* might be continued without any Alteration; of which their ready Compliance they aſſured his Majeſty, by the Recorder, and Sherriffs; but ſo it happened that when they came to ſeal the Inſtrument drawn up for that Purpoſe many ſeemed unſatisfied, and were rather inclinable to the Surrender of the whole, than to have it abridged in Part; the which on the 28th of *September* was debated in Common Council, where divers Speeches were made by the Aldermen and Commons, debating the Matter earneſtly. After which Mr. Recorder was deſired to deliver his Opinion, who at the Inſtance of Lord Mayor, did to this Effect, *viz.* That he had made it his Buſineſs for ſome time paſt, to conſider ſeriouſly the Matter in Debate, and had therein

therein conſulted the Attorney General and divers other learned Council, and that thereupon, it did not appear to him, but that the *Charter* would be much weakned by Reſtriction, and he could not ſee how afterward they could plead Preſcription; therefore in his Opinion it was neceſſary, well to conſider what was to be done, and that it was convenient to conſult Council farther therein, and then proceeded, to relate divers Particulars that had paſſed in former Debates upon the Occaſion of the *Charter*; inſomuch although Sir *Dudley North*, and divers other Aldermen, and a great Number of the Commoners were for complying with his Majeſty's Demands, ſaying, that they could not in point of Honour go from their Word and Obligation: It was reſolved, that a Committee ſhould be choſen to conſider of the Affair, and another Common Council to be aſſembled on the 2d of *October* 1683. to hear the Reports of thoſe entruſted to debate the Matter: Who were alſo to have Council allowed them, *&c.* Theſe things paſſing, although *Peter Daniel*, Eſq; and *Francis Daſhwood*, Eſq; were ſworn Sheriffs at *Guild-Hall*; yet upon their going to *Weſtminſter* to be preſented at the Swearing the old Sheriffs to their Accounts, before the Puiſne Baron that Ceremony was deferred; yet Mr. Recorder in the Name of the ſaid Sheriffs invited the Barons and Officers of the Court to Dinner with them as is uſual.

The 2d of *October* being come, the Court of Aldermen aſſembled; as likewiſe did the Commons in Council, to hear the Reports of the Committee, where divers Debates paſſed *pro & Contra*; and many Speeches were made, ſome for ſealing to the Regulations, others for the Surrender of the intire *Charter*, without any further Conſideration; inſomuch, that ſome hot or haſty Words paſſed, but in the End, after Mr. Recorder had made a long Speech, wherein he declared at large the whole Proceedings from point to point, opening the Matter, reciting ſome Precedents of the like Nature, in the Reign of former Kings acquieſcing in the Opinion of the Committee as to a Surrender, it was put to the Vote, though not without ſome Difficulty; many alledging, that divers of the Common Council and ſome of the Aldermen were out of Town and abſent; and this Matter was no other than a Surprize, yet ſo it was ordered that in the End, it being concluded on; the Poll run thus 83 were for ſealing to the Regulation required by his Majeſty, and 105 againſt it, after which many Debates happened, inſomuch that they broke not up till Eleven of the Clock in the Evening.

Upon Notice of what had been reſolved, and the Retraction of what had formerly been agreed to, Mr. Attorney General cauſed, as we are credibly informed, Judgment to be entered up, ſo that the *Charter* being actually ſeized, his Majeſty was pleaſed, by Commiſſion to appoint the preſent Lord Mayor, to continue as Cuſtos of this City, *&c.* and that the late Elected Sheriffs by Commiſſion likewiſe are, or ſuddenly will be ſworn. Mr. *John Connor* likewiſe to be Recorder in the Room of Sir *George Trebie*, and that divers Aldermen will be appointed in the Room of ſuch, as his Majeſty is pleaſed to diſplace, whoſe Nomination will be very ſuddenly; and on the third Inſtant in the Evening, the Lord Mayor went to *Whitehall* in his Coach, attended by his Officers, to wait upon his Majeſty, to know his further Pleaſure, (not being accompanied with any of the Aldermen) where he was received: And after ſome Conference about the preſent Juncture of Affairs relating to the City, was diſmiſſed, and according to Or-

der, went again this Morning accompanied by the new Recorder and the two Sheriffs, when being introduced he had the Charge and Care of the City recommended to him, his Lordſhip promiſing to do all that in him lay to ſerve his Majeſty therein; after which Mr. Recorder being introduced into the Bed-Chamber was commanded to kneel, which he doing, had therewith the uſual Ceremonies, the Honour of Knight-hood conferred on him by his Majeſty. After which he with the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, returned to their Charge.

F I N I S.

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